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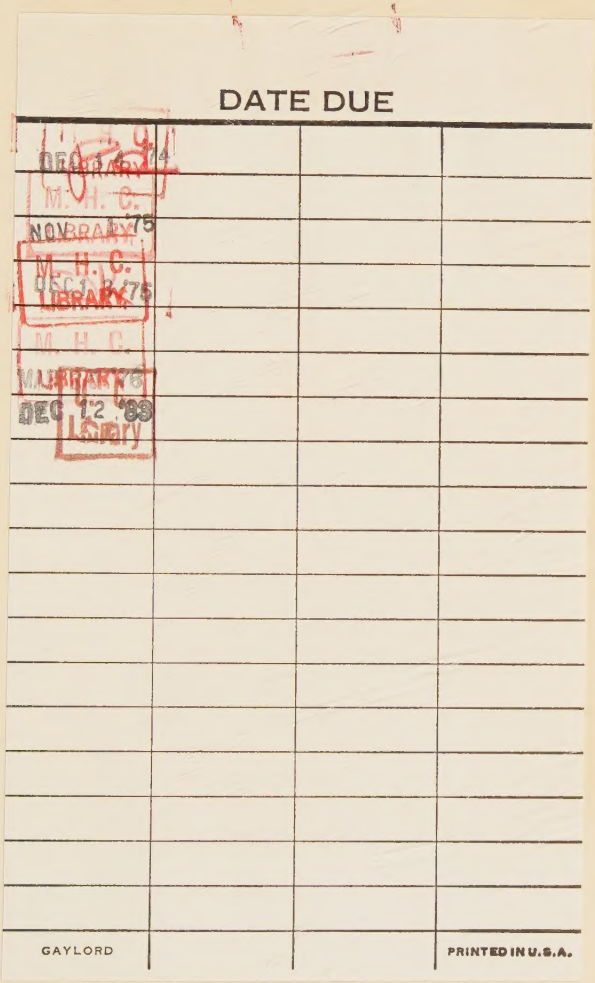
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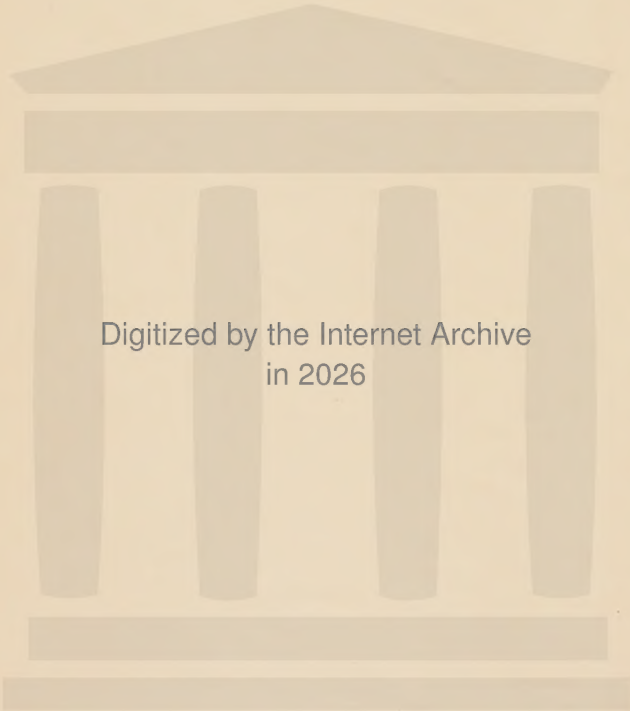

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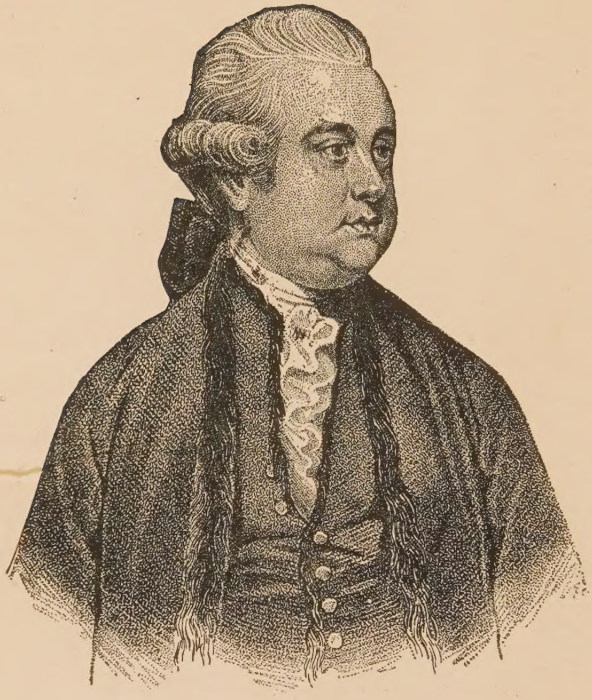

EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

Frontispiece.

History of Christianity:

COMPRISING ALL THAT RELATES TO THE PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN "THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE,"

AND

A VINDICATION

OF SOME PASSAGES IN THE 15th AND 16th CHAPTERS,

BY

EDWARD GIBBON, ESQ.

WITH

A PREFACE, LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, AND NOTES BY PETER ECKLER, INCLUDING VARIORUM NOTES BY GUIZOT, WENCK, MILMAN, "AN ENGLISH CHURCHMAN," AND OTHER SCHOLARS.

DISCARD

NEW YORK
PETER ECKLER PUBLISHING COMPANY
1923

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PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

"A pure and humble religion gently insinuated itself into the minds of men, grew up in silence and obscurity, derived new vigor from opposition, and finally erected the triumphant banner of the Cross on the ruins of the Capitol."—GIBBON.

THE establishment of Christianity on the ruins of the Roman Empire, was an occurence of such grave import in the annals of the human race, that the history, if not the traditions, of that eventful era, must ever challenge earnest attention from thoughtful minds. All that is known to be authentic in regard to this transition period of religious belief, is concisely and impartially narrated by Gibbon in his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and this vital and interesting part of that great work, which may not improperly be termed Gibbon's *History of Christianity*, together with his *Vindication* of some passages thereof from the attacks of his theological opponents, is now, for the first time, published separate from his other writings, and shows *when*, *where* and *how* Christianity originated, *who* were its founders, and *what* were the sentiments, character, manners, numbers, and condition of the primitive Christians.

An additional reason for this publication is found in the fact, that a *revised* and *abridged* edition of Gibbon, called the "Student's Edition," edited by Wm. Smith, LL.D., has gained a wide circulation in our schools and colleges, and is deficient in a most important feature. This editor claims, by omitting certain portions, to have gained space

for narrating at length those grand events which have influenced the history of the world. "The most important "omissions," he naively remarks, "relate to the history of "the Church, in which Gibbon too frequently displayed the "hostility he felt towards the Christian religion."

These "most important omissions" are fully supplied by the present work. The matter here selected for publication being that portion of the *Decline and Fall* which relates to the history of the Christian religion, and this history is given in full, without alterations or interpolations, precisely as Gibbon, in his great work, first published it to the world.

Bohn's edition of Gibbon is edited by a "distinguished "English Churchman" whose name, however, does not appear. This editor laments that "no Christian reader of "Gibbon's 'florid page' will be able or will desire to sup- "press a deep feeling of sorrow that the mind which could "plan and compose the most valuable *History of the Decline* "*and Fall of the Roman Empire* could find no rest in the "truths of Christianity;" and he quotes with approbation the criticism of Porson that Gibbon "often makes, where he "cannot readily find, an occasion to insult our religion, "which he hates so cordially, that he might seem to "revenge some personal injury."

This "distinguished Churchman" acknowledges a debt of gratitude to Wenck, Guizot and Milman, "for the care they "have bestowed on those portions of the history where re- "ligion demanded their services, as well as on other parts "which either required correction, or admitted of extension, "or, from apparent inconsistency, called for explanation."*

"The sight of an enemy," continues this writer, "of so "much vigor and stratagem as Gibbon exhibited, would

* Impartial readers may not approve of the "care" these learned commentators "have bestowed on those portions of the history where religion demanded their "services," for the historian's only "care" should be to simply tell the truth, without suppression or "extension."

In the year 1826 there was published in London an edition of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* which strikingly illustrates the partisan spirit of many orthodox critics. The title page of this curious work openly admits that it is "Reprinted from the "original text, with the careful omission of all passages of an irreligious or im- "moral tendency, by THOMAS BOWDLER." In the preface the devout Bowdler modestly intimates his desire that this mutilated edition may in time supersede the original work of Gibbon.

" naturally enkindle steadfast believers to engage with him;
" and some appear to have entered the field without suffi-
" cient preparation and without sufficient discernment." *

The editors of the various editions of the *Decline and Fall* have all criticised Gibbon's views on religious subjects, which, of course, they had a perfect right to do. It is the covert method of their attack that is objectionable. Gibbon's historical statements in regard to Christianity are either true or false. If false, the errors should have been exposed by some of the many Christian writers who, since the year 1776 when Gibbon's work first appeared, have devoted such earnest but fruitless efforts to the task. On the contrary, if his statements are true, why not frankly admit the truth? How can it possibly be for the benefit of any sect to propagate historical errors? How can it possibly be considered "an answer" to Gibbon's *History of Christianity* to say that "Gibbon," because he fearlessly states the truth, "was an Infidel?" † What has his religious belief to do with his statement of historical facts?

What Gibbon's religious views actually were may be left to conjecture. We have no statement to guide us after he publicly abjured Romanism and partook of the sacrament in the Protestant Church, at Lausanne, in Switzerland, on Christmas-day, 1754. His religion or want of religion was entirely his own affair. It is, however, very important for us to know that he was truthful and impartial in his historical statements. The attempt to throw discredit on his

* "I wish," said the acute Porson, "that every writer who attacks the "infidels, would weigh the accusations, and keep a strict watch over himself, "lest his zeal should hurry him too far."

† The followers of Mahomet first coined the word infidel and called the early Christians "Giaours" or "Infidels." The Catholic Christians evidently relished the euphonious sound, for they adopted the term and applied it with great impartiality to both Protestants and Pagans. The followers of Luther and Calvin liked it so well that they gave it to the disciples of Servetus. The Unitarians generously passed it on to the Deists, the Pantheists and the Atheists, where it now rests. It has been worn threadbare by these enforced journeys, and its meaning so changed that now it is indefinite and vague. It is, however, considered a term of reproach by those who apply it, and is treated with contempt by those to whom it is applied.

History of Christianity, because his critics mistrust that his religious views do not agree with their religious views, is unworthy of men claiming to be civilized. *

M. Guizot, in his translation of Gibbon's Work, exclaims: "The abolition of the religion of Greece and Rome, the origin " and growth of two other religions which have shared " between them the fairest provinces of earth, the old age " of the ancient world, the spectacle of its expiring glory " and moral degeneracy, the infancy of the modern world, " the picture of its early progress and of a new impulse given " to mind and character, these form a subject to attract and " interest all who do not look with indifference on those " memorable epochs, when, as Corneille so beautifully said,

" 'Un grand destin commence, un grand destin s'achève.' "

"In my opinion," continues M. Guizot, "we can neither " value too highly nor too warmly praise that immense " assemblage of knowledge and of thought, the courage " that ventured to employ it, and the perseverance which " conducted the work to its successful issue; but most do " we owe to that freely judging mind, which no institutions " or times could fetter, and without which no historian can " be great or any history truthful. If words can add to " Gibbon's glory I conclude with these—that before him " no such work was ever written, nor whatever attempts " might here and there be made to continue or complete it, " has he left any room for such another."

* "Dark and abstruse," says the late Thomas Carlyle, in his *Life of Sterling*, "without lamp or authentic finger-post, is the course of pious " genius towards the Eternal Kingdoms grown. No fixed highway more; " the old spiritual highways and recognized paths to the Eternal, now all " torn-up and flung in heaps, submerged in unutterable, boiling mud-oceans " of Hypocrisy and Unbelievability, of brutal living Atheism and damnable " dead putrescent Cant. · · · Speedy end to Superstition,—a gentle " one if you can contrive it, but an end. What can it profit any mortal to " adopt locutions and imaginations which do *not* correspond to fact; which " no sane mortal can deliberately adopt in his soul as true; which the " most orthodox of mortals can only, and this after infinite essentially " *impious* effort to put-out the eyes of his mind, persuade himself to 'believe " that he believes'? Away with it; in the name of God, come out of it, " all true men!"

The current editions of Gibbon, published in this country, are mostly copied from the English edition, edited by the Rev. H. H. Milman, Prebendary of St. Peter's and Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster. This learned divine* was permitted to inspect the unpublished posthumous works of Gibbon, with the express understanding, however, that none of their contents should be divulged. Lord Sheffield, in whose care they had remained, having positively prohibited, by a clause in his will, any further publication of them. Mr. Milman, having thus had access to Gibbon's notes and private memoranda, and having devoted much time to the subject, was well qualified to form a correct estimate of Gibbon's labors; and, notwithstanding his strong Christian prejudices, he is constrained to admit that he has "followed the track of Gibbon through many parts "of his work; he has read his authorities with constant "reference to his pages; and must pronounce his deliberate "judgment in terms of the highest admiration as to his "general accuracy."

"And indeed, if, after all," continues Milman in a sorrowful strain, "the views of the early progress of Christianity "be melancholy and humiliating, we must beware lest we "charge the whole of this on the infidelity of the historian. "It is idle, it is disingenuous, to deny or to dissemble the "early depravations of Christianity, its gradual but rapid "departure from its primitive simplicity and purity, still "more, from its spirit of universal love."

After admitting so much in favor of Gibbon's accuracy as an historian, and acknowledging so much that Gibbon has stated in regard to the "melancholy and humiliating" origin of Christianity, is it not somewhat surprising to see

* In his preface Dean Milman takes his readers into his confidence and tells them frankly that "Christians, like M. Guizot and ourselves, will see "some things, and some persons, in a different light from the historian of "the Decline and Fall." What a striking resemblance is here shown to the conceited Pharisee, immortalized by St. Luke, who "stood and prayed "thus with himself: God, I thank thee, that I am not as other men are."

this learned and cautious champion of the Church, use the following language, in endeavoring to explain why some damaging truths, called "objectionable passages," in Gibbon's History, have been allowed by him to remain unchallenged ?

"The editor," says Milman, speaking of himself, "would "further observe, that with regard to some other objection- "able passages, which do not involve misstatement or inac- "curacy, he has intentionally abstained from directing par- "ticular attention towards them by any special protest."

A passage that is not misstated and is not inaccurate, must necessarily be true, and to call an historical truth "objectionable" because it conflicts with certain Christian prejudices, proves that this pious and learned divine was rather a partizan for his creed than a sincere lover of truth for its own sake. He considered it wiser to pass over these "objectionable passages" in silence, hoping the reader would not observe their significance, rather than risk the danger of arousing suspicion by challenging investigation. What a short-sighted and time-serving policy for an eminent Christian historian to assume! What a contrast such methods afford to the labors of our modern scientists, who earnestly seek to demonstrate hidden facts in nature and discover new truths in science, regardless alike whether these new discoveries militate for or against their preconceived theories.*

"The art of Gibbon, or at least the unfair impression "produced by these two memorable chapters," (the fifteenth and sixteenth), continues Dean Milman, "consists in his "confounding together, in one undistinguishable mass, the "*origin* and *apostolic* propagation of the Christian religion

* As an illustration of this desire of scientific minds to arrive at the exact truth, see postscript in second volume of Darwin's *Descent of Man*, in which he regrets having "fallen into a serious and unfortunate error," &c.

"For it is indeed," says Jacob Grimm, "the true characteristic of science, "that she casts her net in search of results on every side, seizes upon every "perceptible property of things, and subjects it to the hardest tests, no "matter what finally comes of it."

" with its later progress. · · · The main question, the *divine* " *origin of the religion*, was dexterously eluded, or spe- " ciously conceded by Gibbon; his plan enabled him to " commence his account, in most parts, *below the apostolic* " *times;* and it was only by the strength of the dark coloring " with which he brought out the failings and the follies of the " succeeding ages, that a shadow of doubt and suspicion was " thrown back upon the primitive period of Christianity."

The Jews justly complained that their Egyptian task-masters compelled them to make bricks without straw; but this difficult performance would have been no greater than to attempt to write an authentic history without facts. "Short, indeed," says Bishop Watson, "are the accounts " which have been transmitted to us, of the first propagating " of Christianity." "The scanty and suspicious materials " of ecclesiastical history," says Gibbon, "seldom enable us " to dispel the dark cloud that hangs over the first age of " the church." Had Gibbon drawn upon his imagination for his facts, he could have written a history that would have given great satisfaction to Dean Milman and his fellow-churchmen. But a history written from such a standpoint would be as useless and ephemeral as were the productions of Gibbon's opponents, which have already passed into a merited oblivion.*

M. Guizot goes a step further than Milman, and effectually disposes of the latter's argument against Gibbon by asserting in effect that there was no history of the primitive Church to which Gibbon could have referred for information or authority—that in reality " the history of the " first age of Christianity is only found in the Acts of the " Apostles, and in order to speak of the first persecutions " experienced by the Christians, that book should naturally " have been consulted."

* M. Guizot sincerely regrets that all that has been preserved of very many attacks on Gibbon's Rome, is the titles of the works and names of the various authors.

Such a method would certainly simplify the case very materially, and enable us in future to dispense entirely with the study of history.* We would only have to consult the four gospels, read carefully the texts of scripture, take assertions for facts, and repeat that stereotyped formula from generation to generation. Criticism would be unnecessary, investigation would cease, and uniformity of belief, one of the signs of the coming millennium, would necessarily be established.

The appearance of the first volume of the *Decline and Fall*, produced, says Gibbon, "a fruitful crop of *Answers*, "*Apologies*, *Remarks*, *Examinations*, &c," the more prominent of which are as follows:

Mr. Davies, Bachelor of Arts and Fellow of Baliol College in the University of Oxford, published *An Examination of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Richard Watson, D. D., F. R. S., Lord Bishop of Landaff and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, published *An Apology for Christianity.* Dr. Priestley wrote *A Letter to a Philosophical Unbeliever, with Observations on Mr. Gibbon's two First Volumes.* Dr. White, assisted by Dr. S. Badcock, drew *A Comparison Between Christianity and Mahometanism*, in which they endeavored to controvert Gibbon. Dr. J. Chelsum, Chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester, published *Remarks on the two Last Chapters of the First Volume of Mr. Gibbon's History.* Mr. East Apthorpe, Rector of St. Mary-le-Bow, London, published *Letters on the Prevalence of Christianity, before its Civil Establishment, with Observations on Mr. Gibbon's History.* Mr. Travis, Prebendary of Chester and Vicar of Eastham, published *Letters to Edward Gibbon, Esq.* The Rev. H. Kett preached eight sermons called the *Bampton Lectures.* Dr. Whitaker wrote and published under the name of an

* "I will destroy your library," said the Mahometan soldier to the scholar, "for if your books agree with the Koran, they are unnecessary and superfluous, and if they disagree with that sacred revelation, they are necessarily wicked and should be destroyed."

"*Anonymous Gentleman.*" Works also appeared by Sir David Dalrymple, a Lord of Session ; Mr. Joseph Milner, a Methodist ; Mr. Taylor, an Arian, author of *Thoughts on the Causes of the Grand Apostacy ;* Mr. J. Beattie ; and others of less note. In Hamburg, M. Walterstern, a German theologian, wrote and published a work against Gibbon, entitled *The Propagation of Christianity by Natural Causes.** In Helmstadt, M. Luderwald wrote a book on the same subject with a similar title, *The Propagation of the Christian Religion.*† A translation of Gibbon's *History* into German was undertaken by F. A. G. Wenck, Professor of Jurisprudence at Leipzig, in 1779. He completed the first volume only, and the work was finished by M. Schreiter, a Professor at Leipzig. M. Wenck announced his intention of publishing a separate dissertation on the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, in order to examine Gibbon's view of the propagation of Christianity, but he died before completing the task. A translation was also made into the Italian language.

In answer to these writers Gibbon published *A Vindication of Some Passages in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* Of the merits of this reply the reader will judge. It is almost universally conceded that Gibbon obtained an easy victory; and it is certain that he never changed, either in his *Vindication* or in his later writings, the views first promulgated in his *History.* The editor of Bohn's edition of Gibbon—the "distinguished Churchman"—says "It was "little glory to Gibbon to gain any victory over unskillful "antagonists." This can scarcely be considered as complimentary to the many Christian writers who felt constrained to enter the controversy. "Theologians," says M. Guizot,

* Die Ausbreitung des Chriſtenthums aus natürlichen Urſachen, von W. S. Walterſtern. 8vo. Hamburg, 1788.

† Die Ausbreitung des Chriſtlichen Religion, von J. B. Luderwald. 8vo. Helmſtadt, 1788.

"assailed his fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, sometimes "justly, sometimes acrimoniously, almost always with "weapons weaker than those of their adversary, who "certainly possessed more knowledge, more genius, more "insight into his subject than his opponents." "His "defence was complete and in excellent temper," says James Cotter Morison, M. A., of Lincoln College, Oxford, in his *Life of Gibbon*, "his assailants were so ignorant and silly "that they gave no scope for a great controversial reply."

Dr. Watson, the mitred Bishop of Landaff, distinguished himself throughout the controversy by his gentlemanly conduct and respectful language. A copy of his *Apology* was forwarded to Gibbon before publication, and the latter acknowledged the courtesy in the following note:

"BENTINCK STREET, *Nov. 2, 1776.*"

"Mr. Gibbon takes the earliest opportunity of presenting his "compliments and thanks to Dr. Watson, and of expressing his "sense of the liberal treatment which he has received from so "candid an adversary. Mr. Gibbon entirely coincides in opinion "with Dr. Watson, that as their different sentiments on a very "important period of history are now submitted to the public, they "both may employ their time in a manner much more useful, as "well as agreeable, than they could possibly do by exhibiting a "single combat in the amphitheatre of controversy. Mr. Gibbon "is therefore determined to resist the temptation of justifying, in "a professed reply, any passages of his History which it might "perhaps be easy to clear from censure and misapprehension. "But he still reserves to himself the privilege of inserting in a "future edition, some occasional remarks and explanations of his "meaning. If any calls of pleasure or business should call Dr. "Watson to town, Mr. Gibbon would think himself fortunate in "being permitted to solicit the honor of his acquaintance.

"EDWARD GIBBON."

Dr. Watson's reply is as follows:

"CAMBRIDGE, *November 4th, 1776.*

"Dr. Watson accepts with pleasure Mr. Gibbon's polite invita- "tion to a personal acquaintance. If he comes to town this "winter, will certainly do himself the honor to wait upon him.

"Begs, at the same time, to assure Mr. Gibbon, that he will be "very happy to have an opportunity of showing him every civility, "if curiosity, or other motives, should bring him to Cambridge. "Dr. Watson can have some faint idea of Mr. Gibbon's difficulty "in resisting the temptation he speaks of, from having been of "late in a situation somewhat similar himself. It would be very "extraordinary, if Mr. Gibbon did not feel a parent's partiality "for an offspring which has justly excited the admiration of all "who have seen it; and Dr. Watson would be the last person in "the world to wish him to suppress any explanation which might "tend to exalt its merits.

"R. WATSON."

When Mr. Gibbon published his reply to those who had assailed his *History*, he showed his respect for Dr. Watson by his courteous reference to the latter's *Apology** which was in strong contrast to the severity exhibited to his other opponents. Dr. Watson acknowledged this politeness in the following note:

"CAMBRIDGE, *January 14th, 1779.*

"SIR,—It will give me the greatest pleasure to have an oppor- "tunity of becoming better acquainted with Mr. Gibbon: I beg "he would accept my sincere thanks for the too favorable manner "in which he has spoken of a performance, which derives its "chief merit from the elegance and importance of the work it "attempts to oppose. I have no hope of a future existence, "except that which is grounded on the truth of Christianity; I "wish not to be deprived of this hope; but I should be an apos- "tate from the mild principles of the religion I profess, if I could "be actuated with the least animosity against those who do not "think with me upon this, of all others, the most important subject. "I beg your pardon for this declaration of my belief; but my "temper is naturally open, and it ought assuredly to be without "disguise to a man whom I wish no longer to look upon as an "antagonist, but as a friend. I have the honor to be, with every "sentiment of respect, your obliged servant.

"R. WATSON.

"EDWARD GIBBON, Esq."

* The French have a proverb that "*an apology is an accusation!*" And this word "Apology" seems to have been a favorite term with the worthy bishop, for he again uses it, twenty years later, in answer to Paine's *Age of Reason*, calling his reply *An Apology for the Bible*, as though he believed that Christianity and the Bible needed an apology!

His Majesty, George III., asked an explanation of this note from Dr. Watson, as he considered it "odd" (such was the King's *gracious* remark), that such sentiments should be expressed toward an unbeliever, and Dr. Watson, says the learned editor of "*Christian Evidences*," was able to make a reply with which "His Majesty expressed himself "satisfied."

"The mutual courtesy," says the Rev. J. S. Memes, LL. D., in his *Memoir of Bishop Watson*, "which these "two eminent men thus manifested towards each other "personally, appears to have been so far misunderstood by "'some doughty polemics,' as Dr. Watson calls them, that "they even affected to doubt the sincerity of the *apologist*, "from the verbal suavity of the *Apology*, 'and were angry "'with him for not having bespattered Gibbon with a por-"'tion of that theological dirt which the preceding age "'had so liberally thrown at antagonists.' Invective never "aided the cause of truth, more particularly religious truth. "In this, therefore, Dr. Watson does not indulge: he writes "like a gentleman addressing his equal."

We give below the first paragraph of Dr. Watson's *Apology for Christianity*, and commend the liberal views he therein so eloquently sets forth. Unfortunately, such sentiments from the clerical profession are as rare as they are commendable. We must, however, bear in mind when we hear the narrow sectarian views so commonly advocated by the clergy, that few Doctors of Divinity of the present day possess the knowledge, ability or refinement that characterized the celebrated Lord Bishop of Landaff.*

"It would give me much uneasiness," says the learned prelate, "to be reputed an enemy to free inquiry in religious

* When we reflect that Protestantism is grounded on freethought that the corner stone of its structure is the right of private judgment—that its first and essential principle is the enfranchisement of the human mind from the shackles of sacerdotal bondage, we are amazed that the plea for mental freedom which Bishop Watson here so eloquently urges, should sound strange to protestant ears, and should not meet with a fervid response from every protestant heart.

" matters, or as capable of being animated into any degree " of personal malevolence against those who differ from me " in opinion. On the contrary, I look upon the right of " private judgment, in every concern respecting God and " ourselves, as superior to the control of human authority. " . . . Let the followers of Mahomet, and the zealots of the " Church of Rome, support their several religious systems " by damping every effort of the human intellect to pry into " the foundations of their faith : but never can it become a " Christian, to be afraid of being asked 'a reason of the faith " 'that is in him;' nor a Protestant, to be studious of " enveloping his religion in mystery and ignorance."

It is evident from the writings of Gibbon that he regarded with complacency the tolerant spirit* inculcated by the Pagan religion,† which so strongly contrasts with the aggressive nature of Christianity.‡ In peace and harmony, and in accordance with the sacred institutions of their ancestors, without persecuting their fellow-citizens who cherished a different form of religious belief, these old Roman philosophers, whom Christians call "pagans," were content to adore the gods under whose auspices the Empire had been founded and Rome made mistress of the world. But the Roman Bishops and the Christian Emperors, from the guilty Constantine downward, have ever sought to fetter

* "Gibbon saw in Christianity only the institution, which had substituted " the vespers and processions of bare-footed monks, for the magnificent " ceremonial of Jupiter's worship, and the august triumphs of the cap- " itol."—M. GUIZOT.

† "According to the maxims of universal toleration, the Romans protected " a superstition which they despised."—GIBBON.

‡ "With respect to the inflexibility and intolerance of Christian zeal, I " would refer it to a full persuasion of the truth of Christianity." -WATSON.

Faith is a consuming fire to its opposite. Paul, the apostle, cursed Elymas with blindness, because he withstood the faith.—*Acts xiii. 8-12.* "Do unto " others as ye would that others should do unto you," is a good, if obsolete, doctrine ; but, unfortunately, seems intended more for ornament than for use—for precept than for practice.

" Christianity cannot live in peace with any other form of faith. If " that religion be true, there is but one savior, one inspired book, and " but one little narrow grass-grown path that leads to heaven. Such " a religion is necessarily uncompromising, unreasoning, aggressive and " insolent."—R. G. INGERSOLL.

and enslave the mind—to dictate a form of religious belief which all must endorse, or suffer the persecutions that intolerant orthodoxy inflicts.

If Paganism was conquered by Christianity, it is equally true that Christianity was corrupted by Paganism. The pure Deism of the first Christians, (who differed from their fellow Jews only in the belief that Jesus was the promised Messiah,) was changed, by the Church of Rome, into the incomprehensible dogma of the trinity. Many of the pagan tenets, invented by the Egyptians and idealized by Plato, were retained as being worthy of belief. The doctrine of the incarnation, and the mystery of transubstantiation, were both adopted, and are both as repugnant to reason, as was the ancient pagan rite of viewing the entrails of animals to forecast the fate of empires!

When the Church of Rome had risen to the height of its power and grandeur, and we may add, sunk to the depths of corruption and disgrace, it was, for its wickedness and venality, boldly assailed by the sturdy protestant reformers—the purest and best of its own children—who, after years of suffering and persecution, have at length attained the ascendency. Protestantism, following the logical result of its doctrines, has in its turn given birth to a new and beneficent organization, which is called *Rationalism;* and this fairest, noblest creation of the brain, disclaiming persecution and cruelty, seeks, with the peaceful weapons of reason and philosophy, to free the human mind from the ignoble trammels forged by faith—from the hideous superstitions engendered by fear. It pleads for liberty, for justice, and for humanity. It strives for knowledge, for equality, and for happiness. And it teaches to an ignorant and priest-ridden world the sublime truth, that "religious duties "consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring "to make our fellow-creatures happy."

PETER ECKLER.

New York, March 28, 1881.

NOX.

Night was personified in ancient myths as the daughter of Chaos. She is an allegorical, rather than a mythological personage; and in this sense sleep, dreams, and death are called her children. In an illuminated manuscript of the tenth century, now in the Royal Library at Paris, (from which the above engraving is copied,) she is represented with an inverted torch, and with rays of light surrounding her head, the rays being obscured by a flowing veil bespangled with stars.—E.

MYTHOLOGY antedates Christianity, and may be briefly defined as man's early efforts to deify the powers of nature—as the first rude struggles of the untutored mind to symbolize in a material form the unknown forces that control the universe.

The fertile land of Egypt gave birth to many crude religious systems that were afterwards refined by Plato and adopted by the Greeks and Romans. Osiris and Isis, the two principal Egyptian divinities, were, says the Rev. Joseph B. Gross, "the deified personifications of the astronomical attributes of nature. Osiris sym- "bolized the Sun and the Nile, Isis the Moon and Egypt; and both, the solar year. "The god was worshiped under the form of an ox or *apis*, strictly speaking, *Taurus*, "one of the twelve signs of the zodiac; and the goddess under that of a cow."

Here, then, we have the origin and history of the old mythology from its inception to its completion—from its germinating principle of error, through the period of growth, budding and blossoming, until we behold the ripe fruit of ignorance and credulity. An object in nature is personified on earth, invested with incomprehensible attributes, and then deified and worshiped as a god in heaven. It is true that not a constellation, a planet or even a single star is thus honored with a Christian title; because Christianity is modern as compared with these by-gone mythologies, which in their turn have succeeded older and cruder forms of faith. "As science advances," says Henry Hetherington, "heaven recedes," and as the truths of nature become established the mythologies and religions of the past disappear.

The gods were first described, if not invented, by the poets, who, in the language of allegory and fable, endowed the "heroes of Olympus" with human virtues and human vices. To Homer we are indebted for much of our knowledge of the gods of Greece. The sublime genius of a mortal has conferred immortality on the "immortal gods." The *Iliad* contains an eloquent and poetic history, if not a predigree, of these pagan divinities; and Homer achieved for the Grecian mythology what Milton in *Paradise Lost* attempted for the Mosaic cosmogony.

The priesthood, being ambitious and avaricious, taught for their own emolument these poetic myths. The real meaning of their rituals and dogmas, veiled in mystic language, was apparent to the initiated and educated classes, but was concealed from the ignorant and careless multitude; who, steeped in credulity and sensuality, worshiped gods of wood and stone,—blindly adored the graven image,—the visible object,—instead of the principle it represented or the truth it symbolized.

"The most ancient theology, both of the Greeks and barbarians," says Plutarch, "was natural philosophy involved in fables, that physically and mystically con- "veyed the truth to the learned, as appears from the poems of Orpheus, the "Egyptian rites, and the Phrygian traditions."

"The common people," says Heraclitus, "pray to these statues, just as one "would talk to the walls of a house, knowing nothing who or what are the gods to "whom they are praying."

"These myths," says Ingersoll, "though false, are beautiful, and have for many "ages and in countless ways enriched the heart and kindled thought. They "clothed even the stars with passion, and gave to gods the faults and frailties of "the sons of men. In them the winds and waves were music, and all the lakes "and streams and springs,—the mountains, woods and perfumed dells, were "haunted by a thousand fairy forms. They thrilled the veins of Spring with "tremulous desire, made tawny Summer's billowed breast the throne and home of "love; filled Autumn's arms with sun-kissed grapes and gathered sheaves; and "pictured Winter as a weak old king, who felt, like Lear upon his withered "face, Cordelia's tears."—E.

(Neptune and Amphitrite.)

SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR'S LIFE.*

THE historian informs us he was born at Putney, in the county of Surry, England, on the 27th of April, 1737. Edward, his grandfather, was first a commissioner of customs, and next a director of the South Sea Company. In the latter capacity he had the misfortune to lose the principal part of his property, and no inconsiderable portion of his reputation. His grandson has taken some pains to exculpate him from the heavy charges brought against that body. By his skill and credit he succeeded in retrieving his fortune; but to his son (who was also named Edward) he left only a small share of the estate, owing to a matrimonial connection, which had excited his disapprobation. Edward was twice a member of Parliament, and signalized himself by a determined opposition to Sir Robert Walpole. He married Judith Porten, the daughter of a respectable merchant of London; by her he had six sons and a daughter, all of whom died in early life, except the subject of our memoir, whose extreme weakness of constitution rendered it doubtful whether he would ever attain the age of manhood; and to his aunt, Mrs. Catherine Porten, our author acknowledges himself greatly indebted for her tender care of his helpless infancy.

* Gibbon's *Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, edited by Lord Sheffield, has been freely used in preparing this sketch of the author's life. The minor details in his history have been omitted, and only the most notable and interesting events selected for publication. To distinguish Gibbon's notes from those added by the publisher, the latter are signed "E."

"A lively desire of knowing and of recording our ancestors "so generally prevails," says Gibbon, "that it must depend on "the influence of some common principle in the minds of men. "We seem to have lived in the persons of our forefathers; it is "the labor and reward of vanity to extend the term of this ideal "longevity. Our imagination is always active to enlarge the "narrow circle in which Nature has confined us. Fifty or an "hundred years may be allotted to an individual, but we step "forwards beyond death with such hopes as religion and philoso- "phy will suggest; and we fill up the silent vacancy that percedes "our birth, by associating ourselves to the authors of our exist- "ence. Our calmer judgment will rather tend to moderate, than "to suppress the pride of an ancient and worthy race. The sat- "irist may laugh, the philosopher may preach; but reason herself "will respect the prejudices and habits which have been conse- "crated by the experience of mankind.

"Wherever the distinction of birth* is allowed to form a supe- "rior order in the state, education and example should always, "and will often, produce among them a dignity of sentiment and "propriety of conduct, which is guarded from dishonor by their "own and the public esteem.

"If we read of some illustrious line so ancient that it has no be- "ginning, so worthy that it ought to have no end, we sympathize "in its various fortunes, nor can we blame the generous enthusiasm "or even the harmless vanity of those who are allied to the hon- "ors of its name. For my own part, could I draw my predigree "from a general, a statesman, or a celebrated author, I should "study their lives with the diligence of filial love. In the inves- "tigation of past events our curiosity is stimulated by the imme- "diate or indirect reference to ourselves; but in the estimate of "honor we should learn to value the gifts of nature above those "of fortune; to esteem in our ancestors the qualities that best "promote the interests of society; and to pronounce the descend- "ant of a king less truly noble than the offspring of a man of genius, "whose writings will instruct or delight the latest posterity.

"The family of Confucius is, in my opinion, the most illustrious "in the world. After a painful ascent of eight or ten centuries, "our barons and princes are lost in the darkness of the middle "ages; but, in the vast equality of the empire of China, the pos-

*"High birth," says Bishop Warburton, "is a thing that I never knew "any one to disparage except him that had it not; and I never knew any "one to make a boast of it, who had any thing else to be proud of."—E.

" terity of Confucius have maintained, above two thousand two " hundred years, their peaceful honors and perpetual succession. " The chief of the family is still revered by the sovereign and the " people, as the lively image of the wisest of mankind. The no- " bility of the Spensers has been illustrated and enriched by the " trophies of Marlborough ; but I exhort them to consider the " *Fairy Queen* as the most precious jewel of their coronet. I have " exposed my private feelings, as I shall always do, without scru- " ple or reserve. That these sentiments are just, or at least natural, " I am inclined to believe, since I do not feel interested in the " cause, for I can derive from my ancestors neither glory nor shame.

" The chief honor of my ancestry is James Fiens, Baron Say and " Seale, and Lord High Treasurer of England in the reign of " Henry the Sixth ; from whom I am lineally descended in the " eleventh degree. His dismission and imprisonment in the Tower " were insufficient to appease the popular clamor ; and the Treas- " urer, with his son-in-law Cromer, was beheaded (1450), after a " mock trial by the Kentish insurgents. The black list of his " offences, as it is exhibited in Shakespeare, displays the ignor- " ance and envy of a plebeian tyrant. Besides the vague reproaches " of selling Maine and Normandy to the Dauphin, the Treasurer " is specially accused of luxury for riding on a foot-cloth ; and of " treason for speaking French, the language of our enemies. 'Thou " 'hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm,' says " Jack Cade to the unfortunate Lord, 'in erecting a grammar- " 'school ; and whereas before our forefathers had no other books " 'than the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be " 'used ; and, contrary to the king, his crown, and dignity, thou " 'hast built a paper-mill. It will be proved to thy face, that thou " 'hast men about thee, who usually talk of a noun and a verb, " 'and such abominable words, as no Christian ear can endure to " 'hear.' Our dramatic poet is generally more attentive to char- " acter than to history ; and I much fear that the art of printing " was not introduced into England, till several years after Lord " Say's death : but of some of these meritorious crimes I should " hope to find my ancestor guilty ; and a man of letters may be " proud of his descent from a patron and martyr of learning."

In speaking of his aunt, Mrs. Catherine Porten, Gibbon remarks: " If there be any, as I trust there are some, who rejoice that I live, " to that dear and excellent woman, at whose name I feel a tear of " gratitude trickling down my cheeks, they must hold themselves " indebted."

As soon as the use of speech had prepared his mind for the admission of knowledge, he was instructed in the common branches of education; and after this instruction at home, and at a day-school at Putney, he was committed at the age of seven to the care of Mr. John Kirkby, who, during eighteen months, performed the office of domestic tutor. Under his tuition were acquired the rudiments of English and Latin. Kirkby having, on one occasion forgotten to mention King George in his prayer, the zealous loyalty of old Gibbon dismissed him. Edward was then sent to Kingston-upon-Thames, to a school containing about seventy boys, kept by Dr. Wooddeson. Sickness frequently interrupted his studies; and, at the expiration of two years, his mother died: this misfortune occasioned his return to the parental roof, where he was again placed under the care of his aunt, who now devoted the same attention to the improvement of his mind, which she had formerly applied to the strengthening of his constitution. "I feel," he remarks, "a melancholy pleasure in repeating my "obligations to that excellent woman—the true mother of my "mind, as well as of my health. Pain and languor were often "soothed by the voice of instruction and amusement; and to her "kind lessons I ascribe my early and invincible love of reading "which I would not exchange for the treasures of India. I should "perhaps be astonished were it possible to ascertain the date at "which a favorite tale was engraved, by frequent repetition, in my "memory: the Cavern of the Winds, the Palace of Felicity, and "the fatal moment, at the end of three months or centuries, when "Prince Adolphus is overtaken by Time, who had worn out so "many pair of wings in the pursuit. Before I left Kingston school, "I was well acquainted with Pope's Homer, and the Arabian "Nights' Entertainments; two books which will always please, by "the moving picture of human manners and specious miracles: "nor was I then capable of discerning that Pope's translation is a "portrait endowed with every merit, excepting that of likeness to "the original. The verses of Pope accustomed my ear to the "sound of poetic harmony. In the death of Hector, and the shipwreck of Ulysses, I tasted the new emotions of terror and pity; "and seriously disputed with my aunt on the vices and virtues of "the heroes of the Trojan war. From Pope's Homer to Dryden's "Virgil was an easy transition; but I know not how, from some "fault in the author, the translator, or the reader, the pious Æneas "did not so forcibly seize on my imagination; and I derived more "pleasure from Ovid's Metamorphoses, especially in the fall of

"Phaeton, and the speeches of Ajax and Ulysses. Where a title "attracted my eye, without fear or awe I snatched the volume "from the shelf, and Mrs. Porten, who indulged herself in moral "and religious speculations, was more prone to encourage than to "check a curiosity above the strength of a boy. This year (1748), "the twelfth of my age, I shall note as the most propitious to the "growth of my intellectual stature."

Not long after his mother's death, his grandfather became a bankrupt, and absconded; and the daughter (our author's worthy aunt), who had advanced beyond her fortieth year, was reduced to a state of penury. But her spirit was superior to a life of dependence upon the bounty of her relations, and she resolved upon endeavoring to secure an honorable maintenance, by keeping a boarding-house for Westminster school: the attempt succeeded, and she laboriously acquired a competence for old age. Edward accompanied her thither, and was instantly placed in the school, which had for its head master Dr. John Nicoll. He was still the victim of severe bodily indisposition, which increased to so alarming a height that Mrs. Porten, with the advice of physicians, determined to attend him to Bath. "A strange nervous affection," he says, "which alternately contracted my legs, and produced, with-"out any visible symptoms, the most excruciating pain, was inef-"fectually opposed by the various methods of bathing and pumping. "It might now be apprehended, that I should continue for life "an illiterate cripple; but, as I approached my sixteenth year, "Nature displayed in my favor her mysterious energies: my con-"stitution was fortified and fixed; and my disorders, instead of "growing with my growth, and strengthening with my strength, "most wonderfully vanished. My unexpected recovery again "encouraged the hope of my education, and I was placed at "Esher, in Surry, in the house of the Rev. Mr. Philip Francis, in a "pleasant spot, which promised to unite the various benefits of "air, exercise, and study." The neglect and irregularity attending his scholastic instruction induced his father to carry him to Oxford, and he was matriculated in the university as a gentleman-commoner of Magdalen College. His account of himself at this period, and for some time prior thereto, is interesting.

"The curiosity which had been implanted in my infant mind, "was still alive and active; but my reason was not sufficiently "informed to understand the value or to lament the loss of three "precious years, from my entrance at Westminster to my admis-"sion at Oxford. Instead of repining at my long and frequent

" confinement to the chamber or the couch, I secretly rejoiced in " those infirmities which delivered me from the exercises of the " school and the society of my equals. As often as I was tolerably " exempt from danger and pain, reading, free desultory reading, " was the employment and comfort of my solitary hours. At " Westminster my aunt sought only to amuse and indulge me; in " my stations at Bath and Winchester, at Buriton and Putney, a " false compassion respected my sufferings; and I was allowed, " without control or advice, to gratify the wanderings of an unripe " taste. My indiscriminate appetite subsided by degrees in the " *historic* line; and since philosophy has exploded all innate ideas " and natural propensities, I must ascribe this choice to the assid- " uous perusal of the Universal History, as the octavo volumes " successively appeared. This unequal work, and a treatise of " Hearne, the *Ductus Historicus*, referred and introduced me to " the Greek and Roman historians; to as many at least as were " accessible to an English reader. All that I could find were " greedily devoured, from Littlebury's lame Herodotus, and Spel- " man's valuable Xenophon, to the pompous folios of Gordon's " Tacitus, and a ragged Procopius of the beginning of the last " century. The cheap acquisition of so much knowledge con- " firmed my dislike to the study of languages; and I argued with " Mrs. Porten that, were I master of Greek and Latin, I must " interpret to myself in English the thoughts of the original, and " that such extempore versions must be inferior to the elaborate " translations of professed scholars; a silly sophism which could " not be easily confuted by a person ignorant of any other lan- " guage than her own. From the ancient I leapt to the modern " world; many crude lumps of Speed, Rapin, Mezeray, Davila, " Machiavel, Father Paul, Bower, &c., I devoured like so many " novels; and I swallowed with the same voracious appetite the " descriptions of India and China, of Mexico and Peru.

" My first introduction to the historic scenes, which have since " engaged so many years of my life, must be ascribed to an accident. " In the summer of 1751, I accompanied my father on a visit to " Mr. Hoare's, in Wiltshire; but I was less delighted with the " Beauties of Stourhead than with discovering in the library a " common book, the Continuation of Echard's Roman History, " which is indeed executed with more skill and taste than the " previous work. To me the reigns of the successors of Constan- " tine were absolutely new; and I was immersed in the passage of " the Goths over the Danube, when the summons of the dinner-

"bell reluctantly dragged me from my intellectual feast. This "transient glance served rather to irritate than to appease my "curiosity; and as soon as I returned to Bath, I procured the "second and third volumes of Howel's History of the World, "which exhibited the Byzantine period on a larger scale. Mahomet "and his Saracens soon fixed my attention; and some instinct of "criticism directed me to the genuine sources. Simon Ockley, an "original in every sense, first opened my eyes; and I was led from "one book to another till I had ranged round the circle of Oriental "history. Before I was sixteen, I had exhausted all that could be "learned in English of the Arabs and Persians, the Tartars and "Turks; and the same ardor urged me to guess at the French of "d'Herbelot, and to construe the barbarous Latin of Pocoke's "Abulfaragius. Such vague and multifarious reading could not "teach me to think, to write, or to act; and the only principle that "darted a ray of light into the indigested chaos, was an early and "rational application to the order of time and place. The maps "of Cellarius and Wells imprinted in my mind the picture of "ancient geography; from Stranchius I imbibed the elements of "chronology; the Tables of Helvicus and Anderson, the Annals "of Usher and Prideaux, distinguished the connection of events, "and engraved the multitude of names and dates in a clear and "indelible series. But, in the discussion of the first ages, I over-"leaped the bounds of modesty and use. In my childish balance "I presumed to weigh the systems of Scaliger and Petavius, of "Marsham and Newton, which I could seldom study in the origi-"nals; and my sleep has been disturbed by the difficulty of recon-"ciling the Septuagint with the Hebrew computation.* I arrived "at Oxford with a stock of erudition that might have puzzled a "doctor, and a degree of ignorance of which a school-boy would "have been ashamed. To the University of Oxford I acknowledge "no obligation; and she will as cheerfully renounce me for a son, "as I am willing to disclaim her for a mother."

At Magdalen College he remained fourteen months, and he states those to have been the most inactive and unprofitable he ever knew: yet he was not, in his sixteenth year, devoid of capacity, nor had he been unaccustomed to reflection; and he is therefore disposed, for this neglect, to impute a greater proportion of blame to the manner of the school, than the indifference of the scholar. His first tutor was Dr. Waldegrave, whom he describes

* This difficulty still exists to perplex those who recognize the fact that no two truths ever disagree. Theological students, however, now lose but little sleep on account of the discrepancy.—E.

as a learned and pious man, though possessing an indolent temper, and scarcely any knowledge of the world beyond the confines of the university. "As soon," he observes, "as my tutor had sounded "the insufficiency of his disciple in school-learning, he proposed "that we should read every morning, from ten to eleven, the "comedies of Terence. During the first weeks I constantly "attended these lessons in my tutor's room; but as they appeared "equally devoid of profit and pleasure, I was once tempted to "try the experiment of a formal apology. The apology was "accepted with a smile. I repeated the offence with less cere- "mony; the excuse was admitted with the same indulgence: the "slightest motive of laziness or indisposition, the most trifling "avocation at home or abroad, was allowed as a worthy impedi- "ment; nor did my tutor appear conscious of my absence or "neglect. Had the hour of lecture been constantly filled, a single "hour was a small portion of my academic leisure. No plan of "study was recommended for my use; no exercises were pre- "scribed for his inspection; and, at the most precious season of "youth, whole days and weeks were suffered to elapse, without "labor or amusement, without advice or account. I should have "listened to the voice of reason, and of my tutor; his mild "behavior had gained my confidence."

The long recess between Trinity and Michaelmas terms afforded him an opportunity of visiting his father's house at Buriton in Hampshire, and he cheerfully embraced it. At this time his love of literature revived, and he determined to employ his talent at composition, so far as to form a *book!* The title was, The Age of Sesostris; suggested, he conceived, by Voltaire's Age of Louis XIV., which had obtained popularity. His chief aim in this undertaking was, to ascertain the probable period of the life and reign of the Asiatic conqueror, which he conjectured to have been about the tenth century before the Christian era. What credit might be due to the performance cannot now be decided: upon a review of it, some years afterward, he was himself so little satisfied with the subject, and the execution of it, that he committed it to the flames.

The vacation being over, he again returned to Oxford. Dr. Waldegrave had accepted a living at Washington in Sussex, and Gibbon was in consequence transferred to an academical successor, whose literary attainments failed to command the respect of the college. In the course of one winter he visited Bath, made a tour to Buckinghamshire, and took four excursions to London,

" without once hearing the voice of admonition, without once " feeling the hand of control." His natural taste for research and controversy prompted him to peruse with attention the works of Roman Catholic divines, and two productions from the pen of Bossuet were the instruments in converting him to the Popish faith. In the impetuosity of youthful ardor, and unbiassed by the considerations of a temporal nature, he resolved to make an open profession of his new religion; and, on coming to London, he was recommended to a priest, who, after ascertaining the motives of his change, readily admitted him into the pale of the Roman Church. To his father he wrote an elaborate epistle, acquainting him with the particulars of this important event, and using every argument in his power to justify his conduct. The good sense of his father was astonished at a departure so sudden and extraordinary, and, in the first ebullition of anger, communicated what it would have been wisdom to conceal, and the gates of the college were for ever barred against the apostate's return.

Anxious to prevent the new opinions taking too deep a root, and desirous of removing the impression they had already made, his father, after due consideration, formed the resolution of sending him to Lausanne, in Switzerland. On his arrival there he was placed under the roof and tuition of M. Pavilliard, a minister of Calvanistic sentiments. The state of his mind, upon this occasion, is strongly depicted by himself. "Fixed in my new habitation, I " had leisure to contemplate the strange and melancholy prospect " before me. My first complaint arose from my ignorance of the " language. In my childhood I had once studied the French " Grammar, and I could imperfectly understand the easy prose of " a familiar subject. But when I was thus suddenly cast on a " foreign land, I found myself deprived of the use of speech and " of hearing; and, during some weeks, incapable not only of " enjoying the pleasures of conversation, but even of asking or " answering a question in the common intercourse of life. To a " home-bred Englishman, every object, every custom was offen- " sive; but the native of any country might have been disgusted " with the general aspect of his lodging and entertainment. I " had now exchanged my elegant apartment in Magdalen College, " for a narrow, gloomy street, the most unfrequented of an " unhandsome town, for an old, inconvenient house, and for a " small chamber, ill contrived, and ill furnished, which, on the " approach of winter, instead of a companionable fire, must be " warmed by the dull, invisible heat of a stove. From a man,

"was again degraded to the dependence of a school-boy. M. "Pavilliard managed my expenses, which had been reduced to a "diminutive state. I received a small monthly allowance for my "pocket-money; and helpless and awkward, as I had ever been, "I no longer enjoyed the indispensable comfort of a servant. "My condition seemed as destitute of hope as it was devoid of "pleasure. I was separated for an indefinite, which appeared an "infinite term, from my native country, and I had lost all connec- "tion with my Catholic friends. I have since reflected with "surprise, that as the Romish clergy of every part of Europe "maintain a close correspondence with each other, they never "attempted, by letters or messages, to rescue me from the "heretics, or at least to confirm my zeal and constancy in the "profession of the faith. Such was my first introduction to "Lausanne; a place where I spent nearly five years with pleasure "and profit, which I afterward revisited without compulsion, and "which I have finally selected as the most grateful retreat for the "decline of my life But it is the peculiar felicity of youth, that "the most unpleasing objects and events seldom make a deep or "lasting impression; it forgets the past, enjoys the present, and "anticipates the future."

The kind treatment received from M. Pavilliard reconciled Gibbon to his situation, and the prominent object of his journey was speedily accomplished. "The intermixture of sects," he says, "has rendered the Swiss clergy acute and learned in the topics of "controversy, and I have some of his (M. Pavilliard's) letters, in "which he celebrates the dexterity of his attack, and my gradual "concessions, after a firm and well-managed defence. I was "willing, and I am now willing, to allow him a handsome share "of the honour of my conversion; yet I must observe, that it was "principally effected by my private reflections. The various "articles of the Romish creed disappeared like a dream; and, "after a full conviction, on Christmas-day, 1754, I received the "sacrament in the Church of Lausanne."

He now pursued his studies with the utmost avidity, and carefully perused nearly the complete circle of Latin classics, arranged under the four divisions of, 1. historians; 2. poets; 3. orators; and 4. philosophers, in a chronological series, from the days of Plautus and Sallust to the decline of the language and empire of Rome. Nor was this course of study merely superficial; many of the authors he read two or three times, always consulted the most learned or ingenious commentators, and, in the fervency of

his inquiries, embraced a large compass of historical and critical erudition. Some acquaintance with Grecian literature he acquired, and bestowed much attention on the works of Grotius, Puffendorf, Locke, Crousaz, Montesquieu, and Pascal; he commenced also a correspondence with Professor Breitinger, Crevier, and Gesner. After remaining at Lausanne three summers he was permitted to make the tour of Switzerland, which he performed in a month, and derived much satisfaction from the journey. About this period the charms of Mademoiselle Curchod made a deep impression upon his mind. His own relation of this circumstance is as follows:

"I hesitate, from the apprehension of ridicule, when I approach "the delicate subject of my early love. By this word I do not "mean the polite attention, the gallantry, without hope or design, "which has originated in the spirit of chivalry, and is interwoven "with the texture of French manners. I understand by this "passion, the union of desire, friendship, and tenderness, which "is inflamed by a single female, which prefers her to the rest of "her sex, and which seeks her possession as the supreme or the "sole happiness of our being. I need not blush at recollecting "the object of my choice; and though my love was disappointed "of success, I am rather proud that I was once capable of feeling "such a pure and exalted sentiment. The personal attractions of "Mademoiselle Curchod were embellished by the virtues and "talents of the mind. Her fortune was humble, but the family "was respectable. Her mother, a native of France, had preferred "her religion to her country. The profession of her father did "not extinguish the moderation and philosophy of his temper, "and he lived content with a small salary and laborious duty, in "the obscure lot of minister of Crassy, in the mountains that "separate the Pays de Vaud from the country of Burgundy. In "the solitude of a sequestered village, he bestowed a liberal, and "even learned, education on his only daughter. She surpassed "his hopes by her proficiency in the sciences and languages; and "in her short visits to some relations at Lausanne, the wit, the "beauty, and erudition of Mademoiselle Curchod were the theme "of universal applause The report of such a prodigy awakened "my curiosity; I saw and loved. I found her learned without "pedantry, lively in conversation, pure in sentiment, and elegant "in manners; and the first sudden emotion was fortified by the "habits and knowledge of a more familiar acquaintance. She "permitted me to make her a few visits at her father's house.

"I passed some happy days there in the mountains of Burgundy, "and her parents honorably encouraged the connection. In a "calm retirement the gay vanity of youth no longer fluttered in "her bosom; she listened to the voice of truth and passion, and I "might presume to hope that I had made some impression on a "virtuous heart. At Crassy and Lausanne, I indulged my dream "of felicity; but, on my return to England, I soon discovered that "my father would not hear of this strange alliance, and that with- "out his consent I was myself destitute and hopeless. After a "painful struggle, I yielded to my fate: I sighed as a lover, I "obeyed as a son;* my wound was insensibly healed by time, "absence, and the habits of a new life. My cure was accelerated "by a faithful report of the tranquility and cheerfulness of the "lady herself, and my love subsided in friendship and esteem. "The minister of Crassy soon afterward died; his stipend died "with him; his daughter retired to Geneva, where, by teaching "young ladies, she earned a hard subsistence for herself and "mother; but in her lowest distress she maintained a spotless "reputation, and a dignified behavior. A rich banker of Paris, a "citizen of Geneva, had the good fortune and good sense to dis- "cover and possess this inestimable treasure; and in the capital "of taste and luxury she resisted the temptations of wealth, as "she had sustained the hardships of indigence. The genius of "her husband has exalted him to the most conspicuous station in "Europe. In every change of prosperity and disgrace he has "reclined on the bosom of a faithful friend; and Mademoiselle "Curchod is now the wife of M. Necker, the minister, and perhaps "the legislator, of the French monarchy."†

*"It is difficult to explain why," says James Cotter Morison, "Gibbon's "solitary and innocent love passage has been made the theme of a good deal "of malicious comment. The parties most interested, and who, we may pre- "sume, knew the circumstances better than any one else, seem to have been "quite satisfied with each others conduct. Gibbon and Mdlle. Curchod, "afterwards Madame Necker, remained on terms of the most intimate "friendship till the end of the former's life."—E.

† The daughter of Jacques Necker, Anne-Louise Germaine Necker, married Baron de Staël Holstein, the Swedish Ambassador at the Court of France at the time of the first Napoleon, and became celebrated throughout Europe as a brilliant conversationalist and a distinguished authoress. She was persecuted by Napoleon because, as was supposed, he dreaded her intellectual supremacy. From her mother, (who was Gibbon's first and only love,) she inherited the rare gift of genius, but not the rare beauty which distinguished Mdlle. Curchod. Gibbon observes that, "Madame de Staël was a pleasant little woman, with a much larger provision of wit than of beauty."— E.

"Before I was recalled from Switzerland," says Gibbon, "I had "the satisfaction of seeing the most extraordinary man of the "age; a poet, an historian, a philosopher, who has filled thirty "quartos, of prose and verse, with his various productions, often "excellent, and always entertaining. Need I add the name of "Voltaire? After forfeiting, by his own misconduct, the friend- "ship of the first of kings, he retired, at the age of sixty, with a "plentiful fortune, to a free and beautiful country, and resided "two winters (1757 and 1758) in the town or neighborhood of "Lausanne. My desire of beholding Voltaire, whom I then "rated above his real magnitude, was easily gratified. He re- "ceived me with civility as an English youth; but I cannot boast "of any peculiar notice or distinction, *Virgilium vidi tantum.*

"The highest gratification which I derived from Voltaire's "residence at Lausanne, was the uncommon circumstance of "hearing a great poet declaim his own productions on the stage. "He had formed a company of gentlemen and ladies, some of "whom were not destitute of talent. A decent theatre was "framed at Monrepos, a country-house at the end of a suburb; "dresses and scenes were provided at the expense of the actors; "and the author directed the rehearsals with the zeal and atten- "tion of paternal love. In two successive winters his tragedies "of Zayre, Alzire, Zulime, and his sentimental comedy of the "Enfant Prodigue, were played at the theatre at Monrepos. Vol- "taire represented the characters best adapted to his years, "Lusignan, Alvaréz, Benassar, Euphemon. His declamation was "fashioned to the pomp and cadence of the old stage; and he "expressed the enthusiasm of poetry, rather than the feelings of "nature. My ardor, which soon became conspicuous, seldom "failed of procuring me a ticket. The habits of pleasure fortified "my taste for the French theatre, and that taste has perhaps "abated my idolatry for the gigantic genius of Shakespeare, "which is inculcated from our infancy as the first duty of an "Englishman. The wit and philosophy of Voltaire, his table and "theatre, refined in a visible degree, the manners of Lausanne; "and, however addicted to study, I enjoyed my share of the "amusements of society."

"A life of devotion and celibacy was the choice of my aunt, "Mrs. Hester Gibbon, who, (1789), at the age of eighty-five, still "resides in a hermitage at Cliffe, in Northamptonshire; having "long survived her spiritual guide and faithful companion, Mr. "William Law, who, at an advanced age, about the year 1761,

" died in her house. In our family he had left the reputation of a " worthy and pious man who believed all that he professed, and " practiced all that he enjoined. His discourse on the absolute " unlawfulness of stage-entertainments is sometimes quoted for " a ridiculous intemperance of sentiment and language: 'The " 'actors and spectators must all be damned: the playhouse is " 'the porch of Hell, the place of the Devil's abode, where he " 'holds his filthy court of evil spirits: a play is the Devil's " 'triumph, a sacrifice performed to his glory, as much as in the " 'heathen temples of Bacchus or Venus, &c.'* But these sallies " of religious phrenzy must not extinguish the praise which is due " to Mr. William Law as a wit and a scholar. His argument on " topics of less absurdity is specious and acute, his manner is " lively, his style forcible and clear; and had not his vigorous " mind been clouded by enthusiasm, he might be ranked with " the most agreeable and ingenious writers of the times."

In speaking of the religious instruction he received at Oxford, our author remarks: " It might at least be expected that an eccle- " siastical school should inculcate the orthodox principles of reli- " gion. But our venerable mother had contrived to unite the " opposite extremes of bigotry and indifference; an heretic or " unbeliever was a monster in her eyes; but she was always, or " often, or sometimes, remiss in the spiritual education of her " own children. According to the statutes of the University, " every student, before he is matriculated, must subscribe his " assent to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, " which are signed by more than read, and read by more than " believe them."

" Bayle," says Gibbon, " was the son of a Calvinist minister in " a remote province of France, at the foot of the Pyrenees. Na- " ture had designed him to think as he pleased, and to speak as " he thought. Had Bayle adhered to the catholic church, had he " embraced the ecclesiastical profession, the genius and favor of " such a proselyte might have aspired to wealth and honors in " his native country: but the hypocrite would have found less " happiness in the comforts of a benefice, or the dignity of a " mitre, than he enjoyed at Rotterdam in a private state of exile,

* Some have supposed that the mantle of this fanatical enemy of dramatic art has fallen upon a certain reverened Boanerges of Brooklyn, who from his pulpit occasionally denounces the stage and its patrons with much warmth of language, but with little knowedge of facts, and no charity for those who differ from his opinions.—E.

" indigence and freedom. Without a country, or a patron, or a " prejudice, he claimed the liberty and subsisted by the labors of " his pen. The inequality of his voluminous works is explained " and excused by his alternately writing for himself, for the book- " sellers, and for posterity; and if a severe critic would reduce " him to a single folio, that relic, like the books of the Sybil, " would become still more valuable. A calm and lofty spectator " of the religious tempest, the philosopher of Rotterdam con- " demned with equal firmness the persecution of Louis the XIV. " and the republican maxims of the Calvinists; their vain proph- " ecies, and the intolerant bigotry which sometimes vexed his " solitary retreat. In reviewing the controversies of the times, " he turned against each other the arguments of the disputants; " successively wielding the arms of the catholics and protestants, " he proves that neither the way of authority, nor the way of ex- " amination can afford the multitude any test of religious truth; " and dexterously concludes that custom and education must be the " sole grounds of popular belief. The ancient paradox of Plutarch, " that atheism is less pernicious than superstition, acquires a ten- " fold vigor when it is adorned with the colors of his wit, and " pointed with the acuteness of his logic. His *Critical Dictionary* " is a vast repository of facts and opinions; and he balances the " *false* religions in his skeptical scales till the opposite quantities " (if I may use the language of algebra) annihilate each other. " The wonderful power which he so boldly exercised, of as- " sembling doubts and objections, had tempted him jocosely to " assume the title of the νεφεληγερετα Ζευς, the cloud-compelling " Jove; and in a conversation with the ingenious Abbé (after- " wards Cardinal) de Polignac, he freely disclosed his universal " Pyrrhonism. 'I am most truly (said Bayle) a protestant; for I " 'protest indifferently against all systems and all sects.'"

During an excursion through the principal towns of Switzerland, Mr. Gibbon visited a remarkable spot which, he said, made a lasting impression on his memory. "We passed through " Neufchâtel, Bienne, Soleurre, Arau, Baden, Zurich, Basil, and " Bern. In every place we visited the churches, arsenals, libraries, " and all the most eminent persons. From Zurich we pro- " ceeded to the Benedictine Abbey of Einfidlen, more commonly " styled Our Lady of the Hermits. I was astonished by the pro- " fuse ostentation of riches in the poorest corner of Europe; " amidst a savage scene of woods and mountains, a palace " appears to have been erected by magic; and it was erected by

"the potent magic of religion. A crowd of palmers and votaries was "prostrate before the altar. The title and worship of the Mother of "God provoked my indignation,* and the naked image of superstition suggested to me, as in the same place it had done to Zuinglius, a most pressing argument for the reformation of the church.

"If my childish revolt against the religion of my country had "not stripped me in time of my academic gown, the five important years, so liberally improved in the studies and conversation "at Lausanne, would have been steeped in port and prejudice "among the monks at Oxford. Had the fatigue of idleness com-

* Protestants are "provoked to indignation" by the title and worship of the "Mother of God;" but if they really believe the trinitarian dogma they profess, that the "Father," the "Son," and the "Holy Ghost" are not three gods, but one God, and that this God was born of the Virgin Mary in Bethlehem of Judea, how can they logically deny to this Jewish Madonna — who became the mother of her own creator — the august title of the "Mother of God," bestowed upon her by the "naked image of superstition?"

An illustrated *Calendar of the Anglican Church*, published in London in 1851, has a long list of English Saints and Evangelists from old manuscripts, ancient embroidery, and medieval paintings, showing that the Church of England fairly rivals the Church of Rome in this species of religious wealth, and also showing the veneration and devotion the ancient pagan worship of images still inspires in the church which claims to have been "reformed." The frontispiece of this *Calendar* is from a painted glass in the east window of St. Michael's church in Oxford, England, and represents the Virgin and Child — Mary holding in her arms the infant Jesus in the same manner as the Egyptian goddess, Isis, is represented on ancient monuments holding in her arms her god-begotten son, Horus.

"Isis," says Lempriere, "was the Venus of Cyprus, the Minerva of Athens, "the Cybele of the Phrygians, the Ceres of Eleusis, the Proserpine of Sicily, the "Diana of Crete, the Bellona of the Romans," and, may we not add, the Madonna of Romanism? Apuleius makes her say: "I am nature, the parent of all things, "the sovereign of the elements, the primary progeny of time, the most exalted of "the deities, the first of the heavenly gods and goddesses, whose single deity the "whole world venerates in many forms, with various rites, and various names." Her temple at Sias bore this memorable inscription: "*I am all that has been, "that is, or shall be: no mortal man hath ever me unveiled.*" And it is to the attempt of Godfrey Higgins to draw aside this mystic veil, which concealed in allegory and fable the wisdom of the ancients, that we are indebted for the *Anacalypsis*, one of the grandest triumphs of modern research. "The worship "of the Virgin and Child," says this learned author, "which we find in all "Romish countries, was nothing more than a remnant of the worship of Isis and "Horus — the virgin of the celestial sphere — to whom the epithet of virgin, "though a mother, was without absurdity applied."

"The celestial sign of the Virgin and Child," says M. Dupius, "was in existence "several thousand years before the birth of Christ. The constellation of the "celestial Virgin by its ascension above the horizon presided at the birth of the "god Sol, or light, and seemed to produce him from her side. Here is the origin "of Jesus born from the side of his mother. The Magi, as well as the priests of "Egypt, celebrated the birth of the god Sol, or Light, or Day, incarnate in the "womb of a virgin, which had produced him without ceasing to be a virgin."

Toward the end of the republic and at the beginning of the empire the worship of Isis was introduced at Rome. Her priests were tonsured, surpliced, sandaled, and, like the Romish priests of the present day, were bound with solemn vows to a life of chastity and celibacy. After the religion of Jesus had been transformed into a political system under Constantine, and the union of Paganism and Romanism had been effected, the old idolatry still remained, but in a modified form and under another name. "Olympus was restored," says Prof. Draper, "and such res- "torations of old conceptions under novel forms were everywhere received with "delight. When it was announced to the Ephesians that the Council, headed by "Cyril, had decreed that the Virgin should be called 'the Mother of God,' with "tears of joy they embraced the knees of their bishop,— it was the old instinct "peeping out. Not only was the adoration of Isis under a new name restored, but "even her image, standing on the crescent moon, reappeared. The well-known "effigy of that goddess, with the infant Horus in her arms, has descended to our "days in the beautiful, artistic creations of the Madonna and Child."—E.

" pelled me to read, the path of learning would not have been " enlightened by a ray of philosophic freedom. I should have " grown to manhood ignorant of the life and language of Europe, " and my knowledge of the world would have been confined to " an English cloister. But my religious error fixed me at Lau- " sanne in a state of banishment and disgrace. The rigid course " of discipline and abstinence, to which I was condemned, invig- " orated the constitution of my mind and body; poverty and " pride estranged me from my countrymen. One mischief, how- " ever, and in their eyes a serious and irreparable mischief, was " derived from the success of my Swiss education : I had ceased " to be an Englishman. At the flexible period of youth, from the " age of sixteen to twenty-one, my opinions, habits, and senti- " ments were cast in a foreign mould; the faint and distant " remembrance of England was almost obliterated; my native " language was grown less familiar; and I should have cheerfully " accepted the offer of a moderate independence on the terms of " perpetual exile."

Gibbon had been absent from home almost five years, when his father, hearing of his restoration to the Protestant Church, the improvement made in his studies, and the good behavior he maintained, was pleased to desire his return. He took leave of Lausanne on the 11th of April, 1758, with a mixed emotion of pleasure and pain. On his arrival in England he hastened to the house of his aunt Porten, with whom was indulged a mutual effusion of joy and confidence. The meeting with his father was more ceremonious, though it proved very agreeable. "He received " me," says the historian, "as a man and a friend; all constraint " was banished at our first interview, and we ever after continued " on the same terms of easy politeness. He applauded the suc- " cess of my education; every word and action was expressive of " the most cordial affection; and our lives would have passed " without a cloud, if his economy had been equal to his fortune, " or if his fortune had been equal to his desires. During my " absence he had married his second wife, Miss Dorothea Patton, " who was introduced to me with the most unfavorable prejudice. " I considered his second marriage as an act of displeasure, and " I was disposed to hate the rival of my mother. But the injus- " tice was in my own fancy, and the imaginary monster was an " amiable and deserving woman."

Of the two years he had been in England only nine months

were passed in London—the other time was spent in the retired walks, and amidst the usual enjoyments of a country life. Of the former he writes thus:

"The metropolis affords many amusements, which are open to "all. It is itself an astonishing and perpetual spectacle to the "curious eye; and each taste, each sense, may be gratified by the "variety of objects which will occur in the long circuit of a "morning walk. I assiduously frequented the theatres at a very "propitious era of the stage, when a constellation of excellent "actors, both in tragedy and comedy, was eclipsed by the meri- "dian brightness of Garrick, in the maturity of his judgment, and "vigor of his performance. The pleasures of a town life are "within the reach of every man who is regardless of his health, "his money, and his company. By the contagion of example I "was sometimes seduced; but the better habits, which I had "formed at Lausanne, induced me to seek a more elegant and "rational society; and if my search was less easy and successful "than I might have hoped, I shall at present impute the failure "to the disadvantages of my situation and character. Had the "rank and fortune of my parents given them an annual establish- "ment in London, their own house would have introduced me to "a numerous and polite circle of acquaintance. I found myself a "stranger in the midst of a vast and unknown city. The most "useful friends of my father were the Mallets. By their assist- 'ance I was introduced to Lady Hervey, the mother of the "present Earl of Bristol. Her age and infirmities confined her "at home; her dinners were select; in the evening her house "was open to the best company of both sexes and all nations; "nor was I displeased at her preference and affectation of the "manners, the language, and the literature of France. But my "progress in the English world was in general left to my own "efforts, and those efforts were languid and slow. I had not "been endowed by art or nature with those happy gifts of confi- "dence and address, which unlock every door and every bosom; "nor would it be reasonable to complain of the just consequences "of my sickly childhood, foreign education, and reserved temper. "While coaches were rattling through Bond street, I have passed "many a solitary evening in my lodging with my books. My "studies were sometimes interrupted by a sigh, which I breathed "towards Lausanne; and on the approach of spring I withdrew, "without reluctance, from the noisy and extensive scene of "crowds without company, and dissipation without pleasure."

Gibbon preferred the tranquility of his father's residence in Hampshire to the tumultuous gratifications of the metropolis, and availed himself, as often as possible, of the comforts he found beneath the parental roof. The old mansion, being in a decayed state, had been improved with the conveniences of a modern habitation. "Our immediate neighborhood," he states, "was rare "and rustic; but from the verge of our hills, as far as Chichester "and Goodwood, the western district of Sussex was interspersed "with noble seats and hospitable families, with whom we culti- "vated a friendly, and might have enjoyed a very frequent inter- "course. As my stay at Buriton was always voluntary, I was "received and dismissed with smiles; but the comforts of my "retirement did not depend on the ordinary pleasures of the "country. My father could never inspire me with his love and "knowledge of farming. I never handled a gun, I seldom "mounted a horse; and my philosophic walks were soon ter- "minated by a shady bench, where I was long detained by the "sedentary amusement of reading or meditation. At home I "occupied a pleasant and spacious apartment; the library on the "same floor was considered as my peculiar domain; and I might "say with truth, that I was never less alone than when by myself. "By the habit of early rising, I always secured a sacred portion "of the day, and many scattered moments were stolen and "employed by my studious industry." His father's study contained some valuable editions of the classics, and many English publications of modern date; to this collection he never neglected to make a judicious addition, whenever his means permitted. The English writers, since the Revolution, commonly occupied his leisure: this appeared to him the best method to recover the purity of his own language from the corruption contracted by the use of a foreign idiom. To Swift and Addison he chiefly directed his attention: as the style of the first displays a manly, original vigor; and that of the latter is adorned with the graces of elegance and simplicity.

In the spring of 1761 he ventured to make his appearance as an Author. He published a small volume, entitled *Essai sur l'Etude de la Littérature;* which was begun at Lausanne, and finished in his own country. In France, and other places abroad, it gained the most flattering commendations, whilst the writer's countrymen received it with cold indifference; owing, it is probable, to the language in which it was written. He would not permit his bookseller to reprint it, though a new edition, some

years afterward, was much desired: its scarcity, and the rising fame of the Author, enhanced the value from half-a-crown to thirty shillings.

When the *Essay* was published, Mr. Gibbon was induced to enter upon a mode of life not very agreeable to his taste and general habits. A regiment of militia had been raised in Hampshire, and he was appointed to the office of captain. This new profession was not altogether unprofitable to him. "After my "foreign education," he says, "with my reserved temper, I "should long have continued a stranger in my native country, "had I not been shaken in this various scene of new faces and "new friends; had not experience forced me to feel the characters "of our leading men, the state of parties, the forms of office, and "the operation of our civil and military system. In this peaceful "service I imbibed the rudiments of the language and science of "tactics, which opened a new field of study and observation. I "diligently read, and meditated, the *Memoires Militaires* of "Quintus Icilius (Mr. Guichardt), the only writer who has united "the merits of a professor and a veteran. The disclipine and "evolutions of a modern battalion, gave me a clearer notion of "the phalanx and the legion; and the captain of the Hampshire "grenadiers (the reader may smile), has not been useless to the "historian of the Roman Empire."

At the restoration of peace in 1762–3, his regiment was broken up, and he resumed his studies upon a more regular and systematic plan. He was undetermined, at first, whether to direct his mental energies to the mathematies, or the Greek language, both of which he had neglected since he left Lausanne: at length he decided in favor of Greek, and to it he gave a vigorous application. But whatever might be the nature of his studies, the object he had in view was invariably the same—from early youth he aspired to the character of an historian!

The tour of Europe having been long considered as essentially necessary to complete the education of an English gentleman, he now determined to travel, and succeeded in obtaining the consent of his father. From the Duke de Nivernois, Mr. Walpole, Lady Hervey, &c., he received recommendatory letters to their private or literary friends, though his *Essay* had justly entitled him to the gratitude and civility of the French nation. On coming to Paris, he became intimately acquainted with Diderot, D'Alembert, Barthelemy, Arnaud, Reynal, Helvetius, and several other eminent persons. To Mrs. Gibbon he writes:—"Paris, in most respects,

" has fully answered my expectations. I have a number of very " good acquaintance, which increase every day; for nothing is so " easy as the making them here. Instead of complaining of the " want of them, I begin already to think of making a choice. Next " Sunday, for instance, I have only three invitations to dinner. " Either in the houses you are already acquainted, you meet with " people who ask you to come and see them, or some of your " friends offer themselves to introduce you. When I speak of " these connections, I mean chiefly for dinner and the evening. " Suppers as yet I am pretty much a stranger to, and I fancy shall " continue so; for Paris is divided into two species, who have " but little communication with each other. The one, who is " chiefly connected with the men of letters, dine very much at " home, are glad to see their friends, and pass the evenings till " about nine in agreeable and rational conversation. The others " are the most fashionable, and sup in numerous parties, and " always play, or rather game, both before and after supper. " You may easily guess which sort suits me best. Indeed, madam, " we may say what we please of the frivolity of the French, but I " do assure you, that in a fortnight passed at Paris, I have heard " more conversation worth remembering, and seen more men of " letters among the people of fashion, than I had done in two or " three winters in London. Amongst my acquaintance, I cannot " help mentioning M. Helvetius, the author of the famous book " *de l'Esprit.* I met him at dinner at Madame Geoffrin's, where " he took great notice of me, made me a visit next day, has ever " since treated me, not in a polite, but in a friendly manner."— Pursuing the subject in a letter to his father, he says: "The " buildings of every kind, the libraries, the public diversions, take " up a great part of my time; and I have already found several " houses where it is both very easy and very agreeable to be " acquainted. Lady Hervey's recommendation to Madame " Geoffrin was a most excellent one. Her house is a very good " one; regular dinners there every Wednesday, and the best " company of Paris, in men of letters and people of fashion. It " was at her house I connected myself with M. Helvetius, who, " from his heart, his hand, and his fortune, is a most valuable " man. At his house I was introduced to the Baron d'Holbach, " who is a man of parts and fortune, and has two dinners every " week. The other houses I am known in are the Duchess " d'Aiguillon's, Madame la Comtesse de Froulay's, Madame du " Bocage, Madame Boyer, M. le Marquis de Mirabeau, and M. de

"Foucemagn. All these people have their different merit: in "some I met with good dinners; in others, societies for the "evening; and in all, good sense, entertainment, and civility, "which, as I have no favors to ask, or business to transact with "them, is sufficient for me. Their men of letters are as affable "and communicative as I expected. My book has been of great "service to me, and the compliments I have received upon it, "would make me insufferably vain, if I laid any stress on them."

"The splendor of the French nobles is confined to their town "residences; that of the English is more usefully distributed in "their country seats; and we should be astonished at our own "riches, if the labors of architecture, the spoils of Italy and "Greece, which are now scattered from Inverary to Wilton, were "accumulated in a few streets between Marybone and Westmin-"ster. All superfluous ornament is rejected by the cold frugality "of the protestants; but the catholic superstition, which is always "the enemy of reason, is often the parent of the arts. The wealthy "communities of priests and monks expend their revenues in "stately edifices; and the parish church of St. Sulpice, one of "the noblest structures in Paris, was built and adorned by the "private industry of a late curé."

After staying fourteen weeks in Paris he again visited Lausanne, a place which excited many delightful recollections. "An absence "of five years," he tells us, "had not made much alteration in "manners, or even in persons. My old friends, of both sexes, "hailed my voluntary return—the most genuine proof of my "attachment. They had been flattered by the present of my "book, the produce of their soil; and the good Pavilliard shed "tears of joy, as he embraced a pupil, whose literary merit he "might fairly impute to his own labors."

"By some ecclesiastical quarrel, Voltaire had been provoked "to withdraw himself from Lausanne, and retire to his castle at "Ferney, where I again visited the poet and the actor. The the-"atre which he had founded, the actors whom he had formed, "survived the loss of their master. I attended with pleasure at "the representation of several tragedies and comedies. I shall "not descend to specify particular names and characters; but I "cannot forget a private institution, which will display the inno-"cent freedom of Swiss manners. My favorite society had "assumed, from the age of its members, the proud domination of "the spring (*la société du printims*). It consisted of fifteen or "twenty young unmarried ladies, of genteel, though not of the

" very first families ; the eldest perhaps about twenty, all agreea-
" ble, several handsome, and two or three of exquisite beauty.
" At each other's houses they assembled almost every day without
" the control, or even the presence of a mother or an aunt ; they
" were trusted to their own prudence, among a crowd of young
" men of every nation in Europe. They laughed, they sang, they
" danced, they played at cards, they acted comedies ; but in the
" midst of this careless gaiety, they respected themselves, and
" were respected by the men ; the invisible line between liberty
" and licentiousness was never transgressed by a gesture, a word,
" or a look, and their virgin chastity was never sullied by the
" breath of scandal or suspicion. A singular institution, expres-
" sive of the innocent simplicity of Swiss manners."

" In this agreeable society I resided nearly eleven months (May
" 1763—April 1764) ; and in this second visit to Lausanne, among
" a crowd of my English companions, I knew and esteemed Mr.
" Holroyd (now Lord Sheffield) ; and our mutual attachment was
" renewed and fortified in the subsequent stages of our Italian
" journey. Our lives are in the power of chance, and a slight
" variation on either side, in time or place, might have deprived
" me of a friend, whose activity in the ardor of youth was always
" prompted by a benevolent heart, and directed by a strong un-
" derstanding."

Our author now undertook the tour of Italy, having previously studied the geography of ancient Rome and the science of medals. " Rome is the great object of our pilgrimage. I climbed Mount
" Cenis, and descended into the plain of Piedmont. The size and
" populousness of Milan could not surprise an inhabitant of
" London : but the fancy is amused by a visit to the Boromean
" Islands, an enchanted palace, a work of the fairies in the midst
" of a lake encompassed with mountains, and far removed from
" the haunts of men. By the road of Bologna and the Apennine
" I at last reached Florence, where I reposed from June to Sep-
" tember, during the heat of the summer months. In the Gallery
" and especially in the Tribune, I first acknowledged, at the feet
" of the Venus of Medicis, that the chisel may dispute the pre-
" eminence with the pencil, a truth in the fine arts which cannot
" on this side of the Alps be felt or understood. After leaving
" Florence, I compared the solitude of Pisa with the industry of
" Lucca and Leghorn, and continued my journey through Sienna
" to Rome, where I arrived in the beginning of October. My tem-
" per is not very susceptible of enthusiasm ; and the enthusiasm I

" do not feel, I have ever scorned to affect. But, at the distance " of twenty-five years, I can neither forget nor express the strong " emotions which agitated my mind as I first approached and " entered the *eternal city*. After a sleepless night I trod, with a " lofty step, the ruins of the Forum ; each memorable spot where " Romulus *stood*, or Tully *spoke*, or Cæsar *fell*, was at once pres- " ent to my eye ; and several days of intoxication were lost or " enjoyed before I could descend to a cool and minute investiga- " tion. My guide was Mr. Byers, a Scotch antiquary of experience " and taste ; but in the daily labor of eighteen weeks, the powers " of attention were sometimes fatigued, till I was myself qualified, " in a last review, to select and study the capital works of ancient " and modern art. Six weeks were borrowed for my tour of " Naples, the most populous of cities, relative to its size, whose " luxurious inhabitants seem to dwell on the confines of paradise " and hell-fire."

" It was at Rome, on the 15th of October, 1764, as I sat musing " amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the bare-footed friars " were singing vespers in the temple of Jupiter, [now the church " of the Zoccolants or Franciscan Friars,] that the idea of writing " the decline and fall of the city first started to my mind. But " my original plan was circumscribed to the decay of the city " rather than of the empire : and, though my reading and re- " flections began to point towards that object, some years " elapsed, and several avocations intervened, before I was seri- " ously engaged in the execution of that laborious work."

" Rome and Italy had satiated my curious appetite, and I was " now ready to return to the peaceful retreat of my family and " books. On the 25th of June, 1765, I arrived at my father's house, " and the five years and a half between my travels and my father's " death (1770) are the portion of my life which I passed with the " least enjoyment, and which I remember with the least satisfac- " tion. Every spring I attended the monthly meeting and exer- " cise of the militia at Southampton ; and by the resignation of " my father, and the death of Sir Thomas Worsley, I was succes- " sively promoted to the rank of major and lieutenant-colonel " commandant : but I was each year more disgusted with the inn, " the wine, the company, and the tiresome repetition of annual " attendance and daily exercise. My connection with Mrs. Gibbon " was mellowed into a warm and solid attachment ; my growing " years abolished the distance that might yet remain between a " parent and a son, and my behavior satisfied my father, who was

" proud of the success, however imperfect in his own life-time, of " my literary talents. Our solitude was soon and often enlivened " by the visit of the friend of my youth, Mr. Deyverdun, whose " absence from Lausanne I had sincerely lamented. We freely " discussed my studies, my first *Essay*, and my future projects. " The Decline and Fall of Rome I still contemplated at an awful " distance : but the two historical designs which had balanced my " choice were submitted to his taste ; and in the parallel between " the Revolutions of Florence and Switzerland, our common par- " tiality for a country which was *his* by birth and *mine* by adoption, " inclined the scale in favor of the latter. According to the plan, " which was soon conceived and digested, I embraced a period of " two hundred years, from the association of the three peasants " of the Alps to the plenitude and prosperity of the Helvetic body " in the sixteenth century. I should have described the deliver- " ance and victory of the Swiss, who have never shed the blood " of their tyrants but in a field of battle ; the laws and manners of " the confederate states ; the splendid trophies of the Austrian, " Burgundian, and Italian wars ; and the wisdom of a nation, who " after some sallies of martial adventure, has been content to " guard the blessings of peace with the sword of freedom.

" —— Manus hæc inimica tyrannis
" Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.

" My judgment as well as my enthusiasm, was satisfied with the " glorious theme ; and the assistance of Deyverdun seemed to " remove an insuperable obstacle. The French or Latin memo- " rials, of which I was not ignorant, are inconsiderable in number " and weight ; but in the perfect acquaintance of my friend with " the German language, I found the key of a more valuable col- " lection. The most necessary books were procured ; he translated " for my use ; yet such was the distance and delay, that two years " elapsed in these preparatory steps ; and it was late in the third " summer (1767) before I entered, with these slender materials, " on the more agreeable task of composition. A specimen of my " *History*, the first book, was read the following winter in a liter- " ary society of foreigners in London ; and as the author was " unknown, I listened, without observation, to the free strictures " and unfavorable sentence of my judges.* The momentary sen-

* David Hume, the historian, expressed a different opinion in a friendly letter to Mr. Gibbon, and it is a subject of regret, especially to the natives of Switzerland, that Lord Sheffield did not publish this *History* with Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works.—E.

" sation was painful; but their condemnation was ratified by my " cooler thoughts. Perhaps I may impute the failure to the inju- " dicious choice of a foreign language. Perhaps I may suspect " that the language itself is ill adapted to sustain the vigor and " dignity of an important narrative. But if France, so rich in lit- " erary merit, had produced a great original historian, his genius " would have formed and fixed the idiom to the proper tone, the " peculiar mode of historical eloquence."

In connexion with Mr. Deyverdun, Mr. Gibbon next undertook a Journal in imitation of Dr. Maty's *Journal Britannique*. " Our " Journal for the year 1767," says he, " under the title of *Memoires* " *Literaires de la Grand Bretagne*, was soon finished and sent to " the press. For the first article, Lord Lyttelton's *History of* " *Henry II.*, I must own myself responsible: but the public has " ratified my judgment of that voluminous work, in which sense " and learning are not illuminated by a ray of genius. The next " specimen was the choice of my friend, *The Bath Guide*, a light " and whimsical performance, of local, and even verbal, pleasantry. " I started at the attempt: he smiled at my fears; his courage " was justified by success; and a master of both languages " will applaud the curious felicity with which he has trans- " fused into French prose the spirit, and even the humor, " of the English verse. It is not my wish to deny how deeply I " was interested in these *Memoirs*, of which I need not surely be " ashamed. A second volume (for the year 1768) was published. " I will presume to say, that their merit was superior to their rep- " utation; but it was not less true that they were productive of " more reputation than emolument. They introduced my friend " to the protection, and myself to the acquaintance, of the Earl of " Chesterfield, whose age and infirmities secluded him from the " world; and of Mr. David Hume. The former accepted a dedi- " cation, (April 12th, 1769): the latter enriched the *Journal* with " a reply to Mr. Walpole's *Historical Doubts*, which he afterwards " shaped in the form of a note. The materials of the third vol- " ume were almost completed, when I recommended Deyverdun " as governer to Sir Richard Worsley, a youth, the son of my old " Lieutenant Colonel, who was lately deceased. They set out on " their travels; nor did they return to England till some time " after my father's death.

" My next publication was an accidental sally of love and re- " sentment; of my reverence for modest genius, and my aversion " for insolent pedantry. The sixth book of the *Æneid* is the most

" pleasing and perfect composition of Latin poetry. The descent " of Æneas and the Sybil to the infernal regions, to the world of " spirits, expands an awful and boundless prospect, from the noc- " turnal gloom of the Cumæan grot,

" Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram,

" to the meridian brightness of the Elysian fields;

" Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit
" Purpureo ———

" from the dreams of simple Nature, to the dreams, alas! of " Egyptian theology, and the philosophy of the Greeks. But the " final dismission of the hero through the ivory gate, whence

" Falsa ad cœlum mittunt insomnia manes,

" seems to dissolve the whole enchantment, and leaves the reader " in a state of cold and anxious skepticism. This most lame and " impotent conclusion has been variously imputed to the taste or " irreligion of Virgil; but, according to the more elaborate inter- " pretation of Bishop Warburton, the descent to hell is not a false, " but a mimic scene; which represents the initiation of Æneas, in " the character of a lawgiver, to the Eleusinian mysteries. This " hypothesis, a singular chapter in the *Divine Legation of Moses*,* " had been admitted by many as true; it was praised by all as " ingenuous; nor had it been exposed, in a space of thirty years, " to a fair and critical discussion. The learning and abilities of " the author had raised him to a just eminence; but he reigned

* According to Moritz, the descent of ÆNEAS—the beloved of gods and men—into Hades, was for the purpose of visiting his father ANCHISES, who disclosed to him the mysteries of birth and death, of growth and decay, and also the events of futurity. In this journey he visited gloomy Tartarus, where the souls of the wicked suffered for their misdeeds. He also visited the mansions of the blessed in Elysium, where the souls of the just, freed from the passions of mortality, enjoyed the pleasures of existence, until, at the command of JUPITER, they drank of *Lethe's* dark waters. This myth, from which has descended the modern Christian doctrine of immortality, agrees with the Eleusinian mysteries, as taught at the magnificent temple of CERES and BACCHUS at Eleusis. "The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was here taught," says Leland, author of *The Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation*, "by shows and representations which might strike the senses." CERES, goddess of the earth, gave the fruits of the earth, or her body, to be eaten by her children; and BACCHUS, the god of wine, freely gave to mortals his blood to drink—the red juice of the grape—which in the foaming cup symbolizes the rich bounty of nature. Viewed in this light, as the deified personifications of Nature, whose mysteries no mortal eye may penetrate, the mysterious body and blood, eaten and drank in modern Christian churches, lose their incarnadine tint, and are again resolved into their original elements of myth and fable.

Bishop Warburton, author of the *Divine Legation of Moses*, admits that Moses failed to teach the doctrine of immortality—of an eternal existence beyond the grave—to God's chosen people, the Jews; but this doctrine, which was successively taught by Plato, Jesus, and Mahomet, may easily be traced to its primeval source in the rich storehouse of ancient Pagan Mythology.—E.

" the dictator and tyrant of the world of literature. The real merit " of Warburton was degraded by the pride and presumption with " which he pronounced his infallible decrees ; in his polemic " writings he lashed his antagonists without mercy or moderation ; " and his servile flatterers, (see the base and malignant Essay on " the *Delicacy of Friendship*,) exalting the master critic far above " Aristotle and Longinus, assaulted every modest dissenter who " refused to consult the oracle, and to adore the idol. In a land " of liberty, such despotism must provoke a general opposition, " and the zeal of opposition is seldom candid or impartial. A " late professor of Oxford, (Dr. Lowth,) in a pointed and polished " epistle, (August 31st, 1765,) defended himself, and attacked the " Bishop ; and, whatsoever might be the merits of an insignificant " controversy, his victory was clearly established by the silent " confusion of Warburton and his slaves. *I* too, without any pri- " vate offence, was ambitious of breaking a lance against the " giant's shield ; and in the beginning of the year 1770, my " *Critical Observations on the Sixth Book of the Æneid* were sent, " without my name, to the press. In this short Essay, my first " English publication, I aimed my strokes against the person and " hypothesis of Bishop Warburton. I proved, at least to my own " satisfaction, *that* the ancient lawgivers did not invent the myste- " ries, and *that* Æneas was never invested with the office of law- " giver ; *that* there is not any argument, any circumstance, which " can melt a fable into allegory, or remove the scene from the " Lake Avernus to the Temple of Ceres ; *that* such a wild suppo- " sition is equally injurious to the poet and the man ; *that* if Virgil " was not initiated he could not, if he were he would not, reveal " the secrets of the initiation : *that* the anathema of Horace (*vetabo* " *qui Cereris sacrum vulgarit, &c.*) at once attests his own ignor- " ance and the innocence of his friend. As the Bishop of Glou- " cester and his party maintained a discreet silence, my critical " disquisition was soon lost among the pamphlets of the day ; but " the public coldness was overbalanced to my feelings by the " weighty approbation of the last and best editor of Virgil, Pro- " fessor Heyne of Gottingen, who acquiesces in my confutation, " and styles the unknown author, *doctus . . . et elegantissimus* " *Britannus*. But I cannot resist the temptation of transcribing " the favorable judgment of Mr. Hayley, himself a poet and a " scholar : "' An intricate hypothesis, twisted into a long and "' labored chain of quotation and argument, the *Dissertation on* "' *the Sixth Book of Virgil*, remained some time unrefuted. At

"'length, a superior, but anonymous critic arose, who, in one of "'the most judicious and spirited essays that our nation has pro- "'duced, on a point of classical literature, completely overturned "'this ill-founded edifice, and exposed the arrogance and futility "'of its assuming architect.' He even condescends to justify "an acrimony of style, which had been gently blamed by the "more unbiassed German."*

"In the fifteen years between my *Essay on the Study of Litera-* "*ture* and the first volume of the *Decline and Fall*, (1761-1776,) "this criticism on Warburton, and some articles in the *Journal*, "were my sole publications. It is more especially incumbent on "me to mark the employment, or to confess the waste of time, "from my travels to my father's death, an interval in which I was "not diverted by any professional duties from the labors and "pleasures of a studious life. 1. As soon as I was released from "the fruitless task of the Swiss revolutions, (1768,) I began gradu- "ally to advance from the wish to the hope, from the hope to the "design, from the design to the execution, of my historical work, "of whose limits and extent I had yet a very inadequate notion. "The Classics, as low as Tacitus, the younger Pliny, and Juvenal, "were my old and familiar companions. I insensibly plunged "into the ocean of the Augustan history; and in the descending "series I investigated, with my pen almost always in my hand, "the original records, both Greek and Latin, from Dion Cassius "to Ammianus Marcellinus, from the reign of Trajan to the last "age of the Western Cæsars. The subsidary rays of medals, and "inscriptions of geography and chronology, were thrown on their "proper objects; and I applied the collections of Tillemont, "whose inimitable accuracy almost assumes the character of "genius, to fix and arrange within my reach the loose and "scattered atoms of historical information. Through the dark- "ness of the middle ages I explored my way in the *Annals and* "*Antiquities of Italy* of the learned Muratori; and diligently "compared them with the parallel or transverse lines of Sigonius "and Maffei, Baronius and Pagi, till I almost grasped the ruins "of Rome in the fourteenth century, without suspecting that "this final chapter must be attained by the labor of six quartos "and twenty years. Among the books which I purchased, the

"* The editor of the Warburtonian tracts, Dr. Parr, (p. 192,) considers "the allegorical interpretation 'as completely refuted in a most clear, "'elegant, and decisive work of criticism; which could not, indeed, derive "'authority from the greatest name; but to which the greatest name might "'with propriety have been affixed.'"

" *Theodocian Code*, with the commentary of James Godefroy, " must be gratefully remembered. I used it (and much I used it) " as a work of history, rather than of jurisprudence: but in every " light it may be considered as a full and capacious repository of " the political state of the empire in the fourth and fifth centuries. " As I believed, and as I still believe, that the propagation of the " Gospel, and the triumph of the church, are inseparably connected " with the decline of the Roman monarchy, I weighed the causes " and effects of the revolution, and contrasted the narratives and " apologies of the Christians themselves, with the glances of " candor or enmity which the Pagans have cast on the rising " sects. The Jewish and Heathen testimonies, as they are col- " lected and illustrated by Dr. Lardner, directed, without super- " seding, my search of the originals; and in an ample dissertation " on the miraculous darkness of the passion, I privately drew my " conclusions from the silence of an unbelieving age. I have " assembled the preparatory studies, directly or indirectly relative " to my history; but, in strict equity, they must be spread beyond " this period of my life, over the two summers (1771 and 1772) " that elapsed between my father's death and my settlement in " London. 2. In a free conversation with books and men, it " would be endless to enumerate the names and characters of all " who are introduced to our acquaintance; but in this general " acquaintance we may select the degrees of friendship and " esteem. According to the wise maxim, *Multum legere potius* " *quam multa*, I reviewed, again and again, the immortal works " of the French and English, the Latin and Italian classics. My " Greek studies (though less assiduous than I designed) main- " tained and extended my knowledge of that incomparable idiom. " Homer and Xenophon were still my favorite authors; and I had " almost prepared for the press an *Essay on the Cyropædia*, " which, in my own judgment, is not unhappily labored. After a " certain age, the new publications of merit are the sole food of " the many; and the most austere student will be often tempted " to break the line, for the sake of indulging his own curiosity, " and of providing the topics of fashionable currency. A more " respectable motive may be assigned for the third perusal of " *Blackstone's Commentaries*, and a copious and critical abstract " of that English work was my first serious production in my " native language. 3. My literary leisure was much less complete " and independent than it might appear to the eye of a stranger. " In the hurry of London I was destitute of books; in the solitude

" of Hampshire I was not master of my time. My quiet was " disturbed by our domestic anxiety, and I should be ashamed of " my unfeeling philosophy had I found much time or taste for " study in the last fatal summer (1770) of my father's decay and " dissolution. His constitution was broken; he lost his strength " and his sight; the rapid progress of a dropsy admonished him " of his end, and he sunk into his grave on the 10th of November, " 1770, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. I submitted to the " order of Nature; and my grief was soothed by the conscious " satisfaction that I had discharged all the duties of filial piety.

" As soon as I had paid the last solemn duties to my father, and " obtained, from time and reason, a tolerable composure of mind, " I began to form the plan of an independent life, most adapted to " my circumstances and inclination. Yet so intricate was the net, " my efforts were so awkward and feeble, that nearly two years " (November, 1770–October, 1772) were suffered to elapse before " I could disentangle myself from the management of the farm, " and transfer my residence from Beriton to a house in London. " During this interval I continued to divide my year between " town and the country; but my new situation was brightened by " hope; my stay in London was prolonged into the summer; and " the uniformity of the summer was occasionally broken by visits " and excusions at a distance from home. The gratification of " my desires (they were not immoderate) has been seldom dis- " appointed by the want of money or credit; my pride was never " insulted by the visit of an importunate tradesman; and my " transient anxiety for the past or future has been dispelled by " the studious or social occupation of the present hour. My " conscience does not accuse me of any act of extravagance or " injustice, and the remnant of my estate affords an ample and " honorable provision for my declining age. I shall not expatiate " on my economical affairs, which cannot be instructive or amusing " to the reader. It is a rule of prudence, as well as of politeness, " to reserve such confidence for the ear of a private friend, with- " out exposing our situation to the envy or pity of strangers; for " envy is productive of hatred, and pity borders too nearly on " contempt. Yet I may believe, and even assert, that in circum- " stances more indigent or more wealthy, I should never have " accomplished the task, or acquired the fame, of an historian; " that my spirit would have been broken by poverty and contempt, " and that my industry might have been relaxed in the labor and " luxury of a superfluous fortune."

"I had now attained the first of earthly blessings, independence: "I was the absolute master of my hours and actions: nor was I "deceived in the hope that the establishment of my library in "town would allow me to divide the day between study and "society. Each year the circle of my acquaintance, the number "of my dead and living companions, was enlarged. To a lover "of books, the shops and sales of London present irresistible "temptations; and the manufacture of my history required a "various and growing stock of materials. The militia, my travels, "the House of Commons, the fame of an author, contributed to "multiply my connections: I was chosen a member of the fashion- "able clubs; and, before I left England in 1783, there were few "persons of any eminence in the literary or political world to "whom I was a stranger.* It would most assuredly be in my "power to amuse the reader with a gallery of portraits and a "collection of anecdotes. But I have always condemned the "practice of transforming a private memorial into a vehicle of "satire or praise. By my own choice I passed in town the "greatest part of the year; but whenever I was desirous of "breathing the air of the country, I possessed an hospitable "retreat at Sheffield-place in Sussex, in the family of my valuable "friend, Mr. Holroyd, whose character, under the name of Lord "Sheffield, has since been more conspicuous to the public.

"No sooner was I settled in my house and library than I under- "took the composition of the first volume of my History. At "the outset all was dark and doubtful; even the title of the work, "the true era of the Decline and Fall of the Empire, the limits of "the introduction, the division of the chapters, and the order of "the narrative: and I was often tempted to cast away the labor of "seven years. The style of an author should be the image of his "mind, but the choice and command of language is the fruit of "exercise. Many experiments were made before I could hit the "middle tone between a dull chronicle and a rhetorical declama- "tion: three times did I compose the first chapter, and twice the

"* From the mixed, though polite, company of Boodle's, White's, and "Brookes's, I must honorably distinguish a weekly society, which was "instituted in the year 1764, and which still continues to flourish, under "the title of the Literary Club. (*Hawkins's Life of Johnson, p. 415; "Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides, p. 97.*) The names of Dr. Johnson, "Mr. Burke, Mr. Topham Beauclerc, Mr. Garrick, Dr. Goldsmith, Sir "Joshua Reynolds, Mr. Colman, Sir William Jones, Dr. Percy, Mr. Fox, "Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Adam Smith, Mr. Steevens, Mr. Dunning, Sir Joseph "Banks, Dr. Warton, and his brother, Mr. Thomas Warton, Dr. Burney, "&c., form a large and luminous constellation of British stars."

"second and third, before I was tolerably satisfied with their effect. "In the remainder of the way I advanced with a more equal and "easy pace; but the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters have been "reduced by three successive revisals, from a large volume to "their present size; and they might still be compressed, without "any loss of facts or sentiments. An opposite fault may be "imputed to the concise and superficial narrative of the first reigns "from Commodus to Alexander; a fault of which I have never "heard, except from Mr. Hume in his last journey to London. "Such an oracle might have been consulted and obeyed with "rational devotion; but I was soon disgusted with the modest "practice of reading the manuscript to my friends. Of such "friends some will praise from politeness, and some will criticise "from vanity. The author himself is the best judge of his own "performance; no one has so deeply meditated on the subject; "no one is so sincerely interested in the event.

"By the friendship of Mr. (now Lord) Eliot, who had married "my first cousin, I was returned at the general election for the "borough of Leskeard. I took my seat at the beginning of "the memorable contest between Great Britain and America, "and supported, with many a sincere and silent vote, the rights, "though not, perhaps, the interest, of the mother country. After "a fleeting illusive hope, prudence condemned me to acquiesce "in the humble station of a mute. I was not armed by Nature "and education with the intrepid energy of mind and voice.

"Vincentem strepitus, et natum rebus agendis.

"Timidity was fortified by pride, and even the success of my pen "discouraged the trial of my voice. But I assisted at the debates "of a free assembly; I listened to the attack and defense of "eloquence and reason: I had a near prospect of the characters, "views, and passsions of the first men of the age. The cause of "government was ably vindicated by *Lord North*, a statesman "of spotless integrity, a consummate master of debate, who could "wield, with equal dexterity, the arms of reason and of ridicule. "He was seated on the Treasury-bench between his Attorney "and Solicitor General, the two pillars of the law and state, "*magis pares quam similes;* and the minister might indulge in a "short slumber, whilst he was upheld on either hand by the "majestic sense of *Thurlow*, and the skilful eloquence of "*Wedderburne*. From the adverse side of the house an ardent "and powerful opposition was supported, by the lively declama-

" tion of *Barré*, the legal acuteness of *Dunning*, the profuse and " philosophic fancy of *Burke*, and the argumentative vehemence " of *Fox*, who in the conduct of a party approved himself equal " to the conduct of an empire. By such men, every operation of " peace and war, every principle of justice or policy, every ques- " tion of authority and freedom, was attacked and defended ; and " the subject of the momentous contest was the union or separa- " tion of Great Britain and America. The eight sessions that I " sat in Parliament were a school of civil prudence, the first and " most essential virtue of an historian.

" The volume of my *History*, which had been somewhat delayed " by the novelty and tumult of a first session, was now ready for " the press. After the perilous adventure had been declined by " my friend Mr. Elmsly, I agreed, upon easy terms, with Mr. " Thomas Cadell, a respectable bookseller, and Mr. William Stra- " han, an eminent printer ; and they undertook the care and risk " of the publication, which derived more credit from the name of " the shop than from that of the author. The last revisal of the " proofs was submitted to my vigilance ; and many blemishes of " style, which had been invisible in the manuscript, were discov- " ered and corrected in the printed sheet. So moderate were our " hopes, that the original impression had been stinted to five hun- " dred, till the number was doubled by the prophetic taste of Mr. " Strahan. During this awful interval I was neither elated by the " ambition of fame, nor depressed by the apprehension of con- " tempt. My diligence and accuracy were attested by my own " conscience. History is the most popular species of writing, " since it can adapt itself to the highest or the lowest capacity. " I had chosen an illustrious subject. Rome is familiar to the " school-boy and the statesman ; and my narrative was deduced " from the last period of classical reading. I had likewise flattered " myself, that an age of light and liberty would receive, without " scandal, an enquiry into the human *causes* of the progress and " establishment of Christianity.

" I am at a loss how to describe the success of the work, without " betraying the vanity of the writer. The first impression was " exhausted in a few days ; a second and third edition were " scarcely adequate to the demand ; and the bookseller's property " was twice invaded by the pirates of Dublin. My book was on " every table, and almost on every toilette ; the historian was " crowned by the taste or fashion of the day ; nor was the general " voice disturbed by the barking of any *profane* critic. The favor

" of mankind is most freely bestowed on a new acquaintance of " any original merit; and the mutual surprise of the public and " their favorite is productive of those warm sensibilities, which at " a second meeting can no longer be rekindled. If I listened to " the music of praise, I was more seriously satisfied with the " approbation of my judges. The candor of Dr. Robertson em- " braced his disciple. A letter from Mr. Hume overpaid the labor " of ten years; but I have never presumed to accept a place in " the triumvirate of British historians."

The following is the letter from Mr. Hume to which Mr. Gibbon refers:

" EDINBURGH, *18th March, 1776.*

" DEAR SIR: As I ran through your volume of history with " great avidity and impatience, I cannot forbear discovering some- " what of the same impatience in returning you thanks for your " agreeable present, and expressing the satisfaction which the " performance has given me. Whether I consider the dignity of " your style, the depth of your matter, or the extensiveness of " your learning, I must regard the work as equally the object of " esteem; and I own that if I had not previously had the happi- " ness of your personal acquaintance, such a performance from " an Englishman in our age would have given me some surprise. " You may smile at this sentiment; but as it seems to me that " your countrymen, for almost a whole generation, have given " themselves up to barbarous and absurd faction, and have totally " neglected all polite letters, I no longer expected any valuable " production ever to come from them. I know it will give you " pleasure (as it did me) to find that all the men of letters in this " place concur in the admiration of your work, and in their anxious " desire of your continuing it.

" When I heard of your undertaking, (which was some time " ago,) I own I was a little curious to see how you would extricate " yourself from the subject of your two last chapters. I think you " have observed a very prudent temperament. It was impossible " to treat the subject so as not to give grounds of suspicion against " you, and you may expect that a clamor will arise. This, if any " thing, will retard your success with the public; for in every " other respect your work is calculated to be popular. But among " many other marks of decline, the prevalence of superstition in " England prognosticates the fall of philosophy and decay of " taste; and though nobody be more capable than you to revive " them, you will probably find a struggle in your first advances.

" I see you entertain a great doubt with regard to the authen- " ticity of the poems of Ossian. You are certainly right in so " doing. It is indeed strange that any men of sense could have " imagined it possible, that the above twenty thousand verses, " along with numberless historical facts, could have been pre- " served by oral tradition during fifty generations, by the rudest, " perhaps, of all the European nations, the most necessitous, the

"most turbulent, and the most unsettled. Where a supposition "is so contrary to common sense, any positive evidence of it "ought never to be regarded. Men run with great avidity to "give their evidence in favor of what flatters their passions and "their national prejudices. You are therefore over and above "indulgent to us in speaking of the matter with hesitation.

"I must inform you that we are all very anxious to hear that "you have fully collected the materials for your second volume, "and that you are even considerably advanced in the composition "of it. I speak this more in the name of my friends than in my "own; as I cannot expect to live so long as to see the publication "of it. Your ensuing volume will be more delicate then the pre-"ceding, but I trust in your prudence for extricating you from "the difficulties; and, in all events, you have courage to despise "the clamor of bigots. I am, with great regard, dear sir, your "most obedient, and most humble servant, DAVID HUME."

"Some weeks afterwards," says Mr. Gibbon, "I had the melan-"choly pleasure of seeing Mr. Hume in his passage through "London; his body feeble, his mind firm. On the 25th of August "of the same year (1776) he died, at Edinburgh, the death of a "philosopher."

Mr. Ferguson addressed Mr. Gibbon, as follows:

EDINBURGH, *March 19th, 1776.*

"DEAR SIR: I received about eight days ago, after reading your "*History*, the copy which you have been so good as to send me, "and for which I now trouble you with my thanks. But even if I "had not been thus called upon to offer you my respects, I could "not have refrained from congratulating you on the merit, and "undoubted success, of this valuable performance. The persons "of this place, whose judgment you will value most, agree in "opinion, that you have made a great addition to the classical "literature of England, and given us what Thucydides proposed "leaving with his own countrymen, a *possession in perpetuity*. "Men of a certain modesty and merit always exceed the expecta-"tions of their friends; and it is with very great pleasure I tell "you, that although you must have observed in me every mark "of consideration and regard, that this is, nevertheless, the case, "I receive your instruction, and study your model, with great "deference, and join with every one else, in applauding the extent "of your plan, in hands so well able to execute it. Some of "your readers, I find, were impatient to get at the fifteenth chap-"ter, and began at that place. I have not heard much of their "criticism, but am told that many doubt your orthodoxy.

"With the greatest respect, dear sir, your most obliged, and "most humble servant, ADAM FERGUSON."

The following are extracts from Dr. Robertson's letters:

"COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH, *July 30, 1788.*

"DEAR SIR: Long before this I should have acknowledged the receipt of your most acceptable present. . . During my solitude

" the perusal of your book has been my chief amusement and " consolation. I have gone through it once with great attention, " and am now advanced to the last volume in my second reading. " I ventured to predict the superior excellence of the volumes " lately published, and I have not been a false prophet. Indeed " when I consider the extent of your undertaking, and the im- " mense labor of historical and philosophic research requisite " towards executing every part of it, I am astonished that all this " should have been accomplished by one man. I know no exam- " ple, in any age or nation, of such a vast body of valuable and " elegant information communicated by any individual. I feel, " however, some degree of mortification mingled with my aston- " ishment. Before you began your historic career, I used to pride " myself in being at least the most illustrious historian of the age; " but now, alas! I can pretend no longer to that praise, and must " say, as Pliny did of his uncle, *Si comparer illi sum desidiosissi-* " *mus.* Your style appears to me improved in these new volumes; " by the habit of writing, you write with greater ease. I am sorry " to find that our ideas on the effects of the Crusades do not alto- " gether coincide. I considered that point with great care, and " cannot help thinking still that my opinion was well founded. " I shall consult the authorities to which I refer; for when my sen- " timents differ from yours, I have some reason to mistrust them.

" Your chapter concerning the pastoral nations is admirable; " and though I hold myself to be a tolerably good general histo- " rian, a great part of it was new to me. As soon as I have leisure " I propose to trace you to your sources of information, and I " have no doubt of finding you as exact there, as I have found " you in other passages where I have made a scrutiny. It was " always my idea that an historian should feel himself a witness " giving evidence upon oath. I am glad to perceive by your " minute scrupulosity, that your notions are the same. Farewell " my dear Sir. I ever am yours most faithfully.

" WILLIAM ROBERTSON."

Dr. Adam Smith addressed to Mr. Gibbon the following note:

" EDINBURGH, *December 10th, 1788.*

" MY DEAR FRIEND: I have ten thousand apologies to make, " for not having long ago returned you my best thanks for the " very agreeable present you made me of the three last volumes " of your *History.* I cannot express to you the pleasure it gives " me to find, that by the universal assent of every man of taste " and learning, whom I either know or correspond with, it sets " you at the very head of the whole literary tribe at present exist- " ing in Europe. I ever am, my dear friend, most affectionately " yours. ADAM SMITH."

Extract from a letter to Mr. Gibbon by Sir William Jones:

" LAMB'S BUILDINGS, *June 30th, 1781.*

" DEAR SIR: I have more than once sought, without having " been so fortunate as to obtain, a proper opportunity of thanking " you very sincerely for the elegant compliment which you pay " me, in a work abounding in elegance of all kinds.

"My *Seven Arabian Poets* will see the light before next winter, "and be proud to wait upon you in their English dress. Their "wild productions will, I flatter myself, be thought interesting, "and not venerable merely on account of their antiquity.

"With regard to *Asiatic Letters*, a necessary attention to my "profession will compel me wholly and eternally to abandon "them, unless Lord North should think me worthy to concur in "the improved administration of justice in Bengal, and should "appoint me to supply the vacancy of the Indian Bench. I should "probably travel through part of Egypt and Arabia, and should "be able, in my way, to procure many Eastern tracts of literature "and jurisprudence. I might become a good Mahomedan lawyer "before I reached Calcutta, and, in my vacations, should find "leisure to explain in my native language, whether the Arabs, "Persians, and Turks have written on science, history, and the "fine arts. At all times, and in all places, I shall ever be, with "undissembled regard, dear Sir, your much obliged and faithful "servant. W. JONES."

"My second excursion to Paris," says Gibbon, "was determined "by the pressing invitation of M. and Madame Necker, who had "visited England in the preceding summer. On my arrival I "found M. Necker Director-general of the finances, in the first "bloom of power and popularity. His private fortune enabled "him to support a liberal establishment; and his wife, whose "talents and virtues I had long admired, was admirably qualified "to preside in the conversation of her table and drawing-room. "As their friend I was introduced to the best company of both "sexes; to the foreign ministers of all nations, and to the first "names and characters of France; who distinguished me by "such marks of civility and kindness, as gratitude will not suffer "me to forget, and modesty will not allow me to enumerate. "The fashionable suppers often broke into the morning hours; "yet I occasionally consulted the Royal Library, and that of the "Abbey of St. Germain, and in the free use of their books at "home, I had always reason to praise the liberality of those in- "stitutions. The society of men of letters I neither courted nor "declined; but I was happy in the acquaintance of M. de Buffon, "who united with a sublime genius the most amiable simplicity "of mind and manners. At the table of my old friend, M. de "Foncemagne, I was involved in a dispute with the Abbé de "Mably; and his jealous irascible spirit revenged itself on a work "which he was incapable of reading in the original."

The following account is from the pen of an unknown critic, who was present at the dispute, and also at a preceding discussion on the English constitution, at the house of the Countess de Froulay:

"Vous étiez chez M. de Foncemagne, mon cher Theodon, le "jour que M. l'Abbé de Mably et M. Gibbon y dinerent en grande "compagnie. La conversation roula presque entièrement sur "l'histoire. L'Abbé etant un profond politique, la tourna sur "l'administration, quand un fut au desert: et comme par caractère, "par humeur, par l'habitude d'admirer Tite Live, il ne prise que "le systême republicain, il se mit à vanter l'excellence des repub- "liques: bien persuadé que le savant Anglois l'approuveroit en "tout, et admireroit la profondeur de génie qui avoit fait deviner "tous ces avantages à un François. Mais M. Gibbon, instruit par "l'experience des inconveniens d'un gouvernement populaire, ne "fut point du tout de son avis, et il prit généreusement la défense "du gouvernement monarchique. L'Abbé voulut le convaincre "par Tite Live, et par quelques argumens tirés de Plutarque en "faveur des Spartiates. M. Gibbon, doué de la memoire la plus "heureuse, et ayant tous les faits presens à la pensée, domina "bien-tot la conversation; l'Abbé se facha, ils s'emporta, il dit des "choses dures; l'Anglois, conservant le phlegme de son pays, "prenoit ses avantages, et pressoit l'Abbé avec d'autant plus de "succès que la colere le troubloit de plus en plus. La conversa- "tion s'echauffoit, et M. de Foncemagne la rompit en se levant de "table, et en passant dans le salon, où personne ne fut tenté de "la renouer." *Supplément de la Manière d'ecrire l'Histoire.**

Mr. Gibbon continues his narrative as follows:

"Nearly two years had elapsed between the publication of my "first and the commencement of my second volume; and the "causes must be assigned of this long delay. 1. After a short "holiday I indulged my curiosity in some studies of a very differ- "ent nature, a course of anatomy, which was demonstrated by "Doctor Hunter; and some lessons of chemistry, which were "delivered by Mr. Higgins. The principles of these sciences, and "a taste for books of natural history, contributed to multiply my "ideas and images; and the anatomist and chemist may probably "track me in their own snow. 2. I dived, perhaps too deeply, "into the mud of the Arian controversy; and many days of "reading, thinking, and writing were consumed in the pursuit of a "phantom. 3. It is difficult to arrange, with order and perspicuity, "the various transactions of the age of Constantine; and so "much was I displeased with the first essay, that I committed to "the flames above fifty sheets. 4. The six months of Paris and "pleasure must be deducted from the account. But when I re- "sumed my task I felt my improvement; I was now master of my

"* Mably was a lover of virtue and freedom; but his virtue was austere, "and his freedom was impatient of an equal. Kings, magistrates, nobles, "and successful writers, were the objects of his contempt, or hatred, or en- "vy; but his illiberal abuse of Voltaire, Hume, Buffon, the Abbé Reynal, "Dr. Robertson, and *tutti quanti*, can be injurious only to himself."

" style and subject, and while the measure of my daily perform-
" ance was enlarged, I discovered less reason to cancel or correct.
" It has always been my practice to cast a long paragraph in a
" single mould, to try it by my ear, to deposit it in my memory,
" but to suspend the action of the pen till I had given the last
" polish to my work. Shall I add, that I never found my mind
" more vigorous, nor my composition more happy, than in the
" winter hurry of society and parliament?

" Had I believed that the majority of English readers were so
" fondly attached even to the name and shadow of Christianity;
" had I foreseen that the pious, the timid, and the prudent, would
" feel, or affect to feel, with such exquisite sensibility; I might,
" perhaps, have softened the two invidious chapters, which would
" create many enemies, and conciliate few friends. But the shaft
" was shot, the alarm was sounded, and I could only rejoice that
" if the voice of our priests was clamorous and bitter, their hands
" were disarmed from the powers of persecution. I adhered to
" the wise resolution of trusting myself and my writings to the
" candor of the public, till Mr. Davies of Oxford presumed to
" attack, not the faith, but the fidelity, of the historian. *My Vin-*
" *dication*, expressive of less anger than contempt, amused for a
" moment the busy and idle metropolis; and the most rational
" part of the laity, and even of the clergy, appear to have been
" satisfied of my innocence and accuracy. I would not print this
" *Vindication* in quarto, lest it should be bound and preserved with
" the history itself. At the distance of twelve years, I calmly
" affirm my judgment of Davies, Chelsum, &c. A victory over
" such antagonists was a sufficient humiliation. They, however,
" were rewarded in this world. Poor Chelsum was indeed
" neglected; and I dare not boast the making Dr. Watson a
" bishop; he is a prelate of a large mind and liberal spirit: but I
" enjoyed the pleasure of giving a Royal pension to Mr. Davies,
" and of collating Dr. Apthorpe to an archiepiscopal living. Their
" success encouraged the zeal of Taylor, the Arian,* and Milner,
" the Methodist,† with many others, whom it would be difficult to

" *The stupendous title, *Thoughts on the Causes of the Grand Apostacy*, at
" first agitated my nerves, till I discovered that it was the apostacy of the whole
" church, since the Council of Nice, from Mr. Taylor's private religion."

" † From his grammar-school at Kingston upon Hull, Mr. Joseph Milner
" pronounces an anathema against all rational religion. *His* faith is a divine
" taste, a spiritual inspiration; *his* church is a mystic and invisible body: the
" *natural* Christians, such as Mr. Locke, who believe and interpret the
" Scriptures, are, in his judgment, no better than profane infidels."

" remember, and tedious to rehearse. The list of my adversaries, " however, was graced with the more respectable names of Dr. " Priestley, Sir David Dalrymple, and Dr. White; and every " polemic, of either university, discharged his sermon or pamph- " let against the impenetrable silence of the Roman historian. " In his *History of the Corruptions of Christianity* Dr Priestley " threw down his two gauntlets to Bishop Hurd and Mr. Gibbon. " I declined the challenge in a letter, exhorting my opponent to " enlighten the world by his philosophical discoveries, and to " remember that the merit of his predecessor Servetus is now " reduced to a single passage, which indicates the smaller circu- " lation of the blood through the lungs, from and to the heart. " Instead of listening to this friendly advice, the dauntless philos- " opher of Birmingham continued to fire away his double battery " against those who believed too little, and those who believed too " much. *From my* replies he has nothing to hope or fear; but " his Socinian shield has repeatedly been pierced by the spear of " Horsley, and his trumpet of sedition may at length awaken the " magistrates of a free country.

" The profession and rank of Sir David Dalrymple (now a Lord " of Session) has given a more decent color to his style. But " he scrutinized each separate passage of the two chapters with " the dry minuteness of a special pleader; and as he was always " solicitous to make, he may have succeeded sometimes in finding, " a flaw. In his *Annals of Scotland*, he has shown himself a " diligent collector and an accurate critic.

" I have praised, and still praise, the eloquent sermons which " were preached in St. Mary's pulpit at Oxford by Dr. White. If " he assaulted me with some degree of illiberal acrimony, in such " a place, and before such an audience, he was obliged to speak " the language of the country. I smiled at a passage in one of his " private letters to Mr. Badcock; 'The part where we encounter " 'Gibbon must be brilliant and striking.'

" In a sermon preached before the university of Cambridge, " Dr. Edwards complimented a work, 'which can only perish " 'with the language itself;' and esteems the author a formidable " enemy. He is, indeed, astonished that more learning and in- " genuity has not been shown in the defence of Israel; that the " prelates and dignitaries of the church (alas, good man!) did " not vie with each other, whose stone should sink the deepest " in the forehead of this Goliah."

The *Monthly Review* of October, 1790, speaks of this subject as follows: "But the force of truth will oblige us to confess, that in "the attacks which have been leveled against our skeptical histo- "rian, we can discover but slender traces of profound and "exquisite erudition, of solid criticism and accurate investigation; "but we are too frequently disgusted by vague and inconclusive "reasoning; by unseasonable banter and senseless witticisms; "by embittered bigotry and enthusiastic jargon; by futile cavils "and illiberal invectives. Proud and elated by the weakness of "his antagonists, he condescends not to handle the sword of "controversy."

"Let me frankly own," says Gibbon, "that I was startled at the "first discharge of ecclesiastical ordnance: but as soon as I found "that this empty noise was mischeivous only in the intention, my "fear was converted into indignation; and every feeling of indig- "nation or curiosity has long since subsided in pure and placid "indifference.

"The prosecution of my *History* was soon afterwards checked "by another controversy of a very different kind. At the request "of the Lord Chancellor, and of Lord Weymouth, then Secretary "of State, I vindicated, against the French manifesto, the justice "of the British arms. The whole correspondence of Lord "Stormont, our late ambassador at Paris, was submitted to my "inspection, and the *Memoire Justificatif*, which I composed in "French, was first approved by the Cabinet Ministers, and then "delivered as a state paper to the courts of Europe.

"Among the honorable connections which I had formed, I may "justly be proud of the friendship of Mr. Wedderburne, at that "time Attorney General, who now illustrates the title of Lord "Loughborough, and the office of Chief Justice of the Common "Pleas. By his strong recommendation, and the favorable dispo- "sition of Lord North, I was appointed one of the Lords Com- "missioners of Trade and Plantations; and my private income "was enlarged by a clear addition of between seven and eight "hundred pounds a year. The fancy of an hostile orator [Mr. "Burke] may paint, in the strong colors of ridicule, 'the perpetual "'virtual adjournment, and the unbroken sitting vacation of the "'Board of Trade.' But it must be allowed that our duty was "not intolerably severe, and that I enjoyed many days and weeks "of repose, without being called away from the library to the "office. My acceptance of a place provoked some of the leaders "of opposition, with whom I had lived in habits of intimacy; and

" I was most unjustly accused of deserting a party, in which I " had never enlisted.

" The aspect of the next session of parliament was stormy and " perilous ; county meetings, petitions, and committees of corres- " pondence, announced the public discontent ; and instead of " voting with a triumphant majority, the friends of government " were often exposed to a struggle, and sometimes to a defeat. " The House of Commons adopted Mr. Dunning's motion, 'That " 'the influence of the Crown had increased, was increasing, and " 'ought to be diminished:' and Mr. Burke's bill of reform was " framed with skill, introduced with eloquence, and supported by " numbers. The storm, however, blew over for a time ; a large " defection of country gentlemen eluded the hopes of the patriots: " the Lords of Trade were revived ; administration recovered " their strength and spirit ; and the flames of London, which were " kindled by a mischievous madman, admonished all thinking " men of the danger of an appeal to the people. In the premature " dissolution which followed this session of parliament I lost my " seat. Mr. Elliot was now deeply engaged in the measures of " opposition, and the electors of Leskeard are commonly of the " same opinion as Mr. Elliot.

" In this interval of my senatorial life I published the second " and third volumes of the *Decline and Fall.* My ecclesiastical " history still breathed the same spirit of freedom ; but protestant " zeal is more indifferent to the characters and controversies of " the fourth and fifth centuries.* My obstinate silence had damped " the ardor of the polemics. Dr. Watson, the most candid of my " adversaries, assured me that he had no thoughts of renewing

* Gibbon, says Milman, " might have annihilated the whole fabric of post- " apostolic miracles, if he had left uninjured by sarcastic insinuation those " of the New Testament ; he might have cashiered, with Dodwell, the whole " host of martyrs, which owe their existence to the prodigal invention of " later days, had he but bestowed fair room, and dwelt with his ordinary " energy on the sufferings of the genuine witnesses to the truth of Christianity." That is to say, had Gibbon penned a partisan essay, instead of writing an impartial history; had he selected only agreeable truths, and suppressed all unwelcome facts, it would not now be necessary to publish mutilated editions of his *History* for the use of schools in which every disparaging reference to Christianity has been excluded or revised, except, perchance, those portions inimical to the Catholic church. Protestants can endure in a spirit of true Christian fortitude all adverse criticism on the Catholic faith, and it is but strict justice to the Catholics to admit that this Christian feeling is by them warmly reciprocated. The command of Jesus, " Love ye one another," is by these Christian sectaries " more honor'd in the breach than the " observance." — E.

" the attack,* and my impartial balance of the virtues and vices of " Julian was generally praised. This truce was interrupted only " by some animadversions of the Catholics of Italy, and by some " angry letters of Mr. Travis, who made me personally responsi- " ble for condemning, with the best critics, the spurious text of " the three heavenly witnesses.†

" The piety or prudence of my Italian translator has provided " an antidote against the poison of his original. The fifth and " seventh volumes are armed with five letters from an anonymous " divine to his friends, Foothead and Kirk, two English students " at Rome; and this meritorious service is commended by Mon- " signor Stoner, a prelate of the same nation, who discovers " 'much venom in the fluid and nervous style of Gibbon.' The " *Critical Essay* at the end of the third volume was furnished by " the Abbate Nicola Spedalieri, whose zeal has gradually swelled " to a more solid confutation in two quarto volumes. Shall I be " excused for not having read them?

" The brutal insolence of Mr. Travis's challenge can only be " excused by the absence of learning, judgment, and humanity;

* Doctor Watson was, apparently, very careful in his *Apology for Christianity* not to provoke a reply from Mr. Gibbon. Discretion is often considered as the better part of valor. In his *Apology for the Bible*, which was a reply to Paine's *Age of Reason*, the worthy Bishop grows more combative, and even criticises Mr. Paine for deriving his belief in the existence of God from the exercise of reason, rather than from the dictum of revelation.—E.

† " For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, " and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one. And there are three that " bear witness in earth, the spirit, and the water, and the blood: and these " three agree in one."—*1 John v. 7, 8.*

The learned revisers of the New Testament have confirmed the judgment of Mr. Gibbon in regard to the spurious character of the above text, and Dr. Alexander Roberts in the *Companion to the Revised Version of the New Testament* honestly tells the reason why " the whole of these verses bearing " upon what is known as 'the heavenly witnesses,' has been omitted in the " Revised Version." *Because:* " The words left out can be proved to have " no claim whatever to a place in the text of Scripture. None of the Uncial " manuscripts contain them. None of the ancient versions represent them. " None of the Fathers quote them, even when arguing on the subject of the " Trinity. . . No defender of the genuineness of 1 John v. 7, 8, will " probably arise in the future. The controversy regarding the passage is " finished, and will never be renewed. But the literary history to which it " has given rise will never be forgotten. . . The voices of some zealous " friends of Scripture — Bishops, Cardinals, and others — have been un- " wisely lifted up in defence of 'the three heavenly witnesses,' yet so de- " cidedly have the minds of all scholars now been made up as to the spurious- " ness of the words, that they have been omitted in the Revised Version " without a line even on the margin to indicate that they had ever been " admitted in the sacred text."—E.

" and to that excuse he has the fairest or foulest pretension. Com-
" pared with Archdeacon Travis, Chelsum and Davies assume
" the title of respectable enemies.

" The bigoted advocate of popes and monks may be turned
" over even to the bigots of Oxford; and the wretched Travis
" still smarts under the lash of the merciless Porson. I consider
" Mr. Porson's answer to Archdeacon Travis as the most acute
" and accurate piece of criticism which has appeared since the
" days of Bentley. His strictures are founded in argument, en-
" riched with learning, and enlivened with wit; and his adversary
" neither deserves nor finds any quarter at his hands. The
" evidence of the three heavenly witnesses would now be rejected
" in any court of justice: but prejudice is blind, authority is deaf,
" and our vulgar bibles will ever be polluted by this spurious
" text, '*sedet æternumque sedebit.*' The more learned ecclesiatics
" will indeed have the secret satisfaction of reprobating in the
" closet what they read in the church.

" I perceived, and without surprise, the coldness and even preju-
" dice of the town; nor could a whisper escape my ear that, in
" the judgment of many readers, my continuation was much in-
" ferior to the original attempts. An author who cannot ascend
" will always appear to sink: envy was now prepared for my
" reception, and the zeal of my religious, was fortified by the
" motive of my political, enemies. Bishop Newton, in writing
" his own life, was at full liberty to declare how much he himself
" and two eminent brethren were disgusted by Mr. G.'s prolixity,
" tediousness, and affectation. But the old man should not have
" indulged his zeal in a false and feeble charge against the histo-
" rian who had faithfully and cautiously rendered Dr. Burnet's
" meaning by the alternative of sleep or repose. That philo-
" sophic divine supposes, that, in the period between death and
" the resurrection, human souls exist without a body, endowed
" with internal consciousness, but destitute of all active or
" passive connection with the external world.

" I was however encouraged by some domestic and foreign
" testimonies of applause; and the second and third volumes
" insensibly rose in sale and reputation to a level with the first.
" But the public is seldom wrong; and I am inclined to believe
" that, especially in the beginning, they are more prolix and less
" entertaining than the first: my efforts had not been relaxed by
" success, and I had rather deviated into the opposite fault of
" minute and superfluous diligence. On the Continent my name

" and writings were slowly diffused: a French translation of the " first volume had disappointed the booksellers of Paris; and a " passage in the third was construed as a personal reflection on " the reigning monarch.

" Before I could apply for a seat at the general election the list " was already full; but Lord North's promise was sincere, his " recommendation was effectual, and I was soon chosen on a va- " cancy for the borough of Lymington, in Hampshire. In the first " session of the new parliament, administration stood their ground; " their final overthrow was reserved for the second. The Ameri- " can war had once been the favorite of the country: the pride " of England was irritated by the resistance of her colonies, and " the executive power was driven by national clamor into the " most vigorous and coercive measures. But the length of a " fruitless contest, the loss of armies, the accumulation of debt " and taxes, and the hostile confederacy of France, Spain, and " Holland, indisposed the public to the American war, and the " persons by whom it was conducted; the representatives of the " people, followed, at a slow distance, the changes of their opin- " ion; and the ministers who refused to bend were broken by the " tempest. As soon as Lord North had lost, or was about to " lose, a majority in the House of Commons, he surrendered his " office and retired to a private station, with the tranquil assurance " of a clear conscience and a cheerful temper: the old fabric " was dissolved, and the posts of government were occupied by " the victorious and veteran troops of opposition. The lords of " trade were not immediately dismissed, but the board itself was " abolished by Mr. Burke's bill, which decency had compelled " the patriots to revive; and I was stripped of a convenient salary, " after having enjoyed it about three years.

" So flexible is the title of my *History* that the final era might " be fixed at my own choice; and I long hesitated whether I " should be content with the three volumes, the fall of the West- " ern empire, which fulfilled my first engagement with the public. " In this interval of suspense, nearly a twelvemonth, I returned " by a natural impulse to the Greek authors of antiquity: I read " with a new pleasure the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the *Histories of* " *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Xenophon*, a large portion of the " tragic and comic theatre of Athens, and many interesting dia- " logues of the Socratic school. Yet in the luxury of freedom " I began to wish for the daily task, the active pursuit, which gave " a value to every book, and an object to every inquiry: the pre-

"face of a new edition announced my design, and I dropped
"without reluctance from the age of Plato to that of Justinian.
"The original texts of *Procopius* and *Agathias* supplied the events
"and even the characters of his reign: but a laborious winter was
"devoted to the *Codes*, the *Pandects*, and the modern interpreters,
"before I presumed to form an abstract of the civil law. My skill
"was improved by practice, my diligence perhaps was quickened
"by the loss of office; and, excepting the last chapter, I had
"finished the fourth volume before I sought a retreat on the
"banks of the Leman Lake.

"It is not the purpose of this narrative to expatiate on the
"public or secret history of the times: the schism which followed
"the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, the appointment of
"the Earl of Shelburne, the resignation of Mr. Fox, and his fa-
"mous coalition with Lord North. But I may assert, with some
"degree of assurance, that in their political conflict those great
"antagonists had never felt any personal animosity to each other,
"that their reconciliation was easy and sincere, and that their
"friendship has never been clouded by the shadow of suspicion
"or jealousy. The most violent or venal of their respective
"followers embraced this fair occasion of revolt, but their alliance
"still commanded a majority in the House of Commons; the
"peace was censured, Lord Shelburne resigned, and the two
"friends knelt on the same cushion to take the oath of secretary
"of state. From a principle of gratitude I adhered to the coalition:
"my vote was counted in the day of battle, but I was overlooked
"in the division of the spoil. There were many claimants more
"deserving and importunate than myself; the board of trade could
"not be restored; and, while the list of places was curtailed,
"the number of candidates was doubled. An easy dismission to
"a secure seat at the board of customs or excise was promised
"on the first vacancy: but the chance was distant and doubtful;
"nor could I solicit with much ardor an ignoble servitude, which
"would have robbed me of the most valuable of my studious
"hours: at the same time the tumult of London, and the attend-
"ance on parliament, were grown more irksome; and, without
"some additional income, I could not long or prudently maintain
"the style of expense to which I was accustomed.

"From my early acquaintance with Lausanne I had always
"cherished a secret wish, that the school of my youth might
"become the retreat of my declining age. A moderate fortune
"would secure the blessings of ease, leisure, and independence:

" the country, the people, the manners, the language, were congenial to my taste; and I might indulge the hope of passing " some years in the domestic society of a friend. Mr. Deyverdun " was now settled at home, in a pleasant habitation, the gift " of his deceased aunt: we had long been separated, we had " long been silent; yet in my first letter I exposed, with the most " perfect confidence, my situation, my sentiments, and my designs. " His immediate answer was a warm and joyful acceptance: the " picture of our future life provoked my impatience; and the " terms of arrangement were short and simple, as he possessed " the property, and I undertook the expense of our common house. " Before I could break my English chain, it was incumbent on me " to struggle with the feelings of my heart, the indolence of my " temper, and the opinion of the world, which unanimously con- " demned this voluntary banishment. In the disposal of my " effects, the library, a sacred deposit, was alone excepted: as my " postchaise moved over Westminster-bridge I bid a long farewell " to the '*fumum et opes strepitumq; Romæ.*' My journey by the " direct road through France was not attended with any accident, " and I arrived at Lausanne nearly twenty years after my second " departure. Within less than three months the coalition struck " on some hidden rocks: had I remained on board, I should have " perished in the general shipwreck.

" Since my establishment at Lausanne more than seven years " had elapsed; and if every day has not been equally soft and " serene, not a day, not a moment, has occurred in which I have " repented of my choice. During my absence a long portion of " human life, many changes had happened: my elder acquaintance " had left the stage; virgins were ripened into matrons, and " children were grown to the age of manhood. But the same " manners were transmitted from one generation to another; my " friend alone was an inestimable treasure; my name was not " totally forgotten, and all were ambitious to welcome the arrival " of a stranger and the return of a fellow citizen. The first winter " was given to a general embrace, without any nice discrimination " of persons and characters. After a more regular settlement, a " more accurate survey, I discovered three solid and permanent " benefits of my new situation. 1. My personal freedom had been " somewhat impaired by the House of Commons and the Board " of Trade; but I was now delivered from the chain of duty and " dependence, from the hopes and fears of political adventure: " my sober mind was no longer intoxicated by the fumes of party,

" and I rejoiced in my escape, as often as I read of the midnight " debates which preceded the dissolution of parliament. 2. My " English economy had been that of a solitary bachelor, who " might afford some occasional dinners. In Switzerland I enjoyed " at every meal, at every hour, the free and pleasant conversation " of the friend of my youth; and my daily table was always " provided for the reception of one or two extraordinary guests. " Our importance in society is less a positive than a relative " weight: in London I was lost in the crowd; I ranked with the first " families of Lausanne, and my style of prudent expense enabled " me to maintain a fair balance of reciprocal civilities.* 3. Instead " of a small house between a street and a stable-yard, I began to

* Notwithstanding this picture of rural felicity, it seems from the following extract from a letter to Lady Sheffield that Gibbon felt the same want that oppressed Adam in Paradise, and sighed for the companionship of one of Eve's fair daughters. " My present life," says the historian, describing his residence at Lausanne, " wants no foil, and shines by its own native light. " The chosen part of my library is now arrived, and arranged in a room " full as good as that in Bentinck-street, with this difference indeed, that " instead of looking on a stone court, twelve feet square, I command from " three windows of plate glass, an unbounded prospect of many a league of " vineyards, of fields, of wood, of lake, and of mountains; a scene which " Lord Sheffield will tell you is superior to all you can imagine. The climate, " though severe in winter, has perfectly agreed with my constitution. An " excellent house, a good table, a pleasant garden, are no contemptible in- " gredients in human happiness. The general style of society hits my fancy. " With regard to my friend Deyverdun, I could not be much disappointed " after an intimacy of eight-and-twenty years. His heart and his head are " excellent; he has the warmest attachment for me, he is satisfied that I " have the same for him: some slight imperfections must be mutually " supported; two bachelors, who have lived so long alone and independent, " have their peculiar fancies and humors, and when the mask of ceremony " is laid aside, every moment in a family life has not the sweetness of the " honey-moon, even between the husbands and wives who have the truest " and most tender regard for each other. Should you be very much sur- " prised to hear of my being married? Amazing as it may seem, I do " assure you that the event is less improbable than it would have appeared " to myself a twelvemonth ago. Deyverden and I have often agreed in jest " and in earnest, that a house like ours would be regulated, and graced, and " enlivened, by an agreeable female companion; but each of us seems de- " sirous that his friend should sacrifice himself for the public good. Since " my residence here I have lived much in women's company; and to your " credit be it spoken, I like you the better the more I see of you. Not that " I am in love with any particular person. I have discovered about half-a " dozen *wives* who would please me in different ways, and by various merits. " One as a mistress; a second, a lively entertaining acquaintance; a third, a " sincere good-natured friend; a fourth, who would represent with grace " and dignity at the head of my table and family; a fifth, an excellent " economist and housekeeper; and a sixth, a very useful nurse. Could I " find all these qualities united in a single person, I should dare to make " my addresses, and should deserve to be refused."

" occupy a spacious and convenient mansion, connected on the
" north side with the city, and open on the south to a beautiful
" and boundless horizon. A garden of four acres had been laid
" out by the taste of Mr. Deyverdun: from the garden a rich
" scenery of meadows and vineyards descends to the Leman
" Lake, and the prospect far beyond the Lake is crowned by the
" stupendous mountains of Savoy. My books and my acquaint-
" ance had been first united in London; but this happy position of
" my library in town and country was finally reserved for Lausanne.
" Possessed of every comfort in this triple alliance, I could not
" be tempted to change my habitation with the changes of the
" seasons.

" My friends had been kindly apprehensive that I should not
" be able to exist in a Swiss town at the foot of the Alps, after
" having so long conversed with the first men of the first cities of
" the world. Such lofty connections may attract the curious, and
" gratify the vain; but I am too modest, or too proud, to rate my
" value by that of my associates; and whatsoever may be the
" fame of learning or genius, experience has shown me that the
" cheaper qualifications of politeness and good sense are of more
" useful currency in the commerce of life. By many, conversa-
" tion is esteemed as a theatre or a school: but, after the morning
" has been occupied by the labors of the library, I wish to
" unbend rather than to exercise my mind; and in the interval
" between tea and supper I am far from disdaining the innocent
" amusement of a game at cards. Lausanne is peopled by a
" numerous gentry, whose companionable idleness is seldom
" disturbed by the pursuits of avarice or ambition: the women,
" though confined to a domestic education, are endowed for the
" most part with more taste and knowledge than their husbands
" and brothers: but the decent freedom of both sexes is equally
" remote from the extremes of simplicity and refinement. I shall
" add as a misfortune rather than a merit, that the situation and
" beauty of the Pays de Vaud, and the fashion of viewing the
" mountains and glaciers, have opened us on all sides to the in-
" cursions of foreigners. The visits of Mr. and Madame Necker,
" of Prince Henry of Prussia, and of Mr. Fox, may form some
" pleasing exceptions; but, in general, Lausanne has appeared
" most agreeable in my eyes, when we have been abandoned to
" our own society. In his tour of Switzerland (September 1788)
" Mr. Fox gave me two days of free and private society. He
" seemed to feel and even to envy the happiness of my situation;

" while I admired the powers of a superior man, as they are " blended in his attractive character with the softness and sim- " plicity of a child. Perhaps no human being was ever more " perfectly exempt from the taint of malevolence, vanity, or false- " hood.

" My transmigration from London to Lausanne could not be " effected without interrupting the course of my historical labors. " The hurry of my departure, the joy of my arrival, the delay of " my tools, suspended their progress; and a full twelvemonth was " lost before I could resume the thread of regular and daily indus- " try. The fourth volume was soon terminated, by an abstract " of the controversies of the Incarnation, which the learned Dr. " Prideaux was apprehensive of exposing to profane eyes. It had " been the original design of the learned Dean Prideaux to write " the history of the ruin of the Eastern Church. In this work it " would have been necessary, not only to unravel all those con- " troversies which the Christians made about the hypostatical " union, but also to unfold all the niceties and subtle notions " which each sect entertained concerning it. The pious historian " was apprehensive of exposing that incomprehensible mystery " to the cavils and objections of unbelievers; and he durst not, " 'seeing the nature of this book, venture it abroad in so wanton " 'and lewd an age.'*

" In the fifth and sixth volumes the revolutions of the empire " and the world are most rapid, various, and instructive; and the " Greek and Roman historians are checked by the hostile narra- " tives of the barbarians of the East and the West.†

" It was not till after many designs, and many trials, that I " preferred, as I still prefer, the method of grouping my picture " by nations; and the seeming neglect of chronological order is " surely compensated by the superior merits of interest and per- " spicuity. The style of the first volume is, in my opinion, " somewhat crude and elaborate; in the second and third it is " ripened into ease, correctness, and numbers; but in the three " last I may have been seduced by the facility of my pen: and the " constant habit of speaking one language and writing another " may have infused some mixture of Gallic idioms. Happily for

" * See preface to the Life of Mahomet, p. 10, 11."

" †I have followed the judicious precept of the Abbé de Mably, (Manière " d'ecrire l'Histoire, p. 110,) who advises the historian not to dwell too " minutely on the decay of the eastern empire, but to consider the barbarian " conquerors as more worthy of his narrative. '*Fas est et ab hoste doceri.*' "

" my eyes, I have always closed my studies with the day, and " commonly with the morning; and a long, but temperate, labor " has been accomplished, without fatiguing either the mind or " body; but when I computed the remainder of my time and my " task, it was apparent that, according to the season of publication, " the delay of a month would be productive of that of a year. I " was now straining for the goal, and in the last winter many " evenings were borrowed from the social pleasures of Lausanne. " I could now wish that a pause, an interval, had been allowed " for a serious revisal.

" I have presumed to mark the moment of conception: I shall " now commemorate the hour of my final deliverance. It was on " the day, or rather night, of the 27th of June, 1787, between the " hours of eleven and twelve, that I wrote the last lines of the " last page, in a summer-house in my garden. After laying down " my pen, I took several turns in a *berceau*, or covered walk of " accacias, which commands a prospect of the country, the lake, " and the mountains. The air was temperate, the sky was serene, " the silver orb of the moon was reflected from the waters, and " all nature was silent. I will not dissemble the first emotions of " joy on the recovery of my freedom, and, perhaps, the establish- " ment of my fame. But my pride was soon humbled, and a sober " melancholy was spread over my mind by the idea that I had " taken an everlasting leave of an old and agreeable companion, " and that whatsoever might be the future fate of my *History*, the " life of the historian must be short and precarious. I will add " two facts, which have seldom occurred in the composition of " six, or at least of five, quartos. 1. My first rough manuscript, " without any intermediate copy, has been sent to the press. " 2. Not a sheet has been seen by any human eyes, excepting " those of the author and the printer: the faults and the merits are " exclusively my own.

" After a quiet residence of four years, during which I had never " moved ten miles from Lausanne, it was not without some reluc- " tance and terror that I undertook, in a journey of two hundred " leagues, to cross the mountains and the sea. Yet this formidable " adventure was achieved without danger or fatigue; and at the " end of a fortnight I found myself in Lord Sheffield's house and " library, safe, happy, and at home. During the whole time of " my residence in England I was entertained at Sheffield-Place " and in Downing Street by his hospitable kindness; and the " most pleasant period was that which I passed in the domestic

" society of the family. In the large circle of the metropolis I " observed the country and the inhabitants with the knowledge, " and without the prejudices, of an Englishman ; but I rejoiced in " the apparent increase of wealth and prosperity, which might be " fairly divided between the spirit of the nation and the wisdom " of the minister. All party resentment was now lost in oblivion ; " since I was no man's rival, no man was my enemy. I felt the " dignity of independence, and as I asked no more, I was satisfied " with the general civilities of the world. The house in London " which I frequented with most pleasure and assiduity was that " of Lord North. After the loss of power and of sight, he was " still happy in himself and his friends ; and my public tribute of " gratitude and esteem could no longer be suspected of any " interested motive. Before my departure from England, I was " present at the august spectacle of Mr. Hastings's trial in West- " minster Hall. It is not my province to absolve or condemn the " Governor of India ; but Mr. Sheridan's eloquence demanded " my applause ; nor could I hear without emotion the personal " compliment which he paid me in the presence of the British " nation.

" As the publication of my three last volumes was the principal " object, so it was the first care of my English journey. The " previous arrangements with the bookseller and the printer were " settled in my passage through London, and the proofs, which " I returned more correct, were transmitted every post from the " press to Sheffield-Place. The length of the operation, and the " leisure of the country, allowed some time to review my manu- " script. Several rare and useful books, the *Assises de Jerusalem*, " *Ramusius de Bello C. Paro*, *Greek Acts of the Synod of Florence*, " *Statuta Urbis Romæ*, &c., were procured, and introduced in " their proper places the supplements which they afforded. The " impression of the fourth volume had consumed three months. " Our common interest required that we should move with a " quicker pace ; and Mr. Strahan fulfilled his engagement, which " few printers could sustain, of delivering every week three " thousand copies of nine sheets. The day of publication was, " however, delayed, that it might coincide with the fifty-first anni- " versary of my own birth-day ; the double festival was celebrated " by a cheerful literary dinner at Mr. Cadell's house ; and I seemed " to blush while they read an elegant compliment from Mr. Hayley, " whose poetical talents had more than once been employed in " the praise of his friend. Before Mr. Hayley inscribed with my

" name his epistles on history, I was not acquainted with that " amiable man and elegant poet. He afterwards thanked me in " verse for my second and third volumes ; and in the summer " of 1781, the Roman eagle* (a proud title) accepted the invitation " of the English sparrow, who chirped in the groves of Eartham, " near Chichester. As most of the former purchasers were nat- " urally desirous of completing their sets, the sale of the quarto " edition was quick and easy ; and an octavo size was printed, to " satisfy at a cheaper rate the public demand. The conclusion of " my work was generally read and variously judged. The style " has been exposed to much academical criticism ; a religious " clamor † was revived, and the reproach of indecency has been " loudly echoed by the rigid censors of morals. I never could " understand the clamor that has been raised against the inde- " cency of my three last volumes. 1. An equal degree of freedom " in the former part, especially in the first volume, had passed " without reproach. 2. I am justified in painting the manners of " the times ; the vices of Theodora form an essential feature in " the reign and character of Justinian. 3. My English text is " chaste, and all licentious passages are left in the obscurity of a " learned language. *Le Latin dans ses mots brave l'honnêteté*, " says the correct Boileau, in a country and idiom more scrupu- " lous than our own. Yet, upon the whole, the *History of the* " *Decline and Fall* seems to have struck root, both at home and " abroad, and may, perhaps, a hundred years hence still continue

* Alluding to a card of Invitation to Mr. Gibbon by Mr. Hayley, the opening lines of which are as follows :

" An English sparrow, pert and free,
" Who chirps beneath his native tree,
" Hearing the Roman eagle 's near,
" And feeling more respect than fear,
" Thus, with united love and awe,
" Invites him to his shed of straw."

† This " religious clamor," was formerly considered an effective weapon for combatting historical facts and opposing the discoveries of science ; but experience has shown that its influence has been greatly overrated, and that, in reality, it produces no permanent results.

" Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*," says Buckle, " has now been jealously " scrutinized by two generations of eager and unscrupulous opponents ; and " I am only expressing the general opinion of competent judges when I say " that by each successive scrutiny it has gained fresh reputation. Against " his celebrated fifteenth and sixteenth chapters all the devices of contro- " versy have been exhausted ; but the only result has been, that while the " fame of the historian is untarnished, the attacks of his enemies are falling " into complete oblivion. The work of Gibbon remains, but who is there " who feels any interest in what was written against him ? "—*History of Civilization in England, vol. 1, page 429.*—E.

" to be abused.* I am less flattered by Mr. Porson's high enco-
" mium on the style of my history, than I am satisfied with his
" honorable testimony to my attention, dilligence and accuracy ;
" those humble virtues, which religious zeal has most audaciously
" denied. The sweetness of his praise is tempered by a reason-
" able mixture of acid.

" The French, Italian, and German translations have been
" executed with various success ; but instead of patronizing, I
" should willingly suppress such imperfect copies, which injure
" the character, while they propagate the name of the author.
" The first volume had been feebly, though faithfully, translated
" into French by M. Le Clerc de Septchenes, a young gentleman
" of a studious character and liberal fortune. After his decease
" the work was continued by two manufacturers of Paris, M. M.
" Desmuniers and Cantwell. The superior merit of the inter-
" preter, or his language, inclines me to prefer the Italian version ;
" but I wish that it were in my power to read the German, which
" is praised by the best judges. The Irish pirates are at once my
" friends and my enemies. But I cannot be displeased with the
" two numerous and correct impressions which have been pub-
" lished for the use of the continent at Basil in Switzerland. The
" conquests of our language and literature are not confined to
" Europe alone, and a writer who succeeds in London, is speedily
" read on the banks of the Delaware and the Ganges.

" In the preface of the fourth volume, while I gloried in the
" name of an Englishman, I announced my approaching return to
" the neighborhood of the Lake of Lausanne. This last trial
" confirmed my assurance that I had wisely chosen for my own

* The silly abuse of the great historian by his clerical opponents, no doubt contributed greatly to the financial success of his *History*, upon its first publication. Curiosity was aroused by the clamor of the zealots, and the heterodoxy of the author, which these fanatics took so much pains to advertise, was considered by sensible men in the light of a recommendation, because it seemed to guarantee an impartial and truthful narrative, to which merit a history of paganism by a Christian writer could not aspire. After the lapse of a century and the overwhelming success of Gibbon's writings has been demonstrated, this vulgar abuse has almost ceased, and given place to regrets that while Mahometanism and paganism have been pictured in the most lively colors, "Christianity alone," to quote the words of Milman, "receives no embellishment from the magic of Gibbon's language." That is to say, these men of creeds and dogmas are now content to regret the passages their ecclesiastical predecessors formerly abused ; and it is even probable that, by the further increase of knowledge and the future progress of reason, their more liberal successors may yet learn to commend the passages now so regretfully perused.—E.

" happiness; nor did I once, in a year's visit, entertain a wish " of settling in my native country. Britain is the free and for- " tunate island; but where is the spot in which I could unite the " comforts and beauties of my establishment at Lausanne? The " tumult of London astonished my eyes and ears; the amusements " of public places were no longer adequate to the trouble; the " clubs and assemblies were filled with new faces and young men; " and our best society, our long and late dinners, would soon " have been prejudicial to my health. Without any share in the " political wheel, I must be idle and insignificant: yet the most " splendid temptations would not have enticed me to engage " a second time in the servitude of parliament or office. At " Tunbridge, some weeks after the publication of my *History*, I " reluctantly quitted Lord and Lady Sheffield, and, with a young " Swiss friend, whom I had introduced to the English world, " I pursued the road of Dover and Lausanne. My habitation was " embellished in my absence, and the last division of books, which " followed my steps, increased my chosen library to the number " of between six and seven thousand volumes. My seraglio was " ample, my choice was free, my appetite was keen. After a full " repast on *Homer* and *Aristophanes*, I involved myself in the " philosophic maze of the writings of Plato, of which the dramatic " is, perhaps, more interesting than the argumentative part: but " I stepped aside into every path of inquiry which reading or " reflection accidently opened.

" Alas! the joy of my return, and my studious ardor, were soon " damped by the melancholy state of my friend Mr. Deyverdun. " His health and spirits had long suffered a gradual decline, a " succession of apoplectic fits announced his dissolution; and " before he expired, those who loved him could not wish for the " continuance of his life. The voice of reason might congratulate " his deliverance, but the feelings of nature and friendship could " be subdued only by time: his amiable character was still alive " in my remembrance; each room, each walk, was imprinted " with our common footsteps; and I should blush at my own phi- " losophy, if a long interval of study had not preceded and followed " the death of my friend."

Gibbon was really a most kind-hearted and affectionate man, and entertained the tenderest feelings of attachment for his intimate friends. In his letter to Lord Sheffield, lamenting the death of his aunt, Mrs. Porton, he expresses sentiments of gratitude, love, and sorrow, which must meet the approval of every reader.

"There are," he says, alluding to the death of this lady, "few "events that could afflict me more deeply, and I have been ever "since in a state of mind more deserving of your pity than of "your reproaches. I certainly am not ignorant that we have "nothing better to wish for ourselves than the fate of that best "humored woman, as you very justly style her; a good under- "standing and an excellent heart, with health, spirits, and a "competency, to live in the midst of her friends till the age of "fourscore, and then to shut her eyes without pain or remorse. "Death can have deprived her only of some years of weakness, "perhaps of misery; and for myself, it is surely less painful to "lose her at present, than to find her in my visit to England next "year sinking under the weight of age and infirmities, and per- "haps forgetful of herself and of the persons once the dearest to "her. All this is perfectly true: but all these reflections will not "dispel a thousand sad and tender remembrances that rush upon "my mind. To her care I am indebted in earliest infancy for the "preservation of my life and health. I was a puny child, neglected "by my mother, starved by my nurse, and of whose being very "little care or expectation was entertained; without her maternal "vigilance I should either have been in my grave, or imperfectly "lived a crooked rickety monster, a burden to myself and others. "To her instructions I owe the first rudiments of knowledge, the "first exercise of reason, and a taste for books, which is still the "pleasure and glory of my life; and though she taught me neither "language nor science, she was certainly the most useful preceptor "I ever had. As I grew up, an intercourse of thirty years "endeared her to me, as the faithful friend and the agreeable "companion. You have seen with what freedom and confidence "we lived together, and have often admired her character and "conversation, which could alike please the young and the old. "All this is now lost, finally, irrecoverably lost! I will agree with "my Lady, that the immortality of the soul is at some times "a very comfortable doctrine. A thousand thanks to her for her "constant kind attention to that poor woman who is no more."

"By his last will Mr. Deyverden left me the option of pur- "chasing his house and garden, or of possessing them during "my life, on the payment either of a stipulated price, or of an "easy retribution to his kinsman and heir. I should probably "have been tempted by the dæmon of property, if some legal "difficulties had not been started against my title: a contest

" would have been vexatious, doubtful, and invidious; and the " heir most gratefully subscribed an agreement, which rendered " my life-possession more perfect, and his future condition more " advantageous.

" The certainty of my tenure has allowed me to lay out a con- " siderable sum in improvements and alterations: they have been " executed with skill and taste; and few men of letters, perhaps, " in Europe, are so desirably lodged as myself. But I feel, and " with the decline of years I shall more painfully feel, that I am " alone in paradise.

" Within the last two or three years our tranquillity has been " clouded by the disorders of France: many families at Lausanne " were alarmed and affected by the terrors of an impending " bankruptcy; but the revolution, or rather the dissolution of the " kingdom has been heard and felt in the adjacent lands.

" I beg leave to subscribe my assent to Mr. Burke's creed on " the revolution of France.* I admire his eloquence, I approve his " politics, I adore his chivalry, and I can almost excuse his rever- " ence for church establishments. I have sometimes thought of " writing a dialogue of the dead, in which Lucian, Erasmus and " Voltaire should mutually acknowledge the danger of exposing " an old superstition to the contempt of the blind and fanatic " multitude.

" A swarm of emigrants of both sexes, who escaped from the " public ruin, has been attracted by the vicinity, the manners, and " the language of Lausanne; and our narrow habitations in town " and country are now occupied by the first names and titles of

* The admiration of Gibbon for Burke, the hostility of Burke to Paine, and the similar effect produced by the writings of Paine and Gibbon on religious belief, form a curious subject for reflection. Paine assailed Christianity with the weapons of argument and reason. Gibbon, by impartially telling the truth, in effect attacked Christianity from the historical standpoint; and as his *History* is universally read, while Paine's writings are restricted in circulation, it is probable that Gibbon has done far more than Paine to unsettle faith in revealed religion. Yet while these writers thus seem to have substantially agreed on religious subjects, they differed widely in their political views. Paine was a democrat, and wrote the *Rights of Man* in reply to Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*. Gibbon endorsed the arguments of Burke, and really dreaded the advance of democratic ideas. His retreat at Lausanne was invaded by the aristocratic refugees, who fled before the storm of the revolution which their own vices and oppression had incited; and although our author had chronicled the rise and fall of empires, and was familiar with the history of former revolutions, yet he strangely failed to realize the significance of the revolution that was transpiring around him, or to foresee the beneficent results that have followed that grand uprising of the people of France.—E.

"the departed monarchy. These noble fugitives are entitled to "our pity; they may claim our esteem, but they cannot, in the "present state of mind and fortune, much contribute to our amuse- "ment. Instead of looking down as calm and idle spectators on "the theatre of Europe, our domestic harmony is somewhat "embittered by the infusion of party spirit; our ladies and gentle- "men assume the character of self-taught politicians; and the "sober dictates of wisdom and experience are silenced by the "clamor of the triumphant *democrates*. The fanatic missionaries "of sedition have scattered the seeds of discontent in our cities "and villages, which had flourished above two hundred and fifty "years without fearing the approach of war, or feeling the weight "of government. Many individuals, and some communities, "appear to be infested with the Gallic frenzy, the wild theories "of equal and boundless freedom; but I trust that the body of the "people will be faithful to their sovereign and to themselves; and "I am satisfied that the failure or success of a revolt would equally "terminate in the ruin of the country. While the aristocracy of "Bern protects the happiness, it is superfluous to enquire whether "it be founded in the rights of man: the economy of the state is "liberally supplied without the aid of taxes; and the magistrates "*must* reign with prudence and equity, since they are unarmed in "the midst of an armed nation.

"The revenue of Bern, excepting same small duties, is derived "from church lands, tithes, feudal rights, and interest of money. "The republic has nearly £500,000 sterling in the English funds, "and the full amount of their treasure is unknown to the citizens "themselves. For myself (may the omen be averted) I can only "declare, that the first stroke of a rebel drum would be the signal "of my immediate departure.

"When I contemplate the common lot of mortality, I must "acknowledge that I have drawn a high prize in the lottery of "life. The far greater part of the globe is overspread with bar- "barism or slavery: in the civilized world, the most numerous "class is condemned to ignorance and poverty; and the double "fortune of my birth in a free and enlightened country, in an "honorable and wealthy family, is the lucky chance of an unit "against millions. The general probability is about three to one, "that a new-born infant will not live to complete his fiftieth year. "I have now passed that age, and may fairly estimate the present "value of my existence in the three-fold division of mind, body, "and estate.

" 1. The first and indispensable requisite of happiness is a clear " conscience, unsullied by the reproach or remembrance of an " unworthy action.

" —— Hic murus aheneus esto,
" Nil conscire sibi, nullâ pallescere culpâ.

" I am endowed with a cheerful temper, a moderate sensibility, " and a natural disposition to repose rather than to activity: some " mischievous appetites and habits have perhaps been corrected " by philosophy or time. The love of study, a passion which " derives fresh vigor from enjoyment, supplies each day, each hour, " with a perpetual source of independent and rational pleasure; " and I am not sensible of any decay of the mental faculties. The " original soil has been highly improved by cultivation; but it " may be questioned, whether some flowers of fancy, some grate- " ful errors, have not been eradicated with the weeds of prejudice. " 2. Since I have escaped from the long perils of my childhood, " the serious advice of a physician has seldom been requisite. " 'The madness of superfluous health' I have never known; but " my tender constitution has been fortified by time, and the in- " estimable gift of the sound and peaceful slumbers of infancy " may be imputed both to the mind and body. 3. I have already " described the merits of my society and situation; but these " enjoyments would be tasteless or bitter if their possession were " not assured by an annual and adequate supply. According to " the scale of Switzerland, I am a rich man; and I am indeed " rich, since my income is superior to my expense, and my expense " is equal to my wishes. My friend Lord Sheffield has kindly " relieved me from the cares to which my taste and temper are " most adverse: shall I add, that since the failure of my first wishes, " I have never entertained any serious thoughts of a matrimonial " connection?

" I am disgusted with the affectation of men of letters, who " complain that they have renounced a substance for a shadow; " and that their fame (which sometimes is no insupportable weight) " affords a poor compensation for envy, censure, and persecution.* " My own experience, at least, has taught me a very different " lesson: twenty happy years have been animated by the labor " of my *History:* and its success has given me a name, a rank, a

" * Mr. d'Alembert relates, that as he was walking in the gardens of Sans " Souci with the King of Prussia, Frederic said to him, 'Do you see that " 'old woman, a poor weeder, asleep on that sunny bank? she is probably " 'a more happy being than either of us.' The king and the philosopher " may speak for themselves; for my part I do not envy the old woman."

" character, in the world, to which I should not otherwise have " been entitled. The freedom of my writings has indeed provoked " an implacable tribe; but as I was safe from the stings, I was soon " accustomed to the buzzing of the hornets: my nerves are not " tremblingly alive, and my literary temper is so happily framed, " that I am less sensible of pain than of pleasure. The rational " pride of an author may be offended, rather than flattered, by " vague indiscriminate praise; but he cannot, he should not, be " indifferent to the fair testimonies of private and public esteem. " Even his moral sympathy may be gratified by the idea, that " now, in the present hour, he is imparting some degree of amuse- " ment or knowledge to his friends in a distant land: that one " day his mind will be familiar to the grandchildren of those who " are yet unborn. I cannot boast of the friendship or favor of " princes; the patronage of English literature has long since been " devolved on our booksellers, and the measure of their liberality " is the least ambiguous test of our common success. Perhaps " the golden mediocrity of my fortune has contributed to fortify " my application.

" The present is a fleeting moment, the past is no more; and " our prospect of futurity is dark and doubtful. This day may " *possibly* be my last: but the laws of probability, so true in gen- " eral, so fallacious in particular, still allow about fifteen years. " I shall soon enter into the period which, as the most agreeable " of his long life, was selected by the judgment and experience of " the sage Fontenelle. His choice is approved by the eloquent his- " torian of nature, [Buffon,] who fixes our moral happiness to the " mature season in which our passions are supposed to be calmed, " our duties fulfilled, our ambition satisfied, our fame and fortune " established on a solid basis. In private conversation, that great " and amiable man added the weight of his own experience; and " this autumnal felicity might be exemplified in the lives of Voltaire, " Hume, and many other men of letters. I am far more inclined " to embrace than to dispute this comfortable doctrine. I will " not suppose any premature decay of the mind or body: but I " must reluctantly observe that two causes, the abbreviation of " time, and the failure of hope, will always tinge with a browner " shade the evening of life."

On April 27th, 1793, Mr. Gibbon received the news at Lausanne of the death of Lady Sheffield, and immediately determined to visit his old friend Lord Sheffield, thinking his presence might prove a consolation.

"I must ever regard it," says Lord Sheffield, "as the most "endearing proof of his sensibility, and of his possessing the "true spirit of friendship, that after having relinquished the "thought of his intended visit, he hastened to England, in spite "increasing impediments, to soothe me by the most generous "sympathy, and to alleviate my domestic affliction; neither his "great corpulency, nor his extraordinary bodily infirmities, nor "any other consideration, could prevent him a moment from re- "solving on an undertaking that might have deterred the most "active young man. He, almost immediately, with alertness by "no means natural to him, undertook a great circuitous journey, "along the frontiers of an enemy, worse than savage, within the "sound of their cannon, within the range of the light troops of "the different armies, and through roads ruined by the enormous "machinery of war.

"The readiness with which he engaged in this kind office of "friendship, at a time when a selfish spirit might have pleaded a "thousand reasons for declining so hazardous a journey, con- "spired, with the peculiar charms of his society, to render his "arrival a cordial to my mind. I had the satisfaction of finding "that his own delicate and precarious health had not suffered in "the service of his friend. He arrived in the beginning of June "at my house in Downing-Street, safe and in good health; and "after we had passed about a month together in London, we "settled at Sheffield-Place for the summer, where his wit, learning, "and cheerful politeness delighted a great variety of characters.

"Although he was inclined to represent his health as better "than it really was, his habitual dislike to motion appeared to "increase; his inaptness to exercise confined him to the library "and dining-room, and there he joined my friend Mr. Frederick "North, in pleasant arguments against exercise in general. He "ridiculed the unsettled and restless disposition, that summer, "the most uncomfortable, as he said, of all seasons, generally "gives to those who have the use of their limbs. Such arguments "were little required to keep society within doors, when his com- "pany was only there to be enjoyed; for neither the fineness of the "season, nor the most promising parties of pleasure, could tempt "the company of either sex to desert him.

"Those who have enjoyed the society of Mr. Gibbon will agree "with me, that his conversation was still more captivating than "his writings. Perhaps no man ever divided time more fairly "between literary labor and social enjoyment; and hence, prob-

" ably, he derived his peculiar excellence of making his very " extensive knowledge contribute, in the highest degree, to the " use or pleasure of those with whom he conversed. He united, " in the happiest manner imaginable, two characters which are " not often found in the same person, the profound scholar and " the fascinating companion.

" His letters in general bear a strong resemblance to the style " and turn of his conversation ; the characteristics of which were " vivacity, elegance, and precision, with knowledge astonishingly " extensive and correct. He never ceased to be instructive and " entertaining ; and in general there was a vein of pleasantry in his " conversation which prevented its becoming languid, even during " a residence of many months with a family in the country.

" It has been supposed that he always arranged what he in- " tended to say, before he spoke ; his quickness in conversation " contradicts this notion : but it is very true, that before he sat " down to write a note or letter, he completely arranged in his " mind what he meant to express. He pursued the same method " in respect to other composition ; and occasionally would walk " several times about his apartment before he had rounded a " period to his taste. He has pleasantly remarked to me, that it " sometimes cost him many a turn before he could throw a senti- " ment into a form that gratified his own criticism.

" It would be superfluous to attempt a very minute delineation " of a character which is so distinctly marked in the Memoirs. He " has described himself without reserve, and with perfect sincerity. " The Letters, and especially the extracts from the Journal, which " could not have been written with any purpose of being seen, " will make the reader perfectly acquainted with the man.

" Excepting a visit to Lord Egremont and Mr. Hayley, whom " he very particularly esteemed, Mr. Gibbon was not absent from " Sheffield-Place till the beginning of October, when we were " reluctantly obliged to part with him, that he might perform his " engagement to Mrs. Gibbon at Bath, the widow of his father, " who had early deserved, and invariably retained, his affection. " From Bath he proceeded to Lord Spenser's at Althrop, a family " which he always met with uncommon satisfaction. He contin- " ued in good health during the summer, and in excellent spirits " (I never knew him enjoy better); and when he went from " Sheffield-Place, little did I imagine it would be the last time I " should have the inexpressible pleasure of seeing him there in " full possession of health.

" The following short letters, though not important in themselves, will fill up this part of the narrative better, and more agreeably, than any thing I can substitute in their place.

" Edward Gibbon, Esq., to the Right Hon. Lord Sheffield.

St. James Street, *Nov. 11th, 1793.*

" I must at length withdraw the veil before my state of health, tho' the naked truth may alarm you more than a fit of the gout. Have you never observed, through my *inexpressibles*, a large prominency, which, as it was not at all painful, and very little troublesome, I had strangely neglected for many years? But since my departure from Sheffield-Place it has increased, (most stupendously,) is increasing and ought to be diminished. Yesterday I sent for Farquhar, who is allowed to be a very skillful surgeon. After viewing and palping, he very seriously desired to call in assistance and has examined it again to-day with Mr. Cline, a surgeon, as he says, of the first eminence. They both pronounce it a *hydrocele*, (a collection of water,) which must be let out by the operation of tapping; but from its magnitude and long neglect, they think it a most extraordinary case, and wish to have another surgeon, Dr. Bayley, present. If the business should go off smoothly, I shall be delivered from my burden, (it is almost as big as a small child,) and walk about in four or five days with a truss. But the medical gentlemen, who never speak quite plain, insinuate to me the possibility of an inflammation, of fever, &c. I am not appalled at the thoughts of the operation, which is fixed for Wednesday next, twelve o'clock; but it has occurred to me, that you might wish to be present before and afterwards till the crisis was past; and to give you that opportunity, I shall solicit a delay till Thursday, or even Friday. Ever yours."

" Immediately on receiving this last letter," says Lord Sheffield, " I went from Brighthelmstone to London, and was agreeably surprised to find that Mr. Gibbon had dined at Lord Lucan's. Those who have seen him within the last eight or ten years, must be surprised that he could doubt whether his disorder was apparent. When he returned to England in 1787, I was greatly alarmed by a prodigious increase, which resulted, I supposed, from a rupture. I did not understand why he, who had talked with me on every other subject relative to himself and his affairs without reserve, should never in any shape hint at a malady so troublesome: but on speaking to his valet de chambre, he told

" me, Mr. Gibbon could not bear the least allusion to the subject,
" and never would suffer him to notice it. I consulted some med-
" ical persons, who supposing it to be a rupture, were of opinion
" that nothing could be done, and said that he surely must have
" had advice, and of course had taken all necessary precautions.
" He now talked freely with me about his disorder ; which, he
" said, began in the year 1761 : that he then consulted Mr. Hawkins
" the surgeon, who did not decide whether it was the beginning
" of a rupture, or an hydrocele ; but he desired to see Mr. Gibbon
" again when he came to town. Mr. Gibbon not feeling any pain
" nor suffering any inconvenience, as he said, never returned to
" Mr. Hawkins ; and although the disorder continued to increase
" gradually, and of late years very much indeed, he never men-
" tioned it to any person, however incredible it may appear, from
" 1761 to November 1793. I told him, that I had always supposed
" there was no doubt of its being a rupture ; his answer was, that
" he never thought so, and that he, and the surgeons who attended
" him, were of opinion that it was an hydrocele. It is now certain
" that it was originally a rupture, and that an hydrocele had lately
" taken place in the same part ; and it is remarkable, that his legs,
" which had been swelled about the ankle, particularly one of
" them, since he had the erysipelas in 1790, recovered their former
" shape as soon as the water appeared in another part, which did
" not happen till between the time he left Sheffield Place, in the
" beginning of October, and his arrival at Althorpe, towards the
" latter part of that month. On the Thursday following the date
" of his last letter, Mr. Gibbon was tapped for the first time : four
" quarts of a transparent watery fluid were discharged by that
" operation. Neither inflammation nor fever ensued : the tumor
" was diminished to nearly half its size ; the remaining part was a
" soft irregular mass. I had been with him two days before,
" and I continued with him above a week after the first tapping,
" during which time he enjoyed his usual spirits ; and the three
" medical gentlemen who attended him will recollect his pleas-
" antry, even during the operation. He was abroad again in a few
" days, but the water collecting very fast, it was agreed that a sec-
" ond puncture should be made a fortnight after the first. Knowing
" that I should be wanted at a meeting in the country, he pressed
" me to attend it, and promised that soon after the second opera-
" tion was performed he would follow me to Sheffield Place ; but
" before he arrived I received the following letter :

"Mr. Gibbon to Lord Sheffield at Brighton.

"St. James's Street, *Nov. 25th, 1793.*

"Though Farquhar has promised to write you a line, I conceive "you may not be sorry to hear directly from me. The operation "of yesterday was much longer, more searching, and more painful "than the former; but it has eased and lightened me to a much "greater degree. [Three quarts of the same fluid as before were "discharged.] No inflammation, no fever, a delicious night, leave "to go abroad to-morrow, and to go out of town when I please, "*en attendant* the future measures of a radical cure. If you hold "your intention of returning next Saturday to Sheffield-place, "I shall probably join you about the Tuesday following, after "having passed two nights at Beckenham. Adieu; Ever yours."

"Mr. Gibbon" says Lord Sheffield "generally took the oppor- "tunity of passing a night or two with his friend Lord Auckland, "at Eden-Farm, (ten miles from London,) on his passage to Shef- "field-Place; and notwithstanding his indisposition, he had lately "made an excursion thither from London; when he was much "pleased by meeting the Archbishop of Canterbury, of whom he "expressed an high opinion. He returned to London, to dine "with Lord Loughborough, to meet Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, "and particularly Mr. Pitt, with whom he was not acquainted; "and in his last journey to Sussex, he revisited Eden-Farm, and "was much gratified by the opportunity of again seeing, during a "whole day, Mr. Pitt, who passed the night there. From Lord "Auckland's, Mr. Gibbon proceeded to Sheffield-Place; and his "discourse was never more brilliant, nor more entertaining, than "on his arrival. The parallel he drew, and the comparisons he "made, between the leading men of this country, were sketched "in his best manner, and were infinitely interesting. However, "this last visit to Sheffield-Place became far different from any "he had ever made before. That ready, cheerful, various, and "illuminating conversation, which we had before admired in him, "was not always to be found in the library or the dining-room. "He moved with difficulty, and retired from company sooner than "he had been used to do. On the twenty-third of December, his "appetite began to fail him. He observed to me, that it was a "very bad sign *with him* when he could not eat his breakfast, "which he had done at all times very heartily; and this seems to "have been the strongest expression of apprehension that he was "ever observed to utter. A considerable degree of fever now

" made its appearance. Inflammation arose from the weight and " bulk of the tumor. Water again collected very fast, and when " the fever went off, he never entirely recovered his appetite even " for breakfast. I became very uneasy indeed at his situation " towards the end of the month, and thought it necessary to advise " him to set out for London. He had before settled his plan to " arrive there about the middle of January. I had company in the " house, and we expected one of his particular friends; but he was " obliged to sacrifice all social pleasure to the immediate attention " which his health required. He went to London on the seventh " of January, and the next day I received the following billet; the " last he ever wrote:

" Edward Gibbon, Esq., to Lord Sheffield.

" St. James's Street, *four o'clock, Tuesday.*

" This date says every thing. I was almost killed between " Sheffield-Place and East Grinsted, by hard, frozen, long, and " cross ruts, that would disgrace the approach of an Indian wig- " wam. The rest was something less painful; and I reached this " place half-dead, but not seriously feverish, or ill. I found a " dinner invitation from Lord Lucan; but what are dinners to " me? I wish they did not know of my departure. I catch the " flying post. What an effort! Adieu, till Thursday or Friday."

" By his own desire, I did not follow him till Thursday the ninth. " I then found him far from well. The tumor more distended " than before, inflamed, and ulcerated in several places. Remedies " were applied to abate the inflammation; but it was not thought " proper to puncture the tumor for a third time, till Monday the " thirteenth of January, when no less than six quarts of fluid were " discharged. He seemed much relieved by the evacuation. His " spirits continued good. He talked, as usual, of passing his time " at houses which he had often frequented with great pleasure, " the Duke of Devonshire's, Mr. Craufurd's, Lord Spenser's, Lord " Lucan's, Sir Ralph Payne's, and Mr. Batt's; and when I told him " that I should not return to the country, as I had intended, he " pressed me to go; knowing I had an engagement there on public " business, he said, 'you may be back on Saturday, and I intend " 'to go on Thursday to Devonshire House.' I had not any ap- " prehension that his life was in danger, although I began to fear " that he might not be restored to a comfortable state, and that " motion would be very troublesome to him; but he talked of a " radical cure. He said, that it was fortunate the disorder had

" shown itself while he was in England, where he might procure " the best assistance; and if a radical cure could not be obtained " before his return to Lausanne, there was an able surgeon at " Geneva, who could come to tap him when it should be necessary.

" On Tuesday the fourteenth, when the risk of inflammation and " fever from the last operation was supposed to be past, as the " medical gentlemen who attended him expressed no fears for " his life, I went that afternoon part of the way to Sussex, and " the following day reached Sheffield-Place. The next morning, " the sixteenth, I received by the post a good account of Mr. " Gibbon, which mentioned also that he hourly gained strength. " In the evening came a letter by express, dated noon that day, " which acquainted me that Mr. Gibbon had had a violent attack " the preceding night, and that it was not probable he should live " till I could come to him. I reached his lodgings in St. James's " Street about midnight, and learned that my friend had expired " a quarter before one o'clock that day, the 16th of January, 1794.

" After I left him on Tuesday afternoon the fourteenth, he saw " some company, Lady Lucan and Lady Spenser, and thought " himself well enough at night to omit the opium draught, which " he had been used to take for some time. He slept very indiffer- " ently; before nine the next morning he rose, but could not eat " his breakfast. However, he appeared tolerably well, yet com- " plained at times of a pain in his stomach. At one o'clock he " received a visit of an hour from Madame de Sylva, and at three, " his friend, Mr. Craufurd, of Auchinames, (whom he always " mentioned with particular regard,) called, and stayed with him " till past five o'clock. They talked, as usual, on various subjects; " and twenty hours before his death, Mr. Gibbon happened to fall " into a conversation, not uncommon with him, on the probable " duration of his life. He said, that he thought himself a good " life for ten, twelve, or perhaps twenty years. About six, he ate " the wing of a chicken, and drank three glasses of Madeira. " After dinner he became very uneasy and impatient; complained " a good deal, and appeared so weak, that his servant was alarmed. " Mr. Gibbon had sent to his friend and relation, Mr. Robert " Darell, whose house was not far distant, desiring to see him, and " adding, that he had something particular to say. But, unfor- " tunately, this desired interview never took place.

" During the evening he complained much of his stomach, and " of a disposition to vomit. Soon after nine, he took his opium " draught, and went to bed. About ten, he complained of much

"pain, and desired that warm napkins might be applied to his "stomach. He almost incessantly expressed a sense of pain till "about four o'clock in the morning, when he said he found his "stomach much easier. About seven the servant asked whether "he should send for Mr. Farquhar? he answered, no; that he was "as well as he had been the day before. At about half-past eight, "he got out of bed, and said he was '*plus adroit*' than he had "been for three months past, and got into bed again, without "assistance, better than usual. About nine, he said that he would "rise. The servant, however, persuaded him to remain in bed till "Mr. Farquhar, who was expected at eleven, should come. Till "about that hour he spoke with great facility. Mr. Farquhar came "at the time appointed, and he was then visibly dying. When the "*valet de chambre* returned, after attending Mr. Farquhar out of "the room, Mr. Gibbon said, '*Pourquoi est ce que vous me quittez?*' "This was about half-past eleven. At twelve, he drank some "brandy and water from a tea-pot, and desired his favorite servant "to stay with him. These were the last words he pronounced "articulately. To the last he preserved his senses; and when he "could no longer speak, his servant having asked a question, he "made a sign, to show that he understood him. He was quite "tranquil, and did not stir; his eyes half shut. About a quarter "before one, he ceased to breathe.

"The *valet de chambre* observed, that Mr. Gibbon did not, at "any time, show the least sign of alarm, or apprehension of death; "and it does not appear that he thought himself in danger, unless "his desire to speak to Mr. Darell may be considered in that light.

"Perhaps I dwell too long on these minute and melancholy "circumstances. Yet the close of such a life can hardly fail to "interest every reader; and I know that the public has received "a different and erroneous account of my friend's last hours.

"I can never cease to feel regret that I was not by his side at "this awful period: a regret so strong, that I can express it only "by borrowing (as the eloquent Mr. Mason has done on a similar "occasion) the forcible language of Tacitus: *Mihi præter "acerbitatem* amici *erepti, auget mœstitiam quod assidere "valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu, complexu non "contigit.* It is some consolation to me, that I have not, like "Tacitus, by a long absence, anticipated the loss of my friend "several years before his decease. Although I had not the "mournful gratification of being near him on the day he expired,

EDWARD GIBBON.

The above engraving is from a silhouette cut by Mrs. Brown in 1794. It represents Mr. Gibbon in a characteristic attitude, engaged in conversation with a snuff box in his hand; "and is," says Lord Sheffield, "as complete a likeness as to person, face and figure, as can be conceived."

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ROMA.

"The Niobe of nations! * * * * *
"Childless and crownless in her voiceless woe."—*Byron.*

ROME was personified as a goddess, whose image often appeared upon coins and medals; and almost every river, mountain and stream was apotheosized as a god, of whom some fabulous tale was related. Roma was honored by the Romans from the time of the emperor Hadrian. (A. D., 117.) With temples, statues, and annual festivals. The above engraving, from a painting formerly belonging to the Barberini family, is probably a correct representation of the goddess.

The Pagan concept of peopling groves, rivers and forests with a community of gods and goddesses is not generally endorsed at the present day, for the human mind is slowly progressing beyond the realms of myth and fable; but many religionists still credit these ancient tales, and firmly believe in the reality of immaterial forms and material spirits. Like the old Roman idolaters, they claim guardian angels by whom they are protected, and fear evil spirits by whom they are tormented. The N. Y. *Catholic Review* of Oct. 22, 1881, says:

"What a beautiful devotion is that of the angels, especially the guardian "angels. And what doctrine is more clearly revealed in Holy Scripture "than that of our intimate relations to the angels and their ministration "to men in the affairs of this world? The Old and New Testaments are "both full of the most striking instances of the ministry of angels. Ac- "cording to St. Augustine, the blessed spirits preside over every animate "and inanimate thing in the visible world. The stars and the firma- "ment have their angels. The fire, the air and the water have their "angels. Kingdoms have their angels, as is seen in the Scriptures. Towns "and cities have their angels; altars, churches, even particular families

" 'have their angels.' 'Thus,' as Mr. Boudon says, 'the world is full of angels
" 'and it seems that the sweetness of Divine Providence renders it necessary;
" 'for if, as some say, there be in the air so great a number of evil spirits that if
" 'they were permitted to assume bodies they would obscure the light of the sun,
" 'how could men be safe from their malicious acts unless protected by angels?'"

Such implicit faith in the angelic hierarchy was never excelled by "heathen" idolaters; and the almost forgotten fauns and fairies—the demons, genii, and sprites of ancient Paganism—correspond to the guardian angels and evil spirits of modern Catholicism. Dr. Newman quotes from *Peril of Idolatry* as follows:

"Terentius Varro showeth that there were three hundred Jupiters in his time:
" there were no fewer Veneres and Dianæ: we had no fewer Christophers, Mary
" Magdalens, and other saints. Œnomaus and Hesiodus show that in their time
" there were thirty thousand gods. I think we had no fewer saints, to whom we
" gave the honor due to God. And they have not only spoiled the true living God
" of His due honor by such devices as the Gentile idolaters have done before
" them, but the sea and waters have as well special saints with them, as the Gen-
" tiles had the gods Neptune, Triton, Nereus, Castor and Pollux, Venus, and such
" other: in whose places become St. Christopher, St. Clement, and divers other,
" and specially our Lady, to whom shipmen sing, 'Ave maris stella.' Neither hath
" the fire escaped their idolatrous inventions. For, instead of Vulcan and Vesta,
" the Gentiles' gods of the fire, our men have placed St. Agatha, and make litters
" on her day to quench fire with. Every artificer and profession hath his special
" saint, as a peculiar god. As for example, scholars have St. Nicholas and St.
" Gregory; painters, St. Luke; neither lack soldiers their Mars, nor lovers their
" Venus amongst Christians."

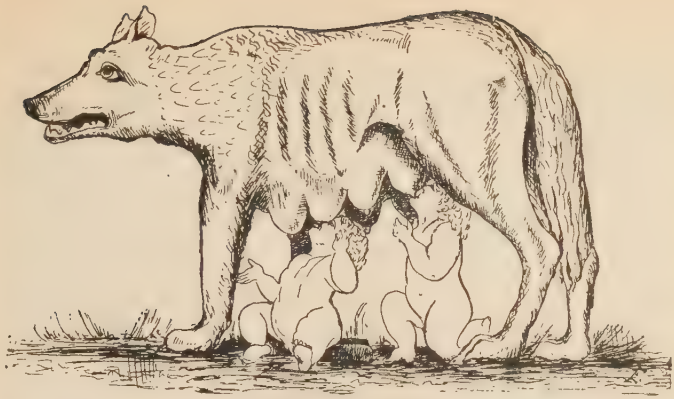
"Catholicism," says Ingersoll, "administered on the estate of Paganism, and
" appropriated most of the property to its own use." This fact may satisfactorily explain the remarkable resemblance between the faith of the Romish Church and the belief of Pagan Rome—between the mythology of the past and the theology of the present.

"The religion of Christ" says Eusebe Salverte, "succeeded a religion rich in
" pomp and emblems; and it feared to repulse by too rigid a simplicity, men ac-
" customed to see and to touch what they believed in and worshiped. Hence, as
" it was difficult to destroy and utterly to proscribe the former objects of venera-
" tion, the Christians often preferred appropriating them to their own faith.
" More than one temple was changed into a church; more than the name of one
" god was honored as the name of a saint; and an immense number of images
" and legends passed without difficulty into the new faith, and were preserved
" by the ancient respect of the new believers."—*Philosophy of Magic*, vol. ii, p. 249.

"Paganism," says Emilio Castelar, "has been transformed, but has not been
" destroyed. The months of the year and the days of the week preserve the num-
" bers of the ancient divinities, of the ancient Cæsars, of the ancient Roman
" numeration. The two solstices of summer and winter we still celebrate with
" festivals analogous to the classic festivals. Adonis is born, dies, rises again,
" when the corn is sown, shoots, or is in ear. The feast of Candlemas, dedicated
" with many tapers to the Virgin, like the festivals of Lupercal, is consecrated
" to light. The Romans wave torches under the government of the Popes, just
" as the Pagans waved them under the dominion of the Cæsars, and chanted
" hymns to the light, which have changed their form, but the essence of which
" is unaltered."—*Old Rome and New Italy*, p. 170.

"When we see," says Dr. Inman, "the same ideas promulgated as divine truth
" on the ancient banks of the Ganges, and the modern shores of the Mediterra-
" nean, we are constrained to admit that they have something common in their
" source;" and when we observe the accordance and harmony between ancient and modern myths and mysteries, we readily perceive how little originality our modern faith contains; for there is not a rite, ceremony or belief we now practice or profess, that cannot be traced to its origin in Chaldean idolatry—in Assyrian, Egyptian or Roman Mythology.

The significant command given by Jehovah to the Jews: "Take heed that
" thou enquire not after their gods, saying, How did these nations serve their
" gods?" (Deut. xii, 30,) should be literally observed by Christians, if they wish to maintain their cherished faith unaltered and unimproved by intelligent doubt and scientific investigation.—E.



(Wolf of the Capitol.*)

History of Christianity.

I.

UNIVERSAL SPIRIT OF TOLERATION.†

THE firm edifice of Roman power was raised and preserved by the wisdom of ages. The obedient provinces of Trajan and the Antonines were united by laws, and adorned by arts. They might occasionally suffer from the partial abuse of delegated authority; but the general principle of government was wise, simple, and beneficent. They enjoyed the religion of their ancestors, whilst in civil honors and advantages they were exalted, by just degrees, to an equality with their conquerors.

Spirit of toleration.

The policy of the emperors and the senate, as far as it concerned religion, was happily seconded by the reflections of the enlightened, and the habits of the superstitious, part of their subjects. The

*Romulus and Remus, the founders of Rome, were the sons of Rhea Silvia and Mars. Silvia was the daughter of Numitor and a vestal virgin. For violating her vows of chastity she and her twin offspring were condemned to be drowned in the Tiber. The cradle in which the children were exposed being stranded, they were found and suckled by a she-wolf, which carried them to her den, where they were ultimately discovered by Faustalus, the king's shepherd.— E.

†From Chap. II. of Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* In addition to the full notes of Gibbon the notes of Milman, Wenck, Guizot, and the "English Churchman," (Editor of Bohn's Edition of Gibbon's *Rome,*) are also given in full, to enable the reader to judge of the merit of all the arguments advanced. They will sometimes be found to differ with Mr. Gibbon, and not unfrequently with each other. The notes added by the publisher are signed "E."

various modes of worship, which prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered by the people as equally true; by the philosopher, as equally false; and by the magistrate, as equally useful. And thus toleration produced not only mutual indulgence, but even religious concord.

Of the People.

The superstition of the people was not embittered by any mixture of theological rancor; nor was it confined by the chains of any speculative system. The devout polytheist, though fondly attached to his national rites, admitted with implicit faith the different religions of the earth.[1] Fear, gratitude, and curiosity, a dream or an omen, a singular disorder, or a distant journey, per-

1 There is not any writer who describes, in so lively a manner as Herodotus, the true genius of polytheism. The best commentary may be found in Mr. Hume's *Natural History of Religion;* and the best contrast in Bossuet's *Universal History*. Some obscure traces of an intolerant spirit appear in the conduct of the Egyptians (see Juvenal, Sat. 15), and the Christians, as well as Jews, who lived under the Roman empire, formed a very important exception; so important, indeed, that the discussion will require a distinct chapter of this work.*

* M. Constant in his very learned and eloquent work, "*Sur la Religion*," with two additional volumes, "*Du Polythéisme Romain*," has considered the whole history of polytheism in a tone of philosophy, which, without subscribing to all his opinions, we may be permitted to admire. "The boasted tolerance of polytheism did not rest upon the respect due from society to the freedom of individual opinion. The polytheistic nations, tolerant as they were towards each other, as separate states, were not the less ignorant of the eternal principle, the only basis of enlightened toleration, that every one has a right to worship God in the manner which seems to him the best. Citizens, on the contrary, were bound to conform to the religion of the state; they had not the liberty to adopt a foreign religion, though that religion might be legally recognized in their own city, for the strangers who were its votaries." — *Sur la Religion*, v. 184. *Du Polyth. Rom.* iii, 308. At this time, the growing religious indifference, and the general administration of the empire by Romans, who, being strangers, would do no more than protect, not enlist themselves in the cause of the local superstitions, had introduced great laxity. But intolerance was clearly the theory both of the Greek and Roman law. The subject is more fully considered in another place. — MILMAN.†

Milman admits the tolerance of the Romans for the religion of the nations they conquered; yet he asserts that intolerance was the theory of the Greek and Roman law. He cites no proof in support of his assertion, and gives no names of persons who were punished for forsaking the religion of their fathers. When the emperor Julian re-established the Pagan religion, he did not persecute his Christian subjects, but tolerated their religion, although its most eminent professers had murdered his nearest relatives. The Inquisition, the logical result of intolerance, was established by Christians, not by Pagans. On Nov. 14, 1881, Señor Castelar delivered at Madrid, in the Cortes, an eloquent and impressive address. He adjured the government of Spain to assist Italy in upholding the separation of the temporal from the spiritual power. He approved the recent circular of the Minister of Public Instruction, authorizing the appointment of free-thinkers to professional chairs, and he also approved the principles of self-government in the Universities, and recognition of the rights of science. "Science and learning," said he, "must be free from "State and Church tyranny. Learned men must soar freely in pursuit of truth, be- "yond the reach of fanaticism and despotism." Thus we see advocated in the most Catholic nation of Christendom, a return to the principles of free toleration, practiced two thousand years ago by the old Pagans of Rome. — E.

† Was there no mixture of religious persecution, in the oppressions which drove the Israelites out of Egypt? — ENG. CHURCHMAN.

The Israelites were enslaved, and naturally desired freedom. They were not driven out of Egypt, but ran away; and the Egyptians used every effort to recover their lost "chattels." — E.

petually disposed him to multiply the articles of his belief, and to enlarge the list of his protectors. The thin texture of the Pagan mythology was interwoven with various but not discordant materials. As soon as it was allowed that sages and heroes, who had lived or who had died for the benefit of their country, were exalted to a state of power and immortality, it was universally confessed that they deserved, if not the adoration, at least the reverence, of all mankind. The deities of a thousand groves and a thousand streams possessed in peace their local and respective influence; nor could the Roman who deprecated the wrath of the Tiber, deride the Egyptian who presented his offering to the beneficent genius of the Nile. The visible powers of nature, the planets, and the elements, were the same throughout the universe. The invisible governors of the moral world were inevitably cast in a similar mould of fiction and allegory. Every virtue, and even vice, acquired its divine representative; every art and profession its patron, whose attributes, in the most distant ages and countries, were uniformly derived from the character of their peculiar votaries. A republic of gods of such opposite tempers and interests required, in every system, the moderating hand of a supreme magistrate, who, by the progress of knowledge and flattery, was gradually invested with the sublime perfections of an eternal parent, and an omnipotent monarch.[2] Such was the mild spirit of antiquity, that the nations were less attentive to the difference, than to the resemblance, of their religious worship. The Greek, the Roman, and the Barbarian, as they met before their respective altars, easily persuaded themselves, that under various names, and with various ceremonies, they adored the same deities.[3] The

2 The rights, powers, and pretensions of the sovereign of Olympus are very clearly described in the fifteenth book of the *Iliad*; in the Greek original, I mean; for Mr. Pope, without perceiving it, has improved the theology of Homer.*

3 See, for instance, Cæsar de Bell. Gall. vi, 17. Within a century or two, the Gauls themselves applied to their gods the names of Mercury, Mars, Apollo, &c.†

* The conception of an eternal and almighty Godhead, overruling all others, was not gradually introduced as knowledge advanced or flattery suggested. It was rather the early fundamental principle of natural and revealed religion, which polytheism could not entirely suppress. Compare "*Pfanneri Systema Theologiæ Gentilis Purioris*," cap. 2, 11, 13.—WENCK.

There is a curious coincidence between Gibbon's explanation and those of the newly-recovered *De Republica* of Cicero, though the argument is rather the converse, lib. i. c. 36. "Sive hæc ad utilitatem vitæ constituta sint a principibus "rerum publicarum, ut rex putaretur unus esse in cœlo, qui nutu, ut ait Homerus, "totum Olympum converteret, idemque et rex et pater haberetur omnium."—M.

† The barbarian did not of his own accord believe this. To render their conquered foes more docile the Romans, like the Greeks before them, persuaded

elegant mythology of Homer gave a beautiful, and almost a regular form, to the polytheism of the ancient world.

Of philosophers.

The philosophers of Greece deduced their morals from the nature of man, rather than from that of God. They meditated however on the divine nature, as a very curious and important speculation; and in the profound inquiry, they displayed the strength and weakness of the human understanding.[4] Of the four most celebrated schools, the Stoics and the Platonists endeavored to reconcile the jarring interests of reason and piety. They have left us the most sublime proofs of the existence and perfections of the first cause; but as it was impossible for them to conceive the creation of matter, the workman in the Stoic philosophy was not sufficiently distinguished from the work; whilst, on the contrary, the spiritual god of Plato and his disciples resembled an idea rather than a substance. The opinions of the Academics and Epicureans were of a less religious cast; but whilst the modest science of the former induced them to doubt, the positive ignorance of the latter urged them to deny, the providence of a supreme ruler. The spirit of inquiry, prompted by emulation, and supported by freedom, had divided the public teachers of philosophy into a variety of contending sects; but the ingenious youth, who, from every part, resorted to Athens, and the other seats of learning in the Roman empire, were alike instructed, in every school, to reject and to despise the religion of the multitude. How, indeed, was it possible that a philosopher should accept, as divine truths, the idle tales of the poets, and the incoherent traditions of antiquity; or, that he should adore, as gods, those imperfect beings whom he must have despised as men! Against such unworthy adversaries, Cicero condescended to employ the arms of reason and eloquence; but the satire of Lucian was a much more adequate, as well as more efficacious weapon. We may be well assured, that a writer conversant with the world, would never have ventured to expose the gods of his

[4] The admirable work of Cicero, *de Natura Deorum*, is the best clue we have to guide us through the dark and profound abyss. He represents with candor, and confutes with subtlety, the opinions of the philosophers.

their new subjects that they all worshiped the same deities. It was thus that the God of War, the Goddess of Love, and the rest, soon assumed the forms of Mars, Venus, and other heathen divinities; and for this reason little positive information, as to the original worship among these people, can be obtained from the many images of their idols which have been dug up. Almost all of them are conformed to Roman notions. — WENCK.

country to public ridicule, had they not already been the objects of secret contempt among the polished and enlightened orders of society.[5]

Notwithstanding the fashionable irreligion which prevailed in the age of the Antonines, both the interests of the priests, and the credulity of the people, were sufficiently respected. In their writings and conversation, the philosophers of antiquity asserted the independent dignity of reason; but they resigned their actions to the commands of law and of custom. Viewing, with a smile of pity and indulgence, the various errors of the vulgar, they diligently practised the ceremonies of their fathers, devoutly frequented the temples of the gods, and sometimes condescending to act a part on the theatre of superstition, they concealed the sentiments of an atheist under the sacerdotal robes. Reasoners of such a temper were scarcely inclined to wrangle about their respective modes of faith, or of worship. It was indifferent to them what shape the folly of the multitude might choose to assume; and they approached, with the same inward contempt, and the same external reverence, the altars of the Libyan, the Olympian, or the Capitoline Jupiter.[6]

Of the magistrates.

It is not easy to conceive from what motives a spirit of persecution could introduce itself into the Roman councils. The magistrates could not be actuated by a blind though honest bigotry, since the magistrates were themselves philosophers; and the school of Athens had given laws to the senate. They could not be impelled by ambition or avarice, as the temporal and ecclesiastical powers were united in the same hands.* The pontiffs were chosen among the most illustrious of the senators; and the office of supreme pontiff was constantly exercised by the emperors themselves. They knew and valued the advantages of religion, as it is connected with civil govern-

[5] I do not pretend to assert, that, in this irreligious age, the natural terrors of superstition, dreams, omens, apparitions, &c., had lost their efficacy.

[6] Socrates, Epicurus, Cicero, and Plutarch, always inculcated a decent reverence for the religion of their own country and of mankind. The devotion of Epicurus was assiduous and exemplary. *Diogen. Laert. x, 10.*

* Did the various ministering orders derive no pecuniary advantage from the sacrificial rites in which they officiated? Was Alexander the coppersmith the only maker of images who profited by the employment? Were no temples but those of Delphi, Ephesus, and Comana enriched by pious worshipers? Did oracles and augurs receive no payment for their answers to the credulity or policy that consulted them? The Pontifex Maximus may have known no avarice himself; but he was urged on by the Flamen dialis and his subordinates, whose gains were in danger.—ENG. CH.

ment. They encouraged the public festivals which humanize the manners of the people. They managed the arts of divination,* as a convenient instrument of policy; and they respected, as the firmest bond of society, the useful persuasion that, either in this, or in a future life, the crime of perjury is most assuredly punished by the avenging gods.[1] But whilst they acknowledged the general advantages of religion, they were convinced that the various modes of worship contributed alike to the same salutary purposes: and that, in every country, the form of superstition, which had received the sanction of time and experience, was the

[1] *Polybius, l. 6, c. 53 54. Juvenal, Sat. xiii,* laments, that in his time this apprehension had lost much of its effect.

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* The art of divination became of great interest to the Romans, and of great profit to the priests. "Augury, or the power of foretelling future events," says Cicero, "is the greatest and most excellent thing in the republic, and naturally "allied to authority." "Greater is he that prophesieth than he that speaketh "with tongues," says St. Paul, *1 Cor.* xiv, 3, 5. "He that prophesieth, speaketh "unto men to edification and exhortation and comfort." The most ancient of the oracles was that of Jupiter at Dodona, the most renowned was that at Delphi, which was enriched by costly gifts. When a person consulted the oracle, the first duty consisted in a present or sacrifice. The place where the ambiguous answer was given, was called Pythium, and the priestess who attended it was called Pythia. She was seated on the sacred golden tripod, dedicated to Apollo by the seven wise men of Greece. The three legs of the tripod were supposed to have a threefold reference to the past, the present and the future, and the enigmatical answers, generally delivered in hexameter verse, would apply to any result that might happen. When a definite reply was given, the priests had previously informed themselves of the circumstances. This oracle became silent soon after the death of the emperor Julian.

The pretended revelation of the future *mediately*, or by means of some system or art of *divination* was effected in various ways by persons who claimed to be under divine inspiration. The business of prophesying had become so universal and so remunerative, that names were coined and introduced into the language to distinguish each particular method of augury. We copy from Eschenburg's *Classical Literature* and Roget's *Thesaurus of Words*, some of the more common terms employed, as a curious illustration of bygone superstitions.

Divination *by oracles*, Theomancy; *by the Bible*, Bibliomancy; *by ghosts*, Psychomancy; *by spirits seen in a magic lens*, Christallomantia; *by shadows or manes*, Sciomancy; *by appearances in the air*, Aeromancy, Chaomancy; *by meteors*, Meteoromancy; *by winds*, Austromancy; *by sacrificial appearances*, Aruspicy (or Haruspicy), Hieromancy, Hieroscopy; *by the entrails of animals sacrificed*, Hieromancy; *by the entrails of a human sacrifice*, Anthropomancy; *by the entrails of fishes*, Ichthyomancy; *by sacrificial fire*, Pyromancy; *by red hot iron*, Sideromancy; *by smoke from the altar*, Capnomancy; *by mice*, Myomancy; *by birds*, Ornithomancy; *by a cock picking up grains*, Alectryomancy (or Alectoromancy); *by fishes*, Ophiomancy; *by herbs*, Botanomancy; *by water*, Hydromancy; *by fountains*, Pegomancy; *by a wand*, Rhabdomancy; *by dough of cakes*, Crithomancy; *by meal*, Aleuromancy, Alphitomancy; *by salt*, Halomancy; *by dice*, Cleromancy; *by arrows*, Belomancy; *by a balanced hatchet*, Axinomancy; *by a balanced sieve*, Coscinomancy; *by a suspended ring*, Dactylomancy; *by dots made at random on paper*, Geomancy; *by precious stones*, Lithomancy; *by pebbles*, Pessomancy; *by pebbles drawn from a heap*, Psephomancy; *by mirrors*, Catoptromancy; *by writings in ashes*, Tephramancy; *by dreams*, Oneiromancy; *by the hand*, Palmistry, Chiromancy; *by nails reflecting the sun's rays*, Onychomancy; *by numbers*, Arithmancy; *by drawing lots*, Sortilege; *by passages in books*, Stichomancy; *by the letters forming the name of the person*, Onomancy, or Nomancy; *by the features*, Anthroposcopy; *by the mode of laughing*, Geloscopy; *by ventriloquism*, Gastromancy; *by walking in a circle*, Gyromancy; *by dropping melted wax into water*, Ceromancy; *of currents*, Bletonism.—E.

best adapted to the climate and to its inhabitants. Avarice and taste very frequently despoiled the vanquished nations of the elegant statues of their gods, and the rich ornaments of their temples;[8] but, in the exercise of the religion which they derived from their ancestors, they uniformly experienced the indulgence, and even protection, of the Roman conquerors. The province of Gaul seems, and indeed only seems, an exception to this universal toleration. Under the specious pretext of abolishing human sacrifices, the emperors Tiberius and Claudius suppressed the dangerous power of the Druids;[9] but the priests themselves, their gods, and their altars, subsisted in peaceful obscurity till the final destruction of Paganism.[10] In the provinces.

Rome, the capital of a great monarchy, was incessantly filled with subjects and strangers from every part of the world,[11] who all introduced and enjoyed the favorite superstitions of their native country.[12] Every city in the empire was justified in maintaining the purity of its ancient ceremonies; and the Roman senate, using the common privilege, sometimes interposed to check this inundation of foreign rites. The Egyptian superstition, of all the most contemptible and abject, was frequently prohibited; the temples of Serapis and Isis demolished, and their worshipers banished from Rome and Italy.[13] At Rome.

[8] See the fate of Syracuse, Tarentum, Ambracia, Corinth, &c., the conduct of Verres, in Cicero (*Actio ii. Orat. 4,*) and the usual practice of govenors, in the *Eighth Satire of Juvenal.*

[9] *Sueton. in Claud.* — *Plin. His. Nat. xxx, 1.*

[10] Pelloutier, *Histoire des Celtes, tom. vi, p. 230—252.*

[11] Seneca, *Consolat. ad Helviam, p. 74. Edit. Lips.*

[12] *Dionysius Halicarn. Antiquitat. Roman i. ii.* [vol. i. p. 275, edit. Reiske.]

[13] In the year of Rome 701, the temple of Isis and Serapis was demolished by the order of the senate, (*Dion Cassius. l. xl, p. 252,*) and even by the hands of the consul. (*Valerius Maximus, l. 3.*)† After the death of Cæsar, it was restored at the public expense. (*Dion. l. xlvii, p. 501.*) When Augustus was in Egypt, he revered the majesty of Serapis, (*Dion. l. li, p. 647,*) but in the Pomærium of Rome, and a mile round it, he prohibited the worship of the Egyptian gods. (*Dion. l. liii, p. 679, l. liv, p. 735.*) They remained, however, very fashionable under his reign (*Ovid. de Art. Amand. l. 1*), and that of his successor, till the justice of Tiberius was provoked to some acts of severity. (See *Tacit. Annal. ii, 85; Joseph. Antiquit. l. xviii, c. 3.*)‡

†Two events, one of which occurred one hundred and sixty-six years before the other, are here confounded by Gibbon and made as one. The temples of Isis and Serapis were ordered by the senate to be destroyed, A. U. C. 535. But no workmen being willing to begin the process of pulling them down, the Consul, L. Æmilius Paulus, taking a hatchet in his hand, struck the first blow. (*Valerius Max. l. c. 3.*) Gibbon connects this with the second demolition which took place A. U. C. 701.—W.

‡See in the pictures from the walls of Pompeii the representation of an Isiac temple and worship. Vestiges of Egyptian worship have been traced in Gaul, and, I am informed, recently in Britain, in excavations at York.—MILMAN.

But the zeal of fanaticism prevailed over the cold and feeble efforts of policy.* The exiles returned, the proselytes multiplied, the temples were restored with increasing splendor, and Isis and Serapis at length assumed their place among the Roman deities.[14] Nor was this indulgence a departure from the old maxims of government. In the purest ages of the commonwealth, Cybele and Æsculapius had been invited by solemn embassies,[15] and it was customary to tempt the protectors of besieged cities, by the promise of more distinguished honors than they possessed in their native country.[16] Rome gradually became the common temple of her subjects;† and the freedom of the city was bestowed on all the gods of mankind.[17]

[14] Tertullian in *Apologetic. c. 6, p. 74, edit. Havercamp.* I am inclined to attribute their establishment to the devotion of the Flavian family.

[15] See *Livy, l. xi and xxix.*

[16] *Macrob. Saturnalia, l. iii, c. 9.* He gives us a form of evocation

[17] Minutius Felix in *Octavio, p. 54. Arnobius, l. vi, p. 115.*

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* M. de Pauw maintains (*Recherches sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois, tom. 1, p. 36, f.*) from a passage in *Dion Cassius* (p. 196,) that the jealousy of the Roman priests, who saw foreign gods eclipsing theirs, was the only cause for which the Egyptian worship was suppressed. But this is not said by Dion. This jealousy may, however, have operated, in conjunction with the principal motive, which was the shameless impurity of the worship, as attested by all writers. — WENCK.

† Yet the worship of foreign gods at Rome was only guaranteed to the natives of those countries from whence they came. The Romans administered the priestly offices only to the gods of their fathers. Gibbon, throughout the whole preceding sketch of the opinions of the Romans and their subjects, has shown through what causes they were free from religious hatred and its consequences. But, on the other hand, the internal state of these religions, the infidelity and hypocrisy of the upper orders, the indifference towards all religion, in even the better part of the common people, during the last days of the republic, and under the Cæsars, and under the corrupting principles of the philosophers, had exercised a very pernicious influence on the manners, and even on the constitution. — WENCK.

The tolerance for all religions at Pagan Rome, apparently so annoying to Wenck, cannot be controverted by special pleading, nor by assertions made without proof. When the Christian religion became established, intolerance became the watchword of the Church of Rome, and it was the corruption of this church that aroused the spirit of Protestantism. Savonarola, a Catholic, was burned by Catholics, in the year 1498, because he wished to purify the Christian church. John Huss, a Protestant, met a similar fate in 1416; and we are indebted to the Protestant reformers, like Luther and Calvin, who fearlessly braved persecution and even death in defence of their principles, for much of the religious liberty we now enjoy. Intolerance, which is instinctively opposed by every generous mind, has been denounced by many eloquent members of the clerical profession Says Bishop Watson, in his celebrated "Charge to the Clergy:" "There was a time when our "ancestors were Pagans; there was another period during which they were "Papists; and if the doctrine of some men — that no change ought ever to be "admitted in the tenets of a church established by law — had been adhered to by "them, we, their posterity, might at this day have been occupied with the Druids "in cutting mistletoe, or with the Catholics in transubstantiating flour and water "into the substance of God!" "Orthodoxy itself," says Rev. Robert Taylor, speaking of free toleration, in *Diegesis*, p. 14, "will no longer suggest its resistance "to the only faithful and rational account of the matter so eloquently given us by "Gibbon."— E.

JUPITER.

1040

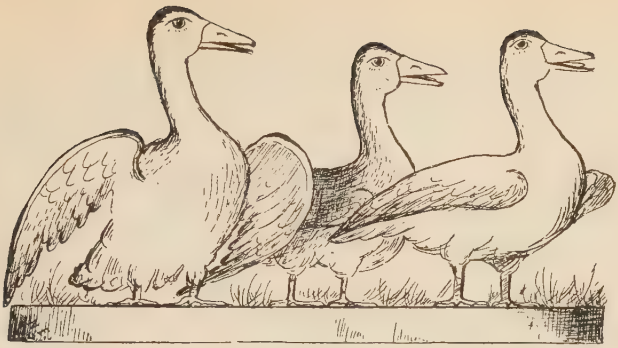
The Greeks and Romans believed their gods were endowed with immortal youth, clothed with supernal beauty, and inspired with divine wisdom, and that they controlled the destinies of the human race. These gods were, however, themselves governed by an eternal and immutable principle called *Fate* or *Necessity*. They were larger than men, for size was formerly considered a beauty both in men and women, and therefore an attribute of divinity. A fluid named "Ichor" supplied the place of blood in their veins. Their food was called "Ambrosia," and their drink "Nectar." The beautiful Hebe (youth) presented the viands at their meals, and while these immortals ate their celestial food, Apollo struck his golden lyre, and the nine muses, (Clio, Euterpe, Melpomene, Terpsichore, Erato, Polymnia, Calliope, Urania, and Thalia), sang responsive strains.

As gods are always made in the image of men, these gods were endowed with human desires and human frailties. They loved, hated, agreed, quarreled, fought, and became reconciled like ordinary saints and sinners. "The Sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair, and begat a race of giants," who inherited the good and bad qualities of their parents. Interbreeding between gods and men, between mortals and immortals, between the genus Homo and the genus Deus, which is vouched for by the most popular religions, is strangely omitted from works of natural history. The god Jupiter, who should have set a better example to mankind, surreptitiously left his wife and family on the serene heights of Mount Olympus, and invaded the home of a Spartan citizen. By transforming himself into a swan he overcame the reserve of Leda, a respectable married woman, the wife of Tyndareus, king of Sparta. Castor, Pollux, and the beautiful Helena were born, and a divorce suit should have followed this divine and human transgression. A similar event is recorded in the Christian scriptures, which bears a family resemblance to the Grecian myth, and suggests a common origin. Joseph was troubled in his mind, and dreamed a holy spirit in the form of a dove was the father of his unborn child. The first narrative is now an exploded Pagan superstition. The second is the foundation of the dominant religion of the world! Let us hope the revolving ages will yet witness a sublimer faith and a purer creed.

The Egyptians, to perpetuate their mythology, constructed their records in enduring granite; yet after the lapse of forty centuries the world has forgotten the builders and their creeds. The pyramids remain, but the purpose of their construction can only be conjectured, and the mystery of the Sphinx remains unsolved. The shrines of Isis and Osiris are forsaken and desolate. The Medes and Persians ordained their "immutable" statutes in vain. In vain the Assyrians proclaimed their solemn rites. Mylitta's temple at Babylon is overthrown. Dagon the Phœnician god, has fallen. The altar of Moloch — besmeared with human blood — erected by Solomon in Jerusalem, has vanished like a hideous dream. The temple of Jupiter Ammon at Libya is in ruins. The oracles of the Greeks proclaim no more the mandates of the gods. The Scandinavian dreads not the power of the stern god Thor or the invincible Odin. The religion of the Magi, of the great Zoroaster, or Dodonean Jove has felt the corroding tooth of time. The Olympic games in Elis are forgotten, and their glories survive but as an echo of departed greatness. The colossal statue of Zeus by Phidias in the *Olympiæum* has crumbled into dust; and can we believe that time has decreed a nobler fate for modern faith?—a kindlier destiny for modern superstition?

Lord Byron sings in *Childe Harold:*

"Even Gods must yield—religions take their turn:
"'Twas Jove's—'tis Mahomet's—and other creeds
"Will rise with other years, 'till man shall learn
"Vainly his incense soars, his victim bleeds;
"Poor child of Doubt and Death, whose hope is built on reeds."—E.



(Geese of the Capitol.*)

II.

THE PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, AND THE SENTIMENTS, MANNERS, NUMBERS, AND CONDITION OF THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS.†

Importance of the inquiry.

A CANDID but rational inquiry into the progress and establishment of Christianity may be considered as a very essential part of the history of the Roman empire.‡ While that great body was invaded by open violence, or undermined by slow decay, a pure and humble religion gently insinuated itself into the minds of men, grew up in silence and obscurity, derived new vigor from opposition, and finally erected the triumphant banner of the cross on the ruins of the Capitol. Nor was the influence of Christianity confined to the period or to the limits of the Roman empire. After a revolution of thirteen or fourteen centuries, that religion is still professed by the nations of Europe,—the most distinguished portion of human kind in arts and learning as well as in arms. By the industry and zeal of the Europeans, it has been widely

* Three hundred and ninety years before the Christian era the Gauls, under Brennus, besieged Rome. A daring party of these barbarians undertook at night to climb the steep rock of the Capitoline on the river side. The guards slept, not even a watch-dog bayed, and the foremost of the party had nearly reached the top when certain sacred geese in the temple of Juno, which stood near, began to cackle aloud and flap their wings. This tumult aroused the Romans, who repelled the invaders, and thus Rome was saved. — E.

† Chap. XV. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.—E.

‡ In spite of my resolution, Lardner led me to look through the famous fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of Gibbon. I could not lay them down without finishing them. The causes assigned in the fifteenth chapter, for the diffusion of Christianity, must, no doubt, have contributed to it materially; but I doubt whether he saw them all. Perhaps those which he enumerates are among the most obvious. They might all be safely adopted by a Christian writer, with some change in the language and manner. *Mackintosh; see Life*, i. p. 244. — MILMAN.

THE FIRST CAUSE. Zeal of the Jews.

First. We have already described the religious harmony of the ancient world, and the facility with which the most different and even hostile nations embraced, or at least respected, each other's superstitions.* A single people refused to join in the common intercourse of mankind. The Jews, who

Thales to those of Cicero, philosophers had been vaguely striving to devise a more rational theology. Though unsuccessful in this, they had diffused around them a general dissatisfaction with the popular worship. To this feeling the first Macedonian rulers of Egypt, unwittingly perhaps, gave an energetic vivacity, by their active patronage of learning, and ingrafted on this a knowledge of the Mosaic religion, by means of the numerous Jews whom they planted and patronized in Alexandria and Cyrene, and by the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. Throughout the East, but more especially in Egypt and Syria, great numbers were thus prepared to abandon heathenism and embrace a spiritual faith. — ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

* This facility did not always prevent that intolerance which seems inherent in the spirit of religion whenever it is clothed with power. To separate ecclesiastical from civil authority appears to be the only means of preserving at once religion and toleration, but this idea is very modern. Passion blending itself with opinion, often rendered the Pagans intolerant or persecuting,—the Persians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, and even the Romans, may be brought in proof of this.

1st. *The Persians.*—Cambyses, the conqueror of Egypt, condemned the magistrates of Memphis to death, because they had rendered divine honors to their god, Apis; he caused the god to be dragged through the streets, struck him with his dagger, commanded the priests to be beaten with rods, and that all the Egyptians who should be found celebrating the feast of Apis, should be put to the sword, and he burnt all the statues of their gods. Not content with this intolerance, he sent an army to reduce the Ammonians to servitude, and to burn the temple where Jupiter delivered his oracles. (See *Herodotus*, book iii. c. 25, 27, 28, 29, 37,—*Trans. of M. Larcher*, vol. iii. p. 22, 24, 25, 33.) Xerxes, during his invasion into Greece, acted on the same principle. He demolished all the temples of Greece and of Ionia, except that of Ephesus. (See *Pausanias*, book vii, p. 533, and book x. p. 887. *Strabo*, book xiv. p. 941.)

2d. *The Egyptians.*—They believed themselves polluted whenever they had drank from the same cup, or eaten at the same table with a man of a belief different from their own. "Whoever had designedly killed any sacred animal, was punished "with death, but if any one had killed, even unintentionally, a cat or an ibis, he "could not escape the severest punishment; the people dragged him to punish-"ment and cruelly treated him, often without waiting till judgment had been pro-"nounced upon him. Even at the time when their king, Ptolemy, was not as yet the "declared friend of the Roman people, and when he paid his court with all possible "care to strangers coming from Italy, a Roman having killed a cat, the people "rushed to his house, and neither the entreaties of the nobles, whom the king had "sent to them, nor the terror of the Roman name, were sufficiently powerful to "rescue the man from punishment, though he had committed the crime involun-"tarily." *Diod. Sic.* i. 83. Juvenal, in his *Thirteenth Satire*, describes the sanguinary conflict between the inhabitants of Ombos and of Tentyra, from religious animosity. The fury was carried so far, that the conquerors tore and devoured the quivering limbs of the conquered.

> Ardet adhuc Ombos et Tentyra, summus utrinque
> Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
> Odit uterque locus; quum solos credat habendos
> Esse Deos quos ipse colit. *Sat. xv*, v. 85.

3d. *The Greeks.*—"Let us not here," says the Abbé Guenée, "refer to the "cities of Peloponnesus and their severity against atheism; the Ephesians pros-"ecuting Heraclitus for impiety; the Greeks armed one against the other by reli-"gious zeal, in the Amphictyonic war. Let us say nothing either of the frightful "cruelties inflicted by three successors of Alexander upon the Jews, to force them "to abandon their religion, nor of Antiochus expelling the philosophers from his "states. Let us not seek our proofs of intolerance so far off. Athens, the polite and "learned Athens, will supply us with sufficient examples. Every citizen made a "public and solemn vow to conform to the religion of his country, to defend it, and "to cause it to be respected. An express law severely punished all discourses "against the gods; and a rigid degree ordered the denunciation of all who should "deny their existence. * * * The practice was in unison with the severity of the

under the Assyrian and Persian monarchies, had languished for many ages the most despised portion of their slaves,[1] emerged from obscurity under the successors of

1 Dum Assyrios penes, Medosque, et Persas Oriens fuit, despectissima pars servientium. *Tacit. Hist.* v. 8. Herodotus, who visited Asia whilst it obeyed the last of those empires, slightly mentions the Syrians of Palestine, who, according to their own confession, had received from Egypt the rite of circumcision. See I. ii. c. 104.

"law. The proceedings commenced against Protagoras; a price set upon the head "of Diagoras; the danger of Alcibiades; Aristotle obliged to fly; Stilpo banished; "Anaxagoras hardly escaping death; Pericles himself, after all his services to his "country, and all the glory he had acquired, compelled to appear before the "tribunals and make his defence; * * a priestess executed for having introduced "strange gods; Socrates condemned and drinking the hemlock, because he was "accused of not recognizing those of his country, &c.; these facts attest too loudly, "to be called in question, the religious intolerance of the most humane and en- "lightened people in Greece." *Lettres de quelques Juifs à Mons. Voltaire*, i. p. 221. (Compare *Bentley on Freethinking*, from which much of this is derived. — M.)

4th. *The Romans.* — The laws of Rome were not less express and severe. The intolerance of foreign religions reaches, with the Romans, as high as the laws of the twelve tables; the prohibitions were afterwards renewed at different times. Intolerance did not discontinue under the emperors; witness the counsel of Mæcenas to Augustus. This counsel is so remarkable, that I think it right to insert it entire. "Honor the gods yourself," says Mæcenas to Augustus, "in every "way according to the usage of your ancestors, and compel (ἀνάγκαζε) others to "worship them. Hate and punish those who introduce strange gods (τοὺς δὲ δὴ 'ξενίζοντας μῖσει και κόλαζε), not only for the sake of the gods (he who despises "them will respect no one), but because those who introduce new gods engage a "multitude of persons in foreign laws and customs. From hence arise unions "bound by oaths, and confederacies, and associations, things dangerous to a "monarchy." *Dion Cass.* l. ii. *c. 36.* (But, though some may differ from it, see Gibbon's just observation on this passage in *Dion Cassius*, ch. xvi, note 117; impugned, indeed, by M. Guizot, note in loc. — M.)

Even the laws which the philosophers of Athens and of Rome wrote for their imaginary republics are intolerant. Plato does not leave to his citizens freedom of religious worship; and Cicero expressly prohibits them from having other gods than those of the state. *Lettres de quelques Juifs á Mons. Voltaire, i. p. 226.*—GUIZOT.

According to M. Guizot's just remarks, religious intolerance will always ally itself with the passions of men, however different those passions may be. In the instances quoted above, with the Persians it was the pride of despotism; to conquer the gods of a country was the last mark of subjugation. With the Egyptians, it was the gross Fetichism of the superstitious populace, and the local jealousy of neighboring towns. In Greece, persecution was in general connected with political party; in Rome, with the stern supremacy of the law and the interests of the state. Gibbon has been mistaken in attributing to the tolerant spirit of Paganism that which arose out of the peculiar circumstances of the times. 1st. The decay of the old Polytheism, through the progress of reason and intelligence, and the prevalence of philosophical opinions among the higher orders. 2d. The Roman character, in which the political always predominated over the religious part. The Romans were contented with having bowed the world to a uniformity of subjection to their power, and cared not for establishing the (to them) less important uniformity of religion. — MILMAN.

M. Guizot maintains here, that "intolerance seems to be inherent in the religious spirit, when armed with power;" and at some length adduces authorities, to show that persecution was practiced by the Persians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. Some of these are very questionable, as proofs of his assertion: and the "fearful cruelties," attributed to the "successors of Alexander, to make the Jews forsake their religion," are an entire perversion of the facts related by Josephus. The general position might have been better attested; but it will be found, that religious opinions never have been visited by pains and penalties, except to protect the wealth and emolument of the persecutors. — ENG. CHURCHMAN.

Both the above editors substantially confirm Gibbon's statements concerning religious toleration, and Guizot shows that "intolerance seems inherent in the "spirit of religion whenever it is clothed with power." Freedom is best preserved by a total separation of ecclesiastical authority from political affairs.— E.

Alexander; and as they multiplied to a surprising degree in the East, and afterwards in the West, they soon excited the curiosity and wonder of other nations.[2] The sullen obstinacy with which they maintained their peculiar rites and unsocial manners, seemed to mark them out as a distinct species of men, who boldly professed, or who faintly disguised, their implacable hatred to the rest of human-kind.[3] Neither the violence of Antiochus, nor the arts of Herod, nor the example of the circumjacent nations, could ever persuade the Jews to associate with the institutions of Moses the elegant mythology of the Greeks.[4] According to the maxims of universal toleration, the Romans protected

[2] *Diodorus Siculus*, l. xl. *Dion Cassius*, l. xxxvii. p. 121. *Tacit. Hist.* v. 1—9. *Justin.* xxxvi. 2, 3.

[3] Tradidit arcano quæcunque volumine Moses,
Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,
Quæsitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.

The letter of this law is not to be found in the present volume of Moses. But the wise, the humane Maimonides openly teaches that if an idolator fall into the water, a Jew ought not to save him from instant death. See Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, l. vi. c. 28.*

[4] A Jewish sect, which indulged themselves in a sort of occasional conformity, derived from Herod, by whose example and authority they had been seduced, the name of Herodians. But their numbers were so inconsiderable, and their duration so short, that Josephus has not thought them worthy of his notice. See Prideaux's *Connection*, vol. ii. p. 285.†

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* It is diametrically opposed to its spirit and to its letter; see, among other passages, *Deut.* x. 18, 19, (God) "loveth the stranger in giving him food and raiment. Love ye, therefore, the stranger: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." *Comp. Lev.* xxiii. 25. Juvenal is a satirist, whose strong expressions can hardly be received as historic evidence; and he wrote after the horrible cruelties of the Romans, which, during and after the war, might give some cause for the complete isolation of the Jew from the rest of the world. The Jew was a bigot, but his religion was not the only source of his bigotry. After how many centuries of mutual wrong and hatred, which had still further estranged the Jew from mankind, did Maimonides write? — MILMAN.

Maimonides (*Tractat. de Idololat.* v. 34, vi. 38, x. 69) undoubtedly states the severe construction against idolators, which interpreters of the Hebrew Scriptures put on such passages, as: "thou shalt utterly destroy them," &c.: and, among other instances, cites that which Gibbon has quoted from Basnage. But he neither "teaches," nor inculcates the observance of them as a duty. To have done so, would have been altogether inconsistent with the general character of his writings and his whole course of action. His *More Nevochim* (*Ductor Dubitantium*) is considered to be the most rational book that ever came from the pen of a Rabbi, and excited among the bigots of his nation, such fierce animosity against him, that they inscribed their sentence of excommunication even on his tomb. In his post as chief physician to Saladin, it was his employment *to save the lives* of the men of many faiths whom that liberal prince had collected in his court at Cairo, and whom the Jews regarded as idolators and heathens. By all these his death was lamented. In the page preceding that which he quoted, Gibbon might have seen the real value, not only of such denunciations and antipathies, but also of more positive injunctions; for Basnage there says, that, according to the opinion of Eleazar, Jews might even so far break the second commandment, as to make graven images and ornaments for heathen temples, "*pourvu qu'on soit bien payé.*" *Hist. des Juifs*, tom. vi, partie 2, p. 617. — ENG. CHURCHMAN.

† The Herodians were probably more of a political party than a religious sect, though Gibbon is most likely right as to their occasional conformity. See *Hist. of the Jews*, ii. 108. — MILMAN.

a superstition which they despised.[5] The polite Augustus condescended to give orders that sacrifices should be offered for his prosperity in the temple of Jerusalem;[6] while the meanest of the posterity of Abraham, who should have paid the same homage to the Jupiter of the Capitol, would have been an object of abhorrence to himself and to his brethren. But the moderation of the conquerors was insufficient to appease the jealous prejudices of their subjects, who were alarmed and scandalized at the ensigns of paganism, which necessarily introduced themselves into a Roman province.[7] The mad attempt of Caligula to place his own statue in the temple of Jerusalem, was defeated by the unanimous resolution of a people who dreaded death much less than such an idolatrous profanation.[8] Their attachment to the law of Moses was equal to their detestation of foreign religions. The current of zeal and devotion, as it was contracted into a narrow channel, ran with the strength, and sometimes with the fury, of a torrent.

Its gradual increase.

This inflexible perserverance, which appeared so odious or so ridiculous to the ancient world, assumes a more awful character, since Providence has deigned to reveal to us the mysterious history of the chosen people. But the devout and even scrupulous attachment to the Mosaic religion, so conspicuous among the Jews who lived under the second temple, becomes still more surprising, if it is compared with the stubborn incredulity of their forefathers. When the law was given in thunder from Mount Sinai; when the tides of the ocean, and the course of the planets were suspended for the convenience of the Israelites; and when temporal rewards

[5] Cicero pro Flacco, c. 28.*

[6] Philo de Legatione. Augustus left a foundation for a perpetual sacrifice. Yet he approved of the neglect which his grandson Caius expressed towards the temple of Jerusalem. See *Sueton. in August.* c. 93, and Casaubon's notes on that passage.

[7] See, in particular, Josephi *Antiquitat.* xvii. 6; xviii. 3; and de Bell. *Judaic.* i. 33, and ii. 9, edit. Havercamp.†

[8] Jussi a Caio Cæsare, effigiem ejus in templo locare, arma potius sumpsere. *Tacit. Hist.* v. 9. Philo and Josephus give a very circumstantial, but a very rhetorical, account of this transaction, which exceedingly perplexed the governor of Syria. At the first mention of this idolatrous proposal, King Agrippa fainted away; and did not recover his senses until the third day. (*Hist. of Jews*, ii. 181, &c.)

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* The edicts of Julius Cæsar, and of some of the cities in Asia Minor (*Krebs. Decret. pro Judæis*), in favor of the nation in general, or of the Asiatic Jews, speak a different language. — MILMAN.

† This was during the government of Pontius Pilate. (*Hist. of Jews*, ii. 156.) Probably in part to avoid this collision, the Roman governor, in general, resided at Cæsarea. — MILMAN.

and punishments were the immediate consequences of their piety or disobedience, they perpetually relapsed into rebellion against the visible majesty of their Divine King, placed the idols of the nations in the sanctuary of Jehovah, and imitated every fantastic ceremony that was practised in the tents of the Arabs, or in the cities of Phœnicia.[9] As the protection of Heaven was deservedly withdrawn from the ungrateful race, their faith acquired a proportionable degree of vigor and purity. The contemporaries of Moses and Joshua had beheld with careless indifference the most amazing miracles. Under the pressure of every calamity, the belief of those miracles has preserved the Jews of a later period from the universal contagion of idolatry; and in contradiction to every known principle of the human mind, that singular people seems to have yielded a stronger and more ready assent to the traditions of their remote ancestors, than to the evidence of their own senses.[10]

Their religion better suited to defence than to conquest.

The Jewish religion was admirably fitted for defence, but it was never designed for conquest; and it seems probable that the number of proselytes was never much superior to that of apostates. The divine promises were originally made, and the distinguishing rite of circumcision was enjoined to a single family. When the posterity of Abraham had multiplied like the sands of the sea, the Deity, from whose

[9] For the enumeration of the Syrian and Arabian deities, it may be observed that Milton has comprised in one hundred and thirty very beautiful lines the two large and learned syntagmas which Selden had composed on that abstruse subject.

[10] "How long will this people provoke me? and how long will it be ere they "*believe* me, for all the *signs* which I have shown among them?" (*Numbers* xiv. 11.) It would be easy, but it would be unbecoming, to justify the complaint of the Deity from the whole tenor of the Mosaic history.*

* Among a rude and barbarous people, religious impressions are easily made, and are as soon effaced. The ignorance which multiplies imaginary wonders, would weaken or destroy the effect of real miracle. At the period of the Jewish history, referred to in the passage from *Numbers*, their fears predominated over their faith,—the fears of an unwarlike people, just rescued from debasing slavery, and commanded to attack a fierce, a well-armed, a gigantic, and a far more numerous race, the inhabitants of Canaan. As to the frequent apostasy of the Jews, their religion was beyond their state of civilization. Nor is it uncommon for a people to cling with passionate attachment to that of which, at first, they could not appreciate the value. Patriotism and national pride will contend, even to death, for political rights which have been forced upon a reluctant people. The Christian may at least retort, with justice, that the great sign of his religion, the resurrection of Jesus, was most ardently believed, and most resolutely asserted by the eye-witnesses of the fact.—MILMAN.

Gibbon quotes Moses to show that the Jews did not believe in Jehovah, even when receiving his laws and commandments. Milman asserts that the early Christians did believe in the resurrection of Jesus at the time of its occurrence. But what possible connection has their belief in this dogma with the skepticism of the Jews in regard to Jehovah?—E.

mouth they received a system of laws and ceremonies, declared himself the proper, and as it were the national God of Israel; and, with the most jealous care, separated his favorite people from the rest of mankind. The conquest of the land of Canaan was accompanied with so many wonderful and with so many bloody circumstances, that the victorious Jews were left in a state of irreconcilable hostility with all their neighbors. They had been commanded to extirpate some of the most idolatrous tribes, and the execution of the Divine will had seldom been retarded by the weakness of humanity. With the other nations they were forbidden to contract any marriages or alliances; and the prohibition of receiving them into the congregation, which in some cases was perpetual, almost always extended to the third, to the seventh, or even to the tenth generation. The obligation of preaching to the Gentiles the faith of Moses had never been inculcated as a precept of the law, nor were the Jews inclined to impose it on themselves as a voluntary duty. In the admission of new citizens, that unsocial people was actuated by the selfish vanity of the Greeks, rather than by the generous policy of Rome. The descendants of Abraham were flattered by the opinion that they alone were the heirs of the covenant, and they were apprehensive of diminishing the value of their inheritance, by sharing it too easily with the strangers of the earth. A larger acquaintance with mankind extended their knowledge without correcting their prejudices; and whenever the God of Israel acquired any new votaries, he was much more indebted to the inconstant humor of polytheism than to the active zeal of his own missionaries.[11] The religion of Moses seems to be instituted for a particular country as well as for a single nation; and if a strict obedience had been paid to the order, that every male, three times in the year, should present himself before the Lord Jehovah, it would have been impossible that the Jews could ever have spread themselves beyond the narrow limits of the promised land.[12] That obstacle was indeed removed by the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem; but the most considerable part of the Jewish religion was involved in its destruction; and the pagans, who had long wondered at the strange

11 All that relates to the Jewish proselytes has been very ably treated by Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, l. vi. c. 6, 7.

12 See *Exod.* xxxiv. 23, *Deut.* xvi. 16, the commentators, and a very sensible note in the *Universal History*, vol. i. p. 603, edit. fol.

report of an empty sanctuary,[13] were at a loss to discover what could be the object, or what could be the instruments, of a worship which was destitute of temples and of altars, of priests and of sacrifices. Yet even in their fallen state, the Jews, still asserting their lofty and exclusive privileges, shunned, instead of courting, the society of strangers. They still insisted with inflexible rigor on those parts of the law which it was in their power to practice. Their peculiar distinctions of days, of meats, and a variety of trivial though burdensome observances, were so many objects of disgust and aversion for the other nations, to whose habits and prejudices they were diametrically opposite. The painful and even dangerous rite of circumcision was alone capable of repelling a willing proselyte from the door of the synagogue.[14]

More liberal zeal of christianity.

Under these circumstances, Christianity offered itself to the world, armed with the strength of the Mosaic law, and delivered from the weight of its fetters. An exclusive zeal for the truth of religion, and the unity of God, was as carefully inculcated in the new as in the ancient system; and whatever was now revealed to mankind concerning the nature and designs of the Supreme Being, was fitted to increase their reverence for that mysterious doctrine. The divine authority of Moses and the prophets was admitted, and even established, as the firmest basis of Christianity. From the beginning of the world, an uninterrupted series of predictions had announced and prepared the long expected coming of the Messiah, who, in compliance with the gross apprehensions of the Jews, had been more frequently represented under the character of a king and conqueror, than under that of a prophet, a martyr, and the Son of God. By his expiatory sacrifice, the imperfect sacrifices of the temple were at once consummated and abolished. The ceremonial law, which consisted only of types and figures, was succeeded by a pure and spiritual worship, equally adapted to all climates, as well as to every condition of mankind; and for the initiation of blood was substituted a more harmless initiation of water. The promise of divine favor, instead of being partially con-

[13] When Pompey, using or abusing the right of conquest, entered into the Holy of Holies, it was observed with amazement, "Nulla intus Deum effigie, vacuam "sedem et inania arcana." *Tacit. Hist.* v. 9. It was a popular saying, with regard to the Jews, "Nil præter nubes et cœli numen adorant."

[14] A second kind of circumcision was inflicted on a Samaritan or Egyptian proselyte. The sullen indifference of the Talmudists, with respect to the conversion of strangers, may be seen in Basnage. *Histoire des Juifs*, l. vi. c. 6.

fined to the posterity of Abraham, was universally proposed to the freeman and the slave, to the Greek and to the barbarian, the Jew and to the Gentile. Every privilege that could raise the proselyte from earth to heaven, that could exalt his devotion, secure his happiness, or even gratify that secret pride, which, under the semblance of devotion, insinuates itself into the human heart, was still reserved for the members of the Christian Church; but at the same time all mankind was permitted, and even solicited, to accept the glorious distinction, which was not only proffered as a favor, but imposed as an obligation. It became the most sacred duty of a new convert to diffuse among his friends and relations the inestimable blessings which he had received, and to warn them against a refusal that would be severely punished as a criminal disobedience to the will of a benevolent but all-powerful Deity.

Obstinacy and reasons of the believing Jews.

The enfranchisement of the Church from the bonds of the synagogue, was a work however of some time and of some difficulty. The Jewish converts, who acknowledged Jesus in the character of the Messiah, foretold by their ancient oracles, respected him as a prophetic teacher of virtue and religion; but they obstinately adhered to the ceremonies of their ancestors, and were desirous of imposing them on the Gentiles, who continually augmented the number of believers. These Judaizing Christians seem to have argued with some degree of plausibility from the divine origin of the Mosaic law, and from the immutable perfections of its great Author. They affirmed *that* if the Being, who is the same through all eternity, had designed to abolish those sacred rites which had served to distinguish his chosen people, the repeal of them would have been no less clear and solemn than their first promulgation; *that*, instead of those frequent declarations which either suppose or assert the perpetuity of the Mosaic religion, it would have been represented as a provisionary scheme intended to last only till the coming of the Messiah, who should instruct mankind in a more perfect mode of faith and of worship;[15] *that* the Messiah himself, and his disciples who conversed with him on earth, instead of authorizing by their example the most minute observances of the Mosaic

15 These arguments were urged with great ingenuity by the Jew Orobio, and refuted with equal ingenuity and candor by the Christian Limborch. See the *Amica Collatio* (it well deserves that name), or account of the dispute between them.

law,[16] would have published to the world the abolition of those useless and obsolete ceremonies, without suffering Christianity to remain during so many years obscurely confounded among the sects of the Jewish church.* Arguments like these appear to have been used in the defence of the expiring cause of the Mosaic law; but the industry of our learned divines has abundantly explained the ambiguous language of the Old Testament, and the ambiguous conduct of the

[16] Jesus . . . circumcisus erat; cibis utebatur Judaicis; vestitu simili; purgatos scabie mittebat ad sacerdotes; Paschata et alios dies festos religiosè observabat; Si quos sanavit sabbatho, ostendit non tantum ex lege, sed et exceptis sententiis, talia opera sabbatho non interdicta. *Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, l. v. c. 7. A little afterwards (c. 12) he expatiates on the condescension of the apostles.

*J. E. Ritchie, in a recent work, *The Religious Life of London*, speaks as follows of the Jews of the present day: "We have seen a Prime Minister of England of "Jewish origin. Jews are in all respects on an equality with Christians; in art, "and literature, and science, and the acquirement of wealth, they have displayed "a genius equal to our own. In practical piety — in the benevolence which teaches "the rich to give of their goods to the poor, they are infinitely our superiors. * * * "The children are educated in a way of which Christians have no idea. The "Jewish free school in Brick Lane, [London,] with its three thousand children, is "a sight to see. There is, besides, an infant school equally flourishing, and no "poor Jew is relieved unless he sends his children to school. In the visiting of "the sick, in the care of the poor, all take their share. I believe a synagogue is a "little commonwealth in which the rich help the poor, most frequently by way of "small loans, and in which the strong take care of the weak. In these works of "beneficence all take their share, the humblest as well as those of more exalted "rank. The Jewish M. P takes his place at the Board of Guardians. The Jewish "Countess will not only give of her wealth, but will leave her stately home and "seek out the abode of sorrow and distress. Charity is inculcated in the Talmud "as the first of duties; and, if heaven is won by good works, the Jews are safe "and sure. As a theology, Judaism seems ritualism *in excelsis*. The Jewish "faith is contained in the Creed and the Shemang. Of the two, the latter is the "more important. It is a declaration of the unity of God, the first utterance of the "child, the last of the devout Jew as the watchers stand by his bedside, at the "head of which is the Shechinah, or Divine presence, and at the foot of which, "with outstretched wing, waiting for the last breath, hovers the angel of death. "The Creed, which every Jew ought to believe and rehearse daily, but which they "treat as Churchmen do their Thirty-nine Articles, is as follows: — (1.) I believe, "with a perfect faith, that God (blessed be His name!) is the Creator and Governor "of all created beings, and that He alone has made, does make, and ever will "make, every production. (2.) I believe, with a perfect faith, that God (blessed "be His name!) is one God, and that there is no unity whatever like unto Him, "and that He alone is our God, who was, is, and will be eternally. (3.) I believe, "with a perfect faith, that the Creator (blessed be His name!) is not corporeal, nor "is He subject to any of those changes that are incidental to matter, and that He "has no similitude whatever. (4) I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator "(blessed be His name!) is both the first and last of all things. (5.) I believe, with "a perfect faith, that to the Creator (blessed be His name!) yea, to Him only, it is "proper to address our prayers, and that it is not proper to pray to any other being. "(6.) I believe, with a perfect faith, that all the words of the prophets are true. "(7.) I believe, with a perfect faith, that the prophecy of Moses our instructor (may "his soul rest in peace!) was true, and that he excelled all the sages that preceded "him or they who may succeed him. (8.) I believe, with a perfect faith, that the "law which we have now in our possession is the same law which was given to "Moses by our instructor. (9) I believe, with a perfect faith, that this law will "never be changed, that the Creator (blessed be His name!) will never give us any "other law. (10.) I believe, with a perfect faith, that the Creator (blessed be His "name!) knoweth all the actions and thoughts of mankind, as it is said, 'He "'fashioneth their hearts, and knoweth all their works.' (11.) I believe, with a "perfect faith, that the Creator (blessed be His name!) rewards those who observe "His commandments, and punishes those who transgress them. (12.) The Jew be-"lieves in the coming of the Messiah; and (13), in the resurrection of the dead."—E.

apostolic teachers. It was proper gradually to unfold the system of the gospel, and to pronounce, with the utmost caution and tenderness, a sentence of condemnation so repugnant to the inclination and prejudices of the believing Jews.

The Nazarene church of Jerusalem.

The history of the church of Jerusalem affords a lively proof of the necessity of those precautions, and of the deep impression which the Jewish religion had made on the minds of its sectaries. The first fifteen bishops of Jerusalem were all circumcised Jews; and the congregation over which they presided united the law of Moses with the doctrine of Christ.[17] It was natural that the primitive tradition of a church which was founded only forty years after the death of Christ, and was governed almost as many years under the immediate inspection of his apostle, should be received as the standard of orthodoxy.[18] The distant churches very frequently appealed to the authority of their venerable parent, and relieved her distresses by a liberal contribution of alms. But when numerous and opulent societies were established in the great cities of the empire, in Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome, the reverence which Jerusalem had inspired in all the Christian colonies insensibly diminished. The Jewish converts, or, as they were afterwards called, the Nazarenes, who had laid the foundations of the church, soon found themselves overwhelmed by the increasing multitudes that from all the various religions of polytheism enlisted under the banner of Christ; and the Gentiles, who, with the approbation of their peculiar apostle, had rejected the intolerable weight of the Mosaic ceremonies, at length refused to their more scrupulous brethren the same toleration which at first they had humbly solicited for their own practice. The ruin of the temple, of the city, and of the public religion of the Jews, was severely felt by the Nazarenes; as in their manners, though not in their faith, they maintained so intimate a connection with their impious countrymen, whose misfortunes were attributed by the Pagans to the contempt, and

17 Pæne omnes Christum Deum sub legis observatione credebant. *Sulpicius Severus*, ii 31. See Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* l. iv. c. 5.

18 Mosheim de Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum Magnum, p. 153. In this masterly performance, which I shall often have occasion to quote, he enters much more fully into the state of the primitive church, than he has an opportunity of doing in his *General History*.*

* The church at Antioch was founded much earlier. *Acts* xi. 20; xiii. 1.—ENG. CHURCHMAN.

more justly ascribed by the Christians to the wrath, of the Supreme Deity. The Nazarenes retired from the ruins of Jerusalem* to the little town of Pella beyond the Jordan, where that ancient church languished above sixty years in solitude and obscurity.[19] They still enjoyed the comfort of making frequent and devout visits to the *Holy City*, and the hope of being one day restored to those seats which both nature and religion taught them to love as well as to revere. But at length, under the reign of Hadrian, the desperate fanaticism of the Jews filled up the measure of their calamities; and the Romans, exasperated by their repeated rebellions, exercised the rights of victory with unusual rigor. The emperor founded, under the name of Ælia Capitolina, a new city on Mount Sion,[20] to which he gave the privileges of a colony; and denouncing the severest penalties against any of the Jewish people who should dare to approach its precincts, he fixed a vigilant garrison of a Roman cohort to enforce the execution of his orders. The Nazarenes had only one way left to escape the common proscription, and the force of truth was on this occasion assisted by the influence of temporal advantages. They elected Marcus for their bishop, a prelate of the race of the Gentiles, and most probably a native either of Italy or of some of the Latin provinces.† At his persuasion the most considerable part of the congregation renounced the Mosaic law, in the practice of which they had preserved above a century. By this sacrifice of their habits and prejudices they purchased a free admission into the colony of Hadrian, and more firmly cemented their union with the Catholic church.[21]

The Ebionites.

When the name and honors of the church of Jerusalem had been restored to Mount Sion, the crimes of heresy and schism were imputed to the

[19] *Eusebius* l. iii. c. 5. Le Clerc, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* p. 605. During this occasional absence, the bishop and church of Pella still retained the title of Jerusalem. In the same manner, the Roman pontiffs resided seventy years at Avignon; and the patriarchs of Alexandria have long since transferred their episcopal seat to Cairo.

[20] *Dion Cassius*, l. lxix. The exile of the Jewish nation from Jerusalem is attested by Aristo of Pella (*apud Euseb.* l. iv. c. 6), and is mentioned by several ecclesiastical writers; though some of them too hastily extend this interdiction to the whole country of Palestine.

[21] *Eusebius*, l. vi c 6. *Sulpicius Severus*, ii. 31 By comparing their unsatisfactory accounts, Mosheim (p. 327, &c.) has drawn out a very distinct representation of the circumstances and motives of this revolution.

* This is incorrect: all the traditions concur in placing the abandonment of the city by the Christians, not only before it was in ruins, but before the siege had commenced. *Euseb. loc. cit.*, and *Le Clerc.*— MILMAN.

† Marcus was a Greek prelate. See *Dœderlein de Comment Ebionœis*, p. 10.—G.

obscure remnant of the Nazarenes which refused to accompany their Latin bishop. They still preserved their former habitation of Pella, spread themselves into the villages adjacent to Damascus, and formed an inconsiderable church in the city of Berœa, or, as it is now called, of Aleppo, in Syria.[22] The name of Nazarenes was deemed too honorable for those Christian Jews, and they soon received, from the supposed poverty of their understanding, as well as of their condition, the contemptuous epithet of Ebionites.[23] In a few years after the return of the church of Jerusalem, it became a matter of doubt and controversy, whether a man who sincerely acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah, but who still continued to observe the law of Moses, could possibly hope for salvation. The humane temper of Justin Martyr inclined him to answer this question in the affirmative; and though he expressed himself with the most guarded diffidence, he ventured to determine in favor of such an imperfect Christian, if he were content to practice the Mosaic ceremonies, without pretending to assert their general use or necessity. But when Justin was pressed to declare the sentiment of the church, he confessed that there were very many among the orthodox Christians, who not only excluded

22 Le Clerc (*Hist. Ecclesiast.* pp. 477, 535) seems to have collected from Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, and other writers, all the principal circumstances that relate to the Nazarenes or Ebionites. The nature of their opinions soon divided them into a stricter and a milder sect; and there is some reason to conjecture, that the family of Jesus Christ remained members, at least, of the latter and more moderate party.

23 Some writers have been pleased to create an Ebion, the imaginary author of their sect and name. But we can more safely rely on the learned Eusebius than on the vehement Tertullian, or the credulous Epiphanius. According to Le Clerc, the Hebrew word *Ebjonim* may be translated into Latin by that of *Pauperes*. See *Hist. Ecclesiast.* p. 477.*

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*The opinion of Le Clerc is generally admitted; but Neander has suggested some good reasons for supposing that this term only applied to poverty of condition. The obscure history of their tenets and divisions, is clearly and rationally traced in his *History of the Church*, vol. i. part ii. p. 612, &c., Germ. edit.—MILMAN.

"Ebionites." — The name of *Ebionites* was of earlier date. The first Christians of Jerusalem were called Ebionites, on account of the poverty to which they were reduced by their deeds of benevolence. (See the *Acts of the Apostles*, c. 4. v. 34: and c. 11. v. 30. the *Epistle to the Galatians*, c. 2. v. 10. *Romans*, c. 15. v. 26.) This name was also given to those Jewish christians who still retained their Judaizing opinions, and lived at Pella: they were finally accused of denying the divinity of Jesus Christ, and as such excluded from the church. The Socinians who have recently denied this doctrine, have availed themselves of the example of the Ebionites, to prove that the primitive Christians held to the same opinions which they profess on this subject. Artemon among others, has developed this argument in all its force; Dœderlein and other modern theologians have proved that the Ebionites were falsely accused in this respect. (*Commentaires de Ebionoeis*, 1770, § 1—8.) — GUIZOT.

The passages in scripture quoted above contain no proofs of the early Christians in Jerusalem having been called Ebionites, nor do they indicate such poverty as would have warranted the appellation. — ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

their Judaizing brethren from the hope of salvation, but who declined any intercourse with them in the common offices of friendship, hospitality, and social life.[24] The more rigorous opinion prevailed, as it was natural to expect, over the milder; and an eternal bar of separation was fixed between the disciples of Moses and those of Christ. The unfortunate Ebionites, rejected from one religion as apostates, and from the other as heretics, found themselves compelled to assume a more decided character; and although some traces of that obsolete sect may be discovered as late as the fourth century, they insensibly melted away, either into the church or the synagogue.[25]

The Gnostics.

While the orthodox church preserved a just medium between excessive veneration and improper contempt for the law of Moses, the various heretics deviated into equal but opposite extremes of error and extravagance. From the acknowledged truth of the Jewish religion, the Ebionites had concluded that it could never be abolished. From its supposed imperfections, the Gnostics as hastily inferred that it never was instituted by the wisdom of the Deity. There are some objections against the authority of Moses and the prophets which too readily present themselves to the skeptical mind; though they can

[24] See the very curious dialogue of Justin Martyr with the Jew Tryphon.* The conference between them was held at Ephesus, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and about twenty years after the return of the church of Pella to Jerusalem. For this date consult the accurate note of Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclesiastiques*, tom. ii. p. 511.

[25] Of all the systems of Christianity, that of Abyssinia is the only one which still adheres to the Mosaic rites. (Geddes's *Church History of Æthiopia*, and *Dissertations de La Grand sur la Relation du P. Lobo.*) The eunuch of the queen Candace might suggest some suspicions; but as we are assured (*Socrates*, i. 19. *Sozomen*, ii. 24. *Ludolphus*, p. 281) that the Æthiopians were not converted till the fourth century, it is more reasonable to believe that they respected the Sabbath, and distinguished the forbidden meats, in imitation of the Jews, who, in a very early period, were seated on both sides of the Red Sea. Circumcision had been practised by the most ancient Æthiopians, from motives of health and cleanliness, which seem to be explained in the *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains*, tom. ii. p. 117.

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*Justin Martyr made an important distinction, which Gibbon has left unnoticed. The first Jew-Christians were called Ebionites, and had retired to Pella. Those who were persuaded by their bishop, Marcus, to abandon, at least partially, the Mosaic law and return to Jerusalem, took the name of Nazarenes; those who persisted in their Judaism retained that of Ebionites. These last alone are rejected by the church, and severely reprehended by Justin Martyr. He is more lenient towards the Nazarenes, who, though still observing themselves some parts of the Mosaic law, did not compel pagan converts to conform to it; while the Ebionites, properly so called, desired to enforce their compliance. This appears to have been the principal distinction between the two sects. *Dœderlein*, p. 25. — GUIZOT.

In all this we see that there was a considerable difference between early Jew and Greek Christianity. The "Greek prelate" Marcus prevailed on some to adopt the latter, while the others, who continued recusant, were disowned by the two religions between which they stood, and gradually disappeared. This explains Justin Martyr's severity. — ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

only be derived from our ignorance of remote antiquity, and from our incapacity to form an adequate judgment of the divine economy. These objections were eagerly embraced and as petulantly urged by the vain science of the Gnostics.[26] As those heretics were, for the most part, averse to the pleasures of sense, they morosely arraigned the polygamy of the patriarchs, the gallantries of David, and the seraglio of Solomon. The conquest of the land of Canaan, and the extirpation of the unsuspecting natives, they were at a loss how to reconcile with the common notions of humanity and justice.* But when they recollected the sanguinary list of murders, of executions, and of massacres, which stain almost every page of the Jewish annals,† they acknowledged that the barbarians of Palestine had exercised as much compassion towards their idolatrous enemies, as they had ever

[26] Beausobre, *Histoire du Manichéisme*, l. i. c. 3, has stated their objections, particularly those of Faustus, the adversary of Augustin, with the most learned impartiality.

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* On the "war law" of the Jews, see *Hist. of Jews*, i. 137. — MILMAN.

† The Jews have been persecuted and despised by all nations and all sects. The Mahometans trace their origin to Abraham, whom they revere: the Christians base their hope of salvation upon the promises made to the seed of the same Chaldean patriarch; yet, while Christians and Mahometans can agree on no other subject, they willingly unite in persecuting Abraham's descendants, — the "chosen people." It is true the Jews were an ignorant, brutal and idolatrous nation, and perhaps merited a portion of the suffering they were forced to endure; but the better class of the Hebrews were superior to many of the early Christians, and probably not much inferior to the Pagans. It must at least be said to their credit, that they never mutilated their persons, like the Christian fanatics, who made "themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake," as taught to believers, in Matt. xix. 12. As a stream never rises above its source, we should not expect to find the early Jews paragons of morality. Their founder, Abraham, surrendered his wife Sarah to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, who "entreated "Abraham well for her sake, and he had sheep, and oxen, and he asses, and "men servants and maid servants, and she asses and camels." (Gen. xii. 15-16.) Like the goddess Hebe, Madame S. seemed endowed with immortal youth, for at ninety years of age, when most sensualists become prudish and pious, she was still gay and charming. The lustful Abimelech, king of Gerar, was the next victim to this aged beauty's charms, and the pious and thrifty Abraham received in compensation one thousand pieces of silver and further important additions to his live stock. (Gen. xx. 2, 14, 16.) King David, (who was the ancestor of Joseph, the husband of Mary,) debauched Bath-sheba, the legal wife of Uriah, the Hittite, and when this wanton informed him that she had conceived, he conspired against her husband's life. (II. Sam. xi. 2-17.) The Lord sent Nathan, the prophet, to rebuke this villainy, which duty he eloquently performed. (II. Sam. xii. 1-7.) He afterwards, however, anointed Solomon, the offspring of sin and shame, as king of Israel. This worthy surrounded himself with a seraglio of three hundred concubines and seven hundred wives and princesses. He became an idolator, worshiping "Ashtoreth," the goddess of the Zidonians, "Milcom," the abomination of the Ammonites, "Chemosh," the abomination of Moab, and "Molech," the abomination of the children of Ammon. (I. Kings xi. 3-7.) He taught that all was vanity, and "that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth "beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, "they have all one breath; so that a man hath no preeminence above a beast. All "go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again." (Eccles. iii. 19, 20.) In view of the above facts, we ask, were not the Gnostics justified for their "morose arraignment of the polygamy of the patriarchs, the gallantries of David, "and the seraglio of Solomon?" — E.

shown to their friends or countrymen.[27] Passing from the sectaries of the law to the law itself, they asserted that it was impossible that a religion which consisted only of bloody sacrifices and trifling ceremonies, and whose rewards as well as punishments were all of a carnal and temporal nature, could inspire the love of virtue, or restrain the impetuosity of passion. The Mosaic account of the creation and fall of man was treated with profane derision by the Gnostics, who would not listen with patience to the repose of the Deity after six days' labor, to the rib of Adam, the garden of Eden, the trees of life and of knowledge, the speaking serpent, the forbidden fruit, and the condemnation pronounced against human kind for the venial offence of their first progenitors.[28] The God of Israel was impiously represented by the Gnostics as a being liable to passion and to error, capricious in his favor, implacable in his resentment, meanly jealous of his superstitious worship, and confining his partial providence to a single people, and to this transitory life. In such a character they could discover none of the features of the wise and omnipotent Father of the universe.[29] They allowed that the religion of the Jews was somewhat less criminal than the idolatry of the Gentiles: but it was their fundamental doctrine that the Christ whom they adored as the first and brightest emanation of the Deity appeared upon earth to rescue mankind from their various errors, and to reveal a

[27] Apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu: adversus omnes alios hostile odium. *Tacit. Hist.* v. 4. Surely Tacitus had seen the Jews with too favorable an eye.† The perusal of Josephus must have destroyed the antithesis.

[28] Dr. Burnet (*Archæologia*. l. ii. c. 7) has discussed the first chapters of Genesis with too much wit and freedom.‡

[29] The milder Gnostics considered Jehovah, the Creator, as a Being of a mixed nature between God and the Dæmon. Others confounded him with the evil principle. Consult the second century of the general history of Mosheim, which gives a very distinct, though concise, account of their strange opinions on this subject.

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† Few writers have suspected Tacitus of partiality towards the Jews. The whole latter history of the Jews illustrates as well their strong feelings of humanity to their brethren, as their hostility to the rest of mankind. The character and the position of Josephus with the Roman authorities, must be kept in mind during the perusal of his History. Perhaps he has not exaggerated the ferocity and fanaticism of the Jews *at that time*; but insurrectionary warfare is not the best school for the humaner virtues, and much must be allowed for the grinding tyranny of the later Roman governors. See *Hist. of Jews*, ii. 254. — MILMAN.

‡ Dr. Burnet apologized for the levity with which he had conducted some of his arguments, by the excuse that he wrote in a learned language for scholars alone, not for the vulgar. Whatever may be thought of his success in tracing an Eastern allegory in the first chapters in Genesis, his other works prove him to have been a man of great genius and of sincere piety. — MILMAN.

A recent work on this subject, entitled *Some Mistakes of Moses*, has met with a favorable reception. The author, Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, like the Rev. Dr Burnet, is also "a man of great genius" if not "of sincere piety." — E.

new system of truth and perfection. The most learned of the fathers, by a very singular condescension, have imprudently admitted the sophistry of the Gnostics.* Acknowledging that the literal sense is repugnant to every principle of faith as well as reason, they deem themselves secure and invulnerable behind the ample veil of allegory, which they carefully spread over every tender part of the Mosaic dispensation.[30] †

Their sects, progress, and influence.

It has been remarked with more ingenuity than truth that the virgin purity of the church was never violated by schism or heresy before the reign of Trajan or Hadrian, about one hundred years after the death of Christ.[31] We may observe with much more propriety, that, during that period, the disciples of the Messiah were indulged in a freer latitude, both of faith and practice, than has ever been allowed in succeeding ages. As the terms of communion were insensibly narrowed, and the spiritual authority of the prevailing party was exercised with increasing severity, many of its most respectable adherents, who were called upon to renounce, were provoked to assert their private opinions, to pursue the consequences of their mistaken principles, and openly to erect the standard of rebellion against the unity of the church. The Gnostics were distinguished as the most

30 See Beausobre, *Hist. du Manicheisme*, l. i. c. 4. Origen and St. Augustin were among the allegorists.

31 Hegesippus, *ap. Euseb.* l. iii. 32, iv. 22. Clemens Alexandrin. *Stromat.* vii. 17.‡

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* The Gnostics, and the historian who has stated these plausible objections with so much force as almost to make them his own, would have shown a more considerate and not less reasonable philosophy, if they had considered the religion of Moses with reference to the age in which it was promulgated; if they had done justice to its sublime as well as its more imperfect views of the divine nature; the humane and civilizing provisions of the Hebrew law, as well as those adapted for an infant and barbarous people. See *Hist. of Jews*, i. 36, 37, &c. — MILMAN.

† In a few terse sentences Gibbon has here clearly and accurately outlined the Mosaic theology, while huge tomes of most unsatisfactory criticism have been produced on the same subject by inferior writers. It was this grand faculty, of clearly comprehending his subject and graphically stating its salient points in the fewest possible words, that has made Gibbon's *History* so unpalatable to the sectarians and so popular with the public. His opponents may perchance discover an error in a date, or a possible mistake in transcribing a quotation, but these trivial objections seem peurile and insignificant when opposed to his masterly and eloquent statement of facts. In despair the sagacious Paley exclaims, when striving to combat Gibbon, "Who can refute a sneer?" But in fact a sneer, which may convict a fraud or expose an error, falls harmless and impotent when confronted with the simple majesty of truth. — E.

‡ The assertion of Hegesippus is not so positive: it is sufficient to read the whole passage in Eusebius, to see that the former part is modified by the latter. Hegesippus adds, that up to this period the church had remained pure and immaculate as a virgin. Those who labored to corrupt the doctrines of the gospel worked as yet in obscurity. — GUIZOT

polite, the most learned, and the most wealthy of the Christian name; and that general appellation, which expressed a superiority of knowledge, was either assumed by their own pride, or ironically bestowed by the envy of their adversaries. They were almost without exception of the race of the Gentiles, and their principal founders seem to have been natives of Syria or Egypt, where the warmth of the climate disposes both the mind and the body to indolent and contemplative devotion. The Gnostics blended with the faith of Christ many sublime but obscure tenets, which they derived from oriental philosophy, and even from the religion of Zoroaster, concerning the eternity of matter, the existence of two principles, and the mysterious hierarchy of the invisible world.[32] As soon as they launched out into that vast abyss, they delivered themselves to the guidance of a disordered imagination; and as the paths of error are various and infinite, the Gnostics were imperceptibly divided into more than fifty particular sects,[33] of whom the most celebrated appear to have been the Basilidians, the Valentinians, the Marcionites, and, in a still later period, the Manichæans. Each of these sects could boast of its bishops and congregations, of its doctors and martyrs;[34] and, instead of the four Gospels adopted by the church, † the heretics produced a

32 In the account of the Gnostics of the second and third centuries, Mosheim is ingenious and candid; Le Clerc dull, but exact; Beausobre almost always an apologist; and it is much to be feared that the primitive fathers are very frequently calumniators.*

33 See the catalogues of Irenæus and Epiphanius. It must indeed be allowed that those writers were inclined to multiply the number of sects which opposed the *unity* of the church.

34 *Eusebius*, l. iv. c. 15. *Sozomen*, l. ii. c. 32. See in Bayle, in the article of *Marcion*, a curious detail of a dispute on that subject. It should seem that some of the Gnostics (the Basilidians) declined, and even refused, the honor of martyrdom. Their reasons were singular and abstruse. See *Mosheim*, p. 359.

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* The *Histoire du Gnosticisme* of M. Matter is at once the fairest and most complete account of these sects. — MILMAN.

The Gnostics were the offspring of philosophy, in the early stages of the progress of Christianity. The time when they arose is uncertain; nor had they any eminent founder or fixed rule of faith. They appear to have originated as soon as the new religion became generally known; they were the most educated among the heathens, and abounded principally in those Eastern countries, that were most pervaded by the philosophical notions of the age. Till the beginning of the second century, the Christian churches did not possess their scriptures, and had no common standard of orthodoxy. They had only traditions of what their great teacher had proclaimed, and these every individual adapted for himself to his own peculiar philosophy, be it what it might, and fashioned them to his own liking and degree of knowledge. This freedom of thought brought within the pale of the church all who had in any way learned to discredit the fables of polytheism, and the example of the higher drew the lower after them. Churches were thus organized, into which, when they received the Scriptures, stricter canons were introduced. — ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

† M. Hahn has restored the Marcionite Gospel with great ingenuity. His work is reprinted in *Thilo. Codex. Apoc. Nov. Test.* vol. i. — MILMAN.

multitude of histories, in which the actions and discourses of Christ and of his apostles were adapted to their respective tenets.[35] The success of the Gnostics was rapid and exten-

[35] See a very remarkable passage of Origen* (*Procm. ad Lucam.*) That indefatigable writer, who had consumed his life in the study of the Scriptures, relies for their authenticity on the inspired authority of the church. It was impossible that the Gnostics could receive our present Gospels, many parts of which (partic-

* "Origen" says the Rev. Robert Taylor, in *The Diegesis*, (ch. xlii., p. 328-332,) "was the most distinguished priest of the Christian religion, while Constantine "was its most distinguished patron. Origen was born in that great cradle and "nursery of all superstition, Egypt, in the year 184 or 185, and died A. D. 253. He "had studied under that celebrated philosopher, Ammonius Saccas, who, in the "second century, had taught that 'Christianity and Paganism when rightly under-"'stood, differed in no essential points, but had a common origin, and really were "'one and the same religion, nothing but the schismatical trickery of fanatical "'adventurers, who sought to bring over the trade and profits of spiritualizing "'into their own hands, having introduced a distinction where in reality there "'was no difference' This was unquestionably the orthodox doctrine of the "second century, and it so entirely quadrates with all the historical phenomena, "that one cannot but hold it honorable both to Origen's head and heart, that he "has owned his early proficiency in the *Ammonian philosophy*, under this its "illustrious master. In the sincerity of his devotion to the cause of *Monkery*— "from which Christianity is unquestionably derived, 'he was guilty of that rash "'act so well known,' which he held to be his duty as inculcated by Christ in the "celebrated Matt. xix. 12. '*But he said unto them. All men cannot receive this* "'*doctrine, save they to whom it is given. For there are some eunuchs which were* "'*so born from their mother's womb, and there are some eunuchs which were made* "'*eunuchs of men, and there be eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for* "'*the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.*' "The Jewish law, which strictly forbade the making any sort of cuttings in the "flesh, and allowed not an eunuch so much as to enter into the congregation of "the Lord, (Deut. xxiii. 1,) stands in resistless demonstration of the fact, that these "eunuchs were *aliens from the commonwealth of Israel.* We have to look then "(where we shall assuredly find them,) *to the monks of Egypt*, who practised "these excisions, and whose sacred books were none other than the original, or "first *written* tale, from which our three first gospels are derived. (Such was the "opinion of Eusebius himself.) Lardner thus sums up Origen's character: 'He "'had a capacious mind, and a large compass of knowledge, and though not per-"'fect, nor infallible, was a bright light in the church of Christ, and one of those "'rare personages that have done honor to the human nature.' (Lardner, vol. i. "p. 528.) He is undoubtedly the most distinguished personage in the whole drama "of the Christian evidences, nor can any man who believes Christianity to be a "blessing to mankind have the least hesitation in pronouncing him to have been "one of the wisest, greatest, and best of men that was ever engaged in promoting "it. He is the first author who has given us a distinct catalogue of the books of "the New Testament, the first in whose writings such a name occurs as expressive "of such a collection of writings: nor would any writings that he had seen fit to "reject have ever conquered their way into canonical authority: nor any that he "has once admitted, have been rejected. If there be consistency, harmony, or "anywhere in those writings an observance of historical congruity,—the sacred "text owes its felicity to the criticisms and emendations of Origen, who pruned "excrescences, exscinded the more glaring contradictions, inserted whole verses "of his own pure ingenuity and conjecture, and diligently labored, by claiming for "the whole a mystical and allegorical sense, to rescue it from the contempt of the "wise, and to moderate its excitement on the minds of the vulgar. His character "needs only the apology which human nature claims for every man—*his situation.* "He was in every sense of the word a master spirit—a civilized being among the "wild men of the woods There is no occasion, however, to act on Dr. Lardner's "avowed principle of concealing facts to promote piety. (Lardner, vol. i. p. 552.) "It is not to be denied, that this wisest, greatest, best that ever bore the Christian "name, relapsed at last into Paganism—publicly denied his Lord and Master, "Jesus Christ, and did sacrifice unto idols. The proof is to be found in Origen's "own writings, and is confirmed in his *life*, in the Greek of Suidas. His dolorous "lamentation and repentance after this outrageous apostasy, presents us with the "most authentic, and at the same time most demonstrative view of the interior "character of the most primitive Christianity."—E.

sive.[36] They covered Asia and Egypt, established themselves in Rome, and sometimes penetrated into the provinces of the West.* For the most part they arose in the second century, flourished during the third, and were suppressed in the fourth or fifth, by the prevalence of more fashionable

ularly in the resurrection of Christ) are directly, and as it might seem designedly, pointed against their favorite tenets. It is therefore somewhat singular that Ignatius (*Epist. ad Smyrn. Patr. Apostol.* tom. ii. p. 34) should choose to employ a vague and doubtful tradition, instead of quoting the certain testimony of the evangelists.†

[36] Faciunt favos et vespæ; faciunt ecclesias et Marcionitæ, is the strong expression of Tertullian, which I am obliged to quote from memory. In the time of Epiphanius (*advers. Hæreses*, p. 302) the Marcionites were very numerous in Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and Persia.

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* "The Gnosis, or Gnosticism," says Rev. Robert Taylor, in *The Diegesis*, p. 37, "comprehends the doctrine of the Magi, the philosophy of the Persians, Chaldeans, and Arabians, and the wisdom of the Indians and Egyptians. It is distinctly "to be traced in the text and doctrines of the New Testament. It was from the "bosom of this pretended *oriental wisdom*, that the chiefs of those sects, which, "in the three first centuries, perplexed the Christian church, *originally* issued. "The name itself signified, that its professors taught *the way to the true knowledge* "*of the Deity*. Their most distinguished sect inculcated the notion of a triumvirate "of beings, in which the *Supreme Deity* was distinguished both from the *material* "*evil principle*, and from the creator of this sublunary world. The PHILOSOPHY, "comprehended the *Epicureans*, the most virtuous and rational of men, who "maintained that wisely consulted *pleasure*, was the ultimate end of man; the "*Academics*, who placed the height of wisdom in doubt and skepticism; the "*Stoics*, who maintained a fortitude indifferent to all events; the *Aristotelians*, "who, after their master, Aristotle, held the most subtle disputations concerning "God, religion, and the social duties, maintaining that the nature of God resembles "the principle that gives motion to a machine, that it is happy in the contemplation "of itself, and entirely regardless of human affairs; the *Platonists*, from their "master, *Plato*, who taught the immortality of the soul, the doctrine of the trinity, "of the manifestation of a divine man, who should be crucified, and the eternal "rewards and punishments of a future life; and from all these resulting, the "*Eclectics*, who, as their names signifies *elected*, and chose what they held to be "wise and rational, out of the tenets of *all* sects, and rejected whatever was considered futile and pernicious. The Eclectics held Plato in the highest reverence. "Their college or chief establishment was at *Alexandria* in Egypt. Their founder "was supposed to have been one *Potamon*. The most indubitable testimonies "prove, that *this* Philosophy was in a flourishing state, at the period assigned to "the birth of Christ. The Eclectics are the same as the Therapeuts or Essenes of "Philo, and whose sacred writings are, by Eusebius, shown to be the same as our "gospels. Nought, but the supposed expediency of deceiving the vulgar, and of "perpetuating ignorance, hinders the historian, [Mosheim,] to whom I am, for the "substance of this chapter, so much indebted, from acknowledging the fact, that "in every rational sense that can be attached to the word, they were the authors "and real founders of Christianity."—E.

† Bishop Pearson has attempted very happily to explain this "singularity." The first Christians were acquainted with a number of sayings of Jesus Christ, which are not related in our Gospels, and indeed have never been written. Why might not St. Ignatius, who had lived with the apostles or their disciples, repeat in other words that which St. Luke has related, particularly at a time when, being in prison, he could have had the Gospels at hand? Pearson, *Vind. Ign.* pp. 2, 9; p. 396, in tom. ii. *Patres Apos.* ed Coteler.—GUIZOT.

Eusebius (*Hist. Ecc.* iii. 37) says that, in the time of Hadrian, Quadratus and others travelled among the churches "to deliver the Scriptures of the holy Gospels," which do not appear to have been in their possession before. The journey of Ignatius to Rome was in the preceding reign of Trajan. In exhorting the Christian communities among whom he passed, he could therefore appeal to no other rule of faith than the "traditions of the Apostles." Mr Davis contested this, in the passage cited by M. Guizot, and for that purpose, made the Greek term for "*the Gospel*" (or the Christian religion), mean "*the gospels*;" (or the narratives of our four Evangelists.)—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

controversies, and by the superior ascendant of the reigning power. Though they constantly disturbed the peace, and frequently disgraced the name of religion, they contributed to assist rather than to retard the progress of Christianity.* The Gentile converts, whose strongest objections and pre-

* The Essenes or Therapeuts, whose chief college was at Alexandria, in Egypt, had many doctrines in common with Christ and his apostles. In his great work, entitled *An Inquiry into the History of the Originals of King James's Bible*, page 262, Mr. Oliver White says: "Whoever will candidly consider what has been said "of the Essenes, their mode of life, their holding all their property in common, "except their weapons, their wearing white garments and calling each other "brethren, their wandering from city to city, and saying grace and returning "thanks before and after meat, their having curators who were ministers of peace, "their swearing '*not at all*,' except to keep their own creed, their obeying the "powers that be, '*for the powers that be are of God*,' their notions of future re- "wards and punishments, of the corruptibility of bodies, and the incorruptibility "of souls, their curing distempers, foretelling that which is to come, keeping the "seventh day, excommunicating those who did not keep the oaths they had taken, "or kept anything secret from their brethren, or disclosing the secrets of their "brethren, 'for unto the disciples it is given to know the kingdom of heaven,' will "perceive a resemblance between the manner of teaching and living among the Es- "senes and the teaching and manner of living recommended in the New Testament "too great to be merely accidental. The writers of the originals of the Gospels, as "we have them, were evidently Essenes, or those who had obtained the notions they "have expressed from a source that was common to both, and older than either." Indeed, the resemblance between the early Christians and the Essenes is so great, that the Rev. Robert Taylor claims, in his *Diegesis*, page 67, that Alexandria was the cradle of Christianity,—that the Christian scriptures, doctrines, discipline and ecclesiastical polity existed in these monkish establishments long anterior to the period assigned as that of the birth of Christ,—that the Egyptian Therapeuts were Christians before the Augustan era,—that the titles, Essenes, Therapeuts, Ascetics, Monks, Ecclesiastics and Eclectics, are but different names for one and the self-same sect,—that the word *Essene* is nothing more than the *Egyptian* word for that of which Therapeut is the *Greek*, each of them signifying *healer* or *doctor*, and designating the character of the sect as professing to be endowed with the miraculous gift of healing,—that the name of *Ascetics* indicated the severe discipline and exercise of self-mortification, long fastings, prayers, contemplation, and even making of themselves *eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake*, as did Origen, Melito, and others, who derived their Christianity from the same school; and that Christ himself is represented to have recognized and approved their practice;—that the name of *Monks* indicated their delight in solitude, their *contemplative* life, and their entire segregation and abstraction from the world; which Christ, in the Gospel, is in like manner represented, as describing as characteristic of the community of which he himself was a member. ("They are not of the world, "even as I am not of the world." John xvii. 16. "I pray for them, I pray not for "the world." *Ibid* 9.)—That the name of *Ecclesiastics* was of the same sense, and indicated their being *called out*, elected, separated from the general fraternity of mankind, and set apart to the more immediate service and honor of God;—that their name of *Eclectics* indicated that their *divine philosophy* was a collection of all the diverging rays of truth which were scattered through the various systems of Pagan and Jewish piety, into one bright focus—that their religion was made up of "*whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are* "*just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things* "*are of good report—if there were any virtue, and if there were any praise*," (Phil. iv. 8,) wherever found; alike indifferent, whether it were derived from "saint, from savage, or from sage—Jehovah, Jove, or Lord." Eusebius, from whom all our knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquity is derived, declares his opinion, that "the sacred writings used by this sect, were none other than our Gospels, "and the writings of the apostles; and that certain *Diegeses*, after the manner of "allegorical interpretations of the ancient prophets; these were their epistles." (*Ταχα δ'εικος α φησιν αρχαιων παρ αυτοις ειναι συγγραμματα, ευαγγελια, και τας των αποστολων γραφας, ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ τε τινας κατα το εικος των παλαι προφητων ερμηνευτικας—επιστολαι, ταυτα ειναι.—Euseb. Ec. His. lib. 2, c. 16. fol. ed. Coloniæ Allobrogum, 1612, p. 60, ad literam D. linea 6.*)—E.

judices were directed against the law of Moses, could find admission into many Christian societies, which required not from their untutored mind any belief of an antecedent revelation. Their faith was insensibly fortified and enlarged, and the church was ultimately benefited by the conquests of its most inveterate enemies.[37]

The dæmons considered as the gods of antiquity

But whatever difference of opinion might subsist between the Orthodox, the Ebionites, and the Gnostics, concerning the divinity or the obligation of the Mosaic law, they were all equally animated by the same exclusive zeal, and by the same abhorrence for idolatry, which had distinguished the Jews from the other nations of the ancient world. The philosopher, who considered the system of polytheism as a composition of human fraud and error, could disguise a smile of contempt under the mask of devotion, without apprehending that either the mockery, or the compliance, would expose him to the resentment of any invisible, or, as he conceived them, imaginary powers. But the established religions of Paganism were seen by the primitive Christians in a much more odious and formidable light. It was the universal sentiment both of the church and of heretics, that the dæmons were the authors, the patrons, and the objects of idolatry.[38] Those rebellious spirits who had been degraded from the rank of angels, and cast down into the infernal pit, were still permitted to roam upon earth, to torment the bodies, and to seduce the minds, of sinful men.* The dæmons soon discovered and abused the natural pro-

[37] Augustin is a memorable instance of this gradual progress from reason to faith. He was, during several years, engaged in the Manichæan sect.

[38] The unanimous sentiment of the primitive church is very clearly explained by Justin Martyr, *Apolog. Major*, by Athenagoras, *Legat.* c. 22, &c., and by Lactantius, *Institut. Divin.* ii. 14–19.

* Casting out demons or devils, had become an established industry in the time of the apostles, and was then considered a pious, if not profitable, profession. As these demons were of many kinds and possessed various powers of resistance to the enchantment of the exorcists, it required great skill and experience to dislodge them successfully, without injury to the victim, to the demon, or offence to the mutual friends of the respective parties. In one notable example where a legion of devils (from three to five thousand) were evicted by the Savior from a man they inhabited without a shadow of legal right, these evil spirits wickedly entered into a herd of swine, and the swine preferring death to such bad company, "ran violently "down a steep place into the sea, and perished in the waters." Matt. viii. 32. In Acts xix. 14–16, an account is given of the misfortunes that befell the "seven sons "of *one* Sciva," which shows the imminent danger of meddling with demons by those who have not properly learned the cabalistic art. When these seven sons undertook to cast out an evil spirit, such as St. Paul easily exorcised, the evil spirit answered and said: "Jesus I know and Paul I know, but who are ye? And "the man in whom the evil spirit was, leaped on them and overcame them, and pre-"vailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded."—E.

pensity of the human heart towards devotion; and, artfully withdrawing the adoration of mankind from their Creator, they usurped the place and honors of the Supreme Deity. By the success of their malicious contrivances, they at once gratified their own vanity and revenge, and obtained the only comfort of which they were yet susceptible, the hope of involving the human species in the participation of their guilt and misery. It was confessed, or at least it was imagined, that they had distributed among themselves the most important characters of polytheism, one dæmon assuming the name and attributes of Jupiter, another of Æsculapius, a third of Venus, and a fourth perhaps of Apollo;[39] and that, by the advantage of their long experience and aerial nature, they were enabled to execute, with sufficient skill and dignity, the parts which they had undertaken. They lurked in the temples, instituted festivals and sacrifices, invented fables, pronounced oracles, and were frequently allowed to perform miracles. The Christians, who, by the interposition of evil spirits, could so readily explain every præternatural appearance, were disposed and even desirous to admit the most extravagant fictions of the Pagan mythology. But the belief of the Christian was accompanied with horror. The most trifling mark of respect to the national worship he considered as a direct homage yielded to the dæmon, and as an act of rebellion against the majesty of God.

Abhorrence of the Christians for idolatry.

In consequence of this opinion, it was the first but arduous duty of a Christian to preserve himself pure and undefiled from the practice of idolatry. The religion of the nations was not merely a speculative doctrine, professed in the schools or preached in the temples. The innumerable deities and rites of polytheism were closely interwoven with every circumstance of business or pleasure, of public or of private life, and it seemed impossible to escape the observance of them, without, at the same time, renouncing the commerce of mankind, and all the offices and amusements of society.[40] The important transactions of peace and war were prepared or concluded by solemn sacrifices, in which the magistrate, the senator, and the

Ceremonies.

39 Tertullian (*Apolog.* c. 23) alleges the confession of the dæmons themselves as often as they were tormented by the Christian exorcists.

40 Tertullian has written a most severe treatise against idolatry, to caution his brethren against the hourly danger of incurring that guilt. Recogita sylvam, et quantæ latitant spinæ. *De Corona Militis*, c. 10.

soldier, were obliged to preside or to participate.[41] The public spectacles were an essential part of the cheerful devotion of the Pagans, and the gods were supposed to accept, as the most grateful offering, the games that the prince and people celebrated in honor of their peculiar festivals.[42] The Christian, who with pious horror avoided the abomination of the circus or the theatre, found himself encompassed with infernal snares in every convivial entertainment, as often as his friends, invoking the hospitable deities, poured out libations to each other's happiness.[43] When the bride, struggling with well affected reluctance, was forced in hymeneal pomp over the threshold of her new habitation,[44] or when the sad procession of the dead slowly moved towards the funeral pile,[45] the Christian, on these interesting occasions, was compelled to desert the persons who were the dearest to him, rather than contract the guilt inherent to those impious ceremonies.* Every Arts. art and every trade that was in the least concerned in the framing or adorning of idols was polluted by the stain of idolatry;[46] a severe sentence, since

41 The Roman senate was always held in a temple or consecrated place. (*Aulus Gellius*, xiv. 7.) Before they entered on business, every senator dropped some wine and frankincense on the altar. *Sueton. in August.* c. 35.

42 See Tertullian, *De Spectaculis*. This severe reformer shows no more indulgence to a tragedy of Euripides, than to a combat of gladiators. The dress of the actors particularly offends him. By the use of the lofty buskin, they impiously strive to add a cubit to their stature, c. 23.

43 The ancient practice of concluding the entertainment with libations may be found in every classic. Socrates and Seneca, in their last moments, made a noble application of this custom. Postremo stagnum calidæ aquæ introiit, respergens proximos servorum, addita voce, libare se liquorem illum Jovi Liberatori. *Tacit. Annal.* xv. 64.

44 See the elegant but idolatrous hymn of Catullus, on the nuptials of Manlius and Julia. O Hymen, Hymenæe Iö! Quis huic Deo compararier ausit?

45 The ancient funerals (in those of Misenus and Pallas) are no less accurately described by Virgil, than they are illustrated by his commentator Servius. The pile itself was an altar, the flames were fed with the blood of victims, and all the assistants were sprinkled with lustral water.

46 Tertullian *de Idololatria*, c. 11.†

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*"It is a fact never to be forgotten," says M. Renan, in his great work on the *Origin of Christianity*, (*Marc-Aurèle et la Fin du Monde Antique*,) "that in the Roman "empire liberty of thought was absolute. From Nero to Constantine no thinker or "savant was ever troubled in his researches. All sects that tolerated other sects "were allowed to live at their ease in the empire. What caused the Christians to "be so constantly persecuted was their intolerance, their spirit of exclusion. Their "attitude was disdainful when it was not provoking. They had the mania of "martyrdom upon them. Far from making common cause with the good citizens, "and helping to defend the fatherland, they triumphed in its misfortunes." — E.

† The exaggerated and declamatory opinions of Tertullian ought not to be taken as the general sentiment of the early Christians. Gibbon has too often allowed himself to consider the peculiar notions of certain Fathers of the Church as inherent in Christianity. This is not accurate. — GUIZOT.

This no doubt is unfair; but it is the universal practice. Every sect and party is so judged. Tertullian may not have expressed the "general opinions of the first "Christians;" but a man of his talents, animated by his energy, and occupying his position, must have had many followers who felt and thought like him. His influence will be seen afterwards. — ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

it devoted to eternal misery the far greater part of the community which is employed in the exercise of liberal or mechanic professions. If we cast our eyes over the numerous remains of antiquity, we shall perceive that, besides the immediate representations of the gods, and the holy instruments of their worship, the elegant forms and agreeable fictions consecrated by the imagination of the Greeks, were introduced as the richest ornaments of the houses, the dress, and the furniture of the Pagans.[47] Even the arts of music and painting, of eloquence and poetry, flowed from the same impure origin.* In the style of the fathers, Apollo and the Muses were the organs of the infernal spirit; Homer and Virgil were the most eminent of his servants; and the beautiful mythology which pervades and animates the compositions of their genius is destined to celebrate the glory of the dæmons. Even the common language of Greece and Rome abounded with familiar but impious expressions, which the imprudent Christian might too carelessly utter, or too patiently hear.[48]

[47] See every part of Montfaucon's *Antiquities*. Even the reverses of the Greek and Roman coins were frequently of an idolatrous nature. Here indeed the scruples of the Christians were suspended by a stronger passion.†

[48] Tertullian *de Idololatria*, c. 20, 21, 22. If a Pagan friend (on the occasion perhaps of sneezing) used the familiar expression of "Jupiter bless you," the Christian was obliged to protest against the divinity of Jupiter.

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* We have here an illustration of the spirit of opposition to science and culture which Christianity so early exhibited, and which reached its culminating period of domination in the dark ages, when the Catholic church had quenched the light of science and kindled the flames of the inquisition. "The decline of culture," says Feuerbach, in his *Essence of Christianity*, "was identical with the victory of "Christianity. Did Christianity conquer a single philosopher, historian or poet, of "the classical period? The philosophers who went over to Christianity were feeble, "contemptible philosophers. All who had the classic spirit in them were hostile, "or at least indifferent to Christianity." . . . "How frivolous, therefore, are "modern Christians, when they deck themselves in the arts and sciences of modern "nations as products of Christianity! How striking is the contrast in this respect "between the modern boasters and the Christians of older times! The latter knew "of no other Christianity than that which is contained in the Christian faith, in "faith in Christ; they did not reckon the treasures and riches, the arts and sciences "of this world, as part of Christianity. In all these points, they rather conceded "the pre-eminence to the ancient heathens, the Greeks and Romans."

"Why dost thou not also wonder, Erasmus," says Luther, (T. xix. p. 37,) "that "from the beginning of the world there have always been among the heathens "higher, rarer people, of greater, more exalted understanding, more excellent "diligence and skill in all arts, than among Christians or the people of God? "Christ himself says, that the children of this world are wiser than the children of "light. Yea, who among the Christians could we compare for understanding or "application to Cicero (to say nothing of the Greeks, Demosthenes and others)?" "*Quid igitur nos antecellimus? Num ingenio, doctrina, morum moderatione "illos superamus? Nequaquam. Sed vera Dei agnitione, invocatione et celebra-"tione præstamus.*"—Melancthonis (*et al. Declam.* T. iii. *de vera invocat. Dei*).

After the invention of printing and the revival of letters, the church began to lose its power over the minds of men. Free thought, in the form of Protestantism, began to exert its benign influence: science was revived, knowledge was disseminated, liberty was born, and freedom no longer feared the thunders of the Vatican.—E.

† All this scrupulous nicety is at variance with the decision of St. Paul about meat offered to idols. *I. Cor.* x. 21–32.—MILMAN.

Festivals.

The dangerous temptations which on every side lurked in ambush to surprise the unguarded believer assailed him with redoubled violence on the days of solemn festivals. So artfully were they framed and disposed throughout the year, that superstition always wore the appearance of pleasure, and often of virtue.[49] Some of the most sacred festivals in the Roman ritual were destined to salute the new calends of January with vows of public and private felicity; to indulge the pious remembrance of the dead and living; to ascertain the inviolable bounds of property; to hail, on the return of spring, the genial powers of fecundity; to perpetuate the two memorable eras of Rome, the foundation of the city and that of the republic; and to restore, during the humane license of the Saturnalia, the primitive equality of mankind. Some idea may be conceived of the abhorrence of the Christians for such impious ceremonies, by the scrupulous delicacy which they displayed on a much less alarming occasion. On days of general festivity it was the custom of the ancients to adorn their doors with lamps and with branches of laurel, and to crown their heads with a garland of flowers. This innocent and elegant practice might perhaps have been tolerated as a mere civil institution. But it most unluckily happened that the doors were under the protection of the household gods,* that the laurel was sacred to the lover of Daphne, and that garlands of flowers, though frequently worn as a symbol either of joy or mourning, had been dedicated in their first origin to the service of superstition. The trembling Christians, who were persuaded in this instance to comply

[49] Consult the most labored work of Ovid, his imperfect *Fasti*. He finished no more than the first six months of the year. The compilation of Macrobius is called the *Saturnalia*, but it is only a small part of the first book that bears any relation to the title.

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*The household gods were of an inferior order of divinities, and did not approach the august dignity of Jupiter, the father of gods and men. They corresponded in importance to the orders of Cherubim and Seraphim in the Jewish and Christian systems. The personification of inanimate objects, sentiments, actions and principles as deities and living beings, was common to both Christians and Pagans, and the objections of these austere Christians to these harmless Pagan myths, shows their morose and intolerant fanaticism. "The ship *Argo*," says Taylor, "in which Jason and his companions sailed for the golden fleece, had its "imaginary moral qualities: it fought the waves, it suffered, it conquered, it was "translated into heaven. The disposition of mind called *charity*, is described by "St. Paul, under all the circumstances that could be imagined of a most ac- "complished and lovely woman: '*She suffereth long, and is kind; she doth not* "'*behave herself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked*,' &c. (1 Cor. "xiii.); though nothing could be further from St. Paul's intention, than that we "should take *charity* to be a person who had a real existence, and endeavor to "find out when she was born, under what king's reign, and in what country, "&c."—E.

with the fashion of their country and the commands of the magistrate, labored under the most gloomy apprehensions, from the reproaches of their own conscience, the censures of the church,* and the denunciations of divine vengeance.[50]

Zeal for Christianity.

Such was the anxious diligence which was required to guard the chastity of the gospel from the infectious breath of idolatry. The superstitious observances of public or private rites were carelessly practised, from education and habit, by the followers of the established religion. But as often as they occurred, they afforded the Christians an opportunity of declaring and confirming their zealous opposition. By these frequent protestations their attachment to the faith was continually fortified; and in proportion to the increase of zeal, they combated with the more ardor and success in the holy war which they had undertaken against the empire of the demons.§

[50] Tertullian has composed a defence, or rather panegyric, of the rash action of a Christian soldier, who, by throwing away his crown of laurel, had exposed himself and his brethren to the most imminent danger.† By the mention of the *emperors* (Severus and Caracalla), it is evident, notwithstanding the wishes of M. de Tillemont, that Tertullian composed his treatise *De Corona* long before he was engaged in the errors of the Montanists. See *Mémoires Ecclesiastiques*, tom. iii. p. 384.‡

* M. Renan, in his great work, from which we have already quoted, "shows us "Christianity and the Roman empire in the attitude of two animals on the point "of devouring each other, without knowing what are the causes of their hostility. "When a society of men takes such an attitude as the Christians did in the midst "of a great society, and when it becomes in the State a republic of itself, even "were it composed of angels, it is a scourge. It is not without reason that they "were detested, these men in appearance so gentle and so beneficent. They were "in reality demolishing the Roman empire. They were drinking its strength; "they were robbing its functions, especially the army, of the finest subjects. It is "useless to say a man is a good citizen because he pays his taxes, is charitable, "sober, and settled, when he is in reality a citizen of heaven, and considers the "earthly fatherland simply as a prison where he is chained up side by side with "wretches. The fatherland, one's country, is an earthly thing; a man who wants "to play the angel is always a poor patriot. Religious exaltation is dangerous "for the state." — E.

† The soldier did not tear off his crown to throw it down with contempt; he did not even throw it away; he held it in his hand, while others wore it on their heads. Solus libero capite, ornamento in manu otioso. — GUIZOT.

‡ Tertullian does not expressly name the two emperors, Severus and Caracalla: he speaks only of two emperors, and of a long peace which the church had enjoyed. It is generally agreed that Tertullian became a Montanist about the year 200: his work, *de Corona Militis*, appears to have been written, at the earliest, about the year 202 before the persecution of Severus: it may be maintained, then, that it is subsequent to the Montanism of the author. See Mosheim, *Diss. de Apol. Tertull.* p. 53. *Biblioth. rais. Amsterd.* tom. x. part ii. p. 292. Cave's *Hist. Lit.* pp. 92, 93.—G.

The state of Tertullian's opinions at the particular period is almost an idle question. "The fiery African" is not at any time to be considered a fair representative of Christianity. — MILMAN.

§ The intolerance of the Christian sects and their rebellion against the established laws, produced internal discord and dissensions among the people, corrupted the discipline and paralized the bravery of the legions, and in time left Rome powerless, unprotected and exposed to the inroads of the barbarians. After the conversion of Constantine, the Christians rapidly rose to power and influence, the spirit of Roman patriotism was destroyed, "and the triumphant banner of the cross was "erected on the ruins of the Capitol." — E.

THE SECOND CAUSE. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul among the philosophers.

II. The writings of Cicero[51] represent in the most lively colors the ignorance, the errors, and the uncertainty of the ancient philosophers with regard to the immortality of the soul. When they are desirous of arming their disciples against the fear of death, they inculcate, as an obvious though melancholy position, that the fatal stroke of our dissolution released us from the calamities of life; and that those can no longer suffer, who no longer exist.* Yet there were a few sages of Greece and Rome who had conceived a more exalted, and, in some respects, a juster idea of human nature, though it must be confessed that, in the sublime inquiry, their reason had been often guided by their imagination, and that their imagination had been prompted by their vanity. When they viewed with complacency the extent of their own mental powers, when they exercised the various faculties of memory, of fancy, and of judgment, in the most profound speculations, or the most important labors, and when they reflected on the desire of fame, which transported them into future ages, far beyond the bounds of death and of the grave, they were unwilling to confound themselves with the beasts of the field, or to suppose that a being, for whose dignity they entertained the most sincere admiration, could be limited to a spot of earth, and to a few years of duration. With this favorable prepossession they summoned to their aid the science, or rather the language, of Metaphysics. They soon discovered that, as none of the properties of matter will apply to the operations of the mind, the human soul must consequently be a substance distinct from the body, pure, simple, and spiritual, incapable of dissolution, and susceptible of a much higher degree of virtue and happiness after the release from its corporeal prison. From these specious and noble principles the philosophers who trod in the footsteps of Plato deduced a very unjustifiable conclusion, since they asserted, not only the future im-

[51] In particular, the first book of the Tusculan Questions, and the treatise *De Senectute*, and the *Somnium Scipionis*, contain, in the most beautiful language, everything that Grecian philosophy, or Roman good sense, could possibly suggest on this dark but important object.

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* Buddhism claims for itself more adherents than any other religious belief, and one of the most popular verses in the *Pali Pitakas*, or sacred books of that sect, is as follows:

"How transient are all component things!
"Growth is their nature and decay.
"They are produced — they are dissolved again,
"And there is rest when they have sunk to rest!"— E.

mortality, but the past eternity of the human soul, which they were too apt to consider as a portion of the infinite and self-existing spirit which pervades and sustains the universe.[52] A doctrine thus removed beyond the senses and the experience of mankind might serve to amuse the leisure of a philosophic mind; or, in the silence of solitude, it might sometimes impart a ray of comfort to desponding virtue; but the faint impression which had been received in the schools was soon obliterated by the commerce and business of active life. We are sufficiently acquainted with the eminent persons who flourished in the age of Cicero and of the first Cæsars, with their actions, their characters, and their motives, to be assured that their conduct in this life was never regulated by any serious conviction of the rewards or punishments of a future state.* At the bar and in the senate of Rome the ablest orators were not apprehensive of giving offence to their hearers by exposing that doctrine as an idle and extravagant opinion, which was rejected with contempt by every man of a liberal education and understanding.[53]

Among the Pagans of Greece and Rome.

Since therefore the most sublime efforts of philosophy can extend no further than feebly to point out the desire, the hope, or, at most, the probability, of a future state, there is nothing, except a divine revelation, that can ascertain the existence and describe the condition, of the invisible country which is destined to receive the souls of men after their separation from the body. But we may perceive several defects inherent to the popular religions of Greece and Rome, which rendered them very unequal to so arduous a task. 1. The general system of their mythology was unsupported by any solid proofs; and the wisest among the Pagans had already

[52] The pre-existence of human souls, so far at least as that doctrine is compatible with religion, was adopted by many of the Greek and Latin fathers. See Beausobre, *Hist. du Manicheisme*, l. vi. c. 4.

[53] See *Cicero pro Cluent.* c. 61. *Cæsar ap. Sallust. de Bell. Catilin.* c. 50. *Juvenal. Satir.* ii. 149.

Esse aliquid manes, et subterranea regna,
* * * * * * *
Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum ære lavantur.

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* Immediately after the epocha of time" says Taylor "ascribed to the dawning "of divine light, the human mind seems generally to have suffered an eclipse. "The arts and sciences, intelligence and virtue, were smitten with an unaccountable palsy. The mind of man lost all its energies, and sunk under a generally "prevailing imbecility. We look in vain among the successors of Cicero, Livy, "Tacitus, Horace, and Virgil, the statesmen, orators, and poets of the golden age "of literature, for a continuation of the series of such ornaments of human nature. 'A blight had smitten the growth of men's understandings." — E.

disclaimed its usurped authority. 2. The description of the infernal regions had been abandoned to the fancy of painters and of poets, who peopled them with so many phantoms and monsters, who dispensed their rewards and punishments with so little equity, that a solemn truth, the most congenial to the human heart, was oppressed and disgraced by the absurd mixture of the wildest fictions.[54] 3. The doctrine of a future state was scarcely considered among the devout polytheists of Greece and Rome as a fundamental article of faith. The providence of the gods, as it related to public communities rather than to private individuals, was principally displayed on the visible theatre of the present world. The petitions which were offered on the altars of Jupiter or Apollo expressed the anxiety of their worshipers for temporal happiness, and their ignorance or indifference concerning a future life.[55] The important truth of the immortality of the soul was inculcated with more diligence, as well as success, in India, in Assyria, in Egypt, and in Gaul; and since we cannot attribute such a difference to the superior knowledge of the barbarians, we must ascribe it to the influence of an established priesthood, which employed the motives of virtue as the instrument of ambition.[56]

Among the barbarians.

We might naturally expect that a principle so essential to religion would have been revealed in the clearest terms to the chosen people of Palestine, and that it might safely have been intrusted to the hereditary priesthood of Aaron. It is incumbent on us to adore the mysterious dispensations of Providence,[57] when

Among the Jews,

[54] The eleventh book of the *Odyssey* gives a very dreary and incoherent account of the infernal shades. Pindar and Virgil have embellished the picture; but even those poets, though more correct than their great model, are guilty of very strange inconsistencies. See Bayle, *Responses aux Questions d'un Provincial*, part iii. c. 22.

[55] See the sixteenth epistle of the first book of *Horace*, the thirteenth *Satire of Juvenal*, and the second *Satire of Persius*: these popular discourses express the sentiment and language of the multitude.

[56] If we confine ourselves to the Gauls, we may observe, that they intrusted, not only their lives, but even their money, to the security of another world. Vetus ille mos Gallorum occurrit (says Valerius Maximus, l. ii c. 6, p. 10) quos, memoria proditum est, pecunias mutuas, quæ his apud inferos redderentur, dare solitos. The same custom is more darkly insinuated by Mela, l. iii. c. 2. It is almost needless to add, that the profits of trade hold a just proportion to the credit of the merchant, and that the Druids derived from their holy profession a character of responsibility, which could scarcely be claimed by any other order of men.

[57] The right reverend author of the *Divine Legation of Moses* assigns a very curious reason for the omission, and most ingeniously retorts it on the unbelievers.*

* The hypothesis of Warburton concerning this remarkable fact, which, as far as the *Law of Moses*, is unquestionable, made few disciples; and it is difficult to suppose that it could be intended by the author himself for more than a display of

we discover that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is omitted in the law of Moses; it is darkly insinuated by the prophets; and during the long period which elapsed

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intellectual strength. Modern writers have accounted in various ways for the silence of the Hebrew legislator on the immortality of the soul. According to Michaelis, "Moses wrote as an historian and as a lawgiver; he regulated the "ecclesiastical discipline, rather than the religious belief of his people; and the "sanctions of the law being temporal, he had no occasion, and as a civil legislator "could not with propriety, threaten punishments in another world." See Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, art. 272, vol. iv. p. 209, Eng. Trans.; and *Syntagma Commentationum*, p. 80, quoted by Guizot. M. Guizot adds the "ingenious conjecture of a "philosophic theologian," which approximates to an opinion long entertained by the Editor. That writer believes, that in the state of civilization at the time of the legislator, this doctrine, become popular among the Jews, would necessarily have given birth to a multitude of idolatrous superstitions which he wished to prevent. His primary object was to establish a firm theocracy, to make his people the conservators of the doctrine of the Divine Unity, the basis upon which Christianity was hereafter to rest. He carefully excluded everything which could obscure or weaken that doctrine. Other nations had strangely abused their notions on the immortality of the soul; Moses wished to prevent this abuse: hence he forbade the Jews from consulting necromancers, (those who evoke the spirits of the dead). Deut. xviiii. 11. Those who reflect on the state of the Pagans and of the Jews, and on the facility with which idolatry crept in on every side, will not be astonished that Moses has not developed a doctrine of which the influence might be more pernicious than useful to his people. *Orat. Fest. de Vitæ Immort. Spe., &c,. auct. Ph. Alb. Stapfer*, pp. 12, 13, 20. Berne, 1787.

Moses, as well from the intimations scattered in his writings, the passage relating to the translation of Enoch (Gen. v. 24), the prohibition of necromancy, (Michaelis believes him to be the author of the Book of Job, though this opinion is in general rejected; other learned writers consider this Book to be coeval with and known to Moses), as from his long residence in Egypt, and his acquaintance with Egyptian wisdom, could not be ignorant of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. But this doctrine, if popularly known among the Jews, must have been purely Egyptian, and, as so, intimately connected with the whole religious system of that country. It was no doubt moulded up with the tenet of the transmigration of the soul, perhaps with notions analogous to the emanation system of India, in which the human soul was an efflux from, or indeed a part of, the Deity. The Mosaic religion drew a wide and impassable interval between the Creator and created human beings: in this it differed from the Egyptian and all the Eastern religions. As then the immortality of the soul was thus inseparably blended with those foreign religions which were altogether to be effaced from the minds of the people, and by no means necessary for the establishment of the theocracy. Moses maintained silence on this point, and a purer notion of it was left to be developed at a more favorable period in the history of man. — MILMAN.

It is by no means clearly demonstrated that this doctrine is omitted in the law of Moses. Michaelis thinks, that even if the silence of the Jewish lawgiver were incontrovertibly proved, still we should not be authorized to infer from it, that he was unacquainted with, or did not admit, the immortality of the soul. According to him, Moses did not write as a theologian; he did not instruct his people in the verities of the faith; we see in his works only the historian and the civil legislator; he regulated ecclesiastical discipline more than religious belief. As a mere human legislator, the immortality of the soul must often have been made known to him. The Egyptians, among whom he lived forty years believed it, in their way. The ascent of Enoch, who "walked with God and he was not, for God took him" (Genesis v. 24), seems to indicate some idea of an existence that follows man's earthly being. The book of Job, which some learned men attribute to Moses himself, has this clearer reference to the doctrine: (c. xix. v. 26, 27) — "and though "after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God, whom I "shall see for myself and mine eyes shall behold and not another." M. Pareau, professor of theology at Harderwyk, published, in 1807, an octavo volume, with the title, "Commentatio de immortalitatis ac vitæ futuræ notitiis, ab antiquissimo Jobo scriptore," in which he deduces intimations of the doctrine of a future state, from the twenty-seventh chapter of Job. (Michaelis, *Syntagma, Comment.* p. 80. *Survey of the state of Literature and ancient History in Germany*, by Ch. Villers, p. 63; 1809.) These notions of immortality are not so distinct and positive as to obviate all objections. What may be said is, that they seem to be gradually de-

between the Egyptian and the Babylonian servitudes, the hopes as well as the fears of the Jews appear to have been confined within the narrow compass of the present life.

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veloped by the succession of sacred writers. This may be seen in Isaiah, David, and Solomon, who says (Eccles. xii. 9), "Then shall the dust return to the earth "as it was, and the spirit unto God who gave it." I will add here the ingenious conjecture of a philosophical theologian, on the causes which induced Moses to withhold from his people any special announcement of the immortality of the soul. He thinks, that this legislator beheld around him a state of civilization, in which any popular knowledge of this doctrine would have misled the Jews into many idolatrous superstitions, against which it was his object to guard them. He contemplated mainly the establishment of a firm theocracy, and to preserve among his nation the idea of the unity of God, as the future basis of Christianity. He carefully kept at a distance all that might weaken or obscure this idea. In other countries the people had strangely abused the notions which they entertained, respecting the immortality of the soul. This he wished to prevent, and therefore made it a part of his code (Deut. xviii. 11), that the Jews should not, like the Egyptians, have communion with a "a charmer, or a consulter with familiar "spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer." Those who will take into consideration the condition of the Gentiles and the Jews, and the facility with which idolatry at that period everywhere insinuated itself, will not be surprised that Moses suppressed a tenet, the influence of which would have been more fatal than useful to the Israelites. *Orat. Fest. de Vitæ Immort. Spe, &c., auct. Ph. Alb. Stapfer*, pp. 12, 13, 20. Berne, 1787. — GUIZOT.

The omission which M. Guizot says "is not clearly demonstrated," Dean Milman candidly admits to be "unquestionable." The well-known use of it by Warburton, is also confessed to have "made few disciples; and it is difficult to "suppose that it would be intended by the author himself, for more than *a display "of intellectual strength*" The world had no distinct idea of a future state. Greek philosophy had speculated on it, and excited hopes which became more lively as education expanded. The two leading popular wants of the age were then, the worship of a supreme spiritual Godhead, and a settled conviction of the immortality of the soul. These Christianity supplied so authoritatively, that it could not fail to make a rapid progress. — ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

Here was a glorious opportunity for Messrs. Wenck, Guizot, and Milman to earn the commendation of the "distinguished churchman," (to quote his own language,) for the care bestowed by them "on those portions of Gibbon's *History* "where religion demanded their services." But, although these learned and reverend advocates made strenuous efforts to explain the unpardonable omission of Moses to proclaim to Jehovah's "peculiar people" the doctrine of immortality, yet candor compels the sad admission that they arrived at a "most lame and impotent conclusion." After skillfully using a multitude of words on the subject, Milman cautiously states that "M. Guizot adds the 'ingenious conjecture of a philosophic "'theologian,' which approximates to an opinion long entertained by himself." And this "long entertained" conjecture, so discreetly and pompously formulated, simply amounts to this, that had the doctrine of immortality then become popular "it would necessarily have given birth to a multitude of idolatrous superstitions." Without that doctrine, the Jews worshiped the golden calf and repeatedly sacrificed to Pagan idols, and with it, they surely could have done no worse; and it does not explain "why Moses maintained silence on this point" to tell us that "the immortality of the soul was inseperably blended with foreign religions." If the doctrine be true, how could it have proved injurious to the Jews; and if it be of Pagan origin, why not honestly admit the fact? Why claim originality for a borrowed dogma? Why not "render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's," and unto the Pagans the doctrines which are their own?

Centuries before the birth of Moses the Egyptians had taught this dogma, and it is to the Mythology of the Orientals that we must look for the origin of the belief in a future life; and while this doctrine of immortality was gradually adopted in later years by a portion of the Jews, it never was received with universal credence by the children of Abraham. Even as late as the time of the apostles, St. Paul, when brought before Ananias, the high priest, (Acts xxiii. 7, 8,) was enabled to divide his accusers and secure assistance from the Pharisees, by claiming to be a Pharisee, "the son of a Pharisee." "For the Sadducees say that there is no "resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess both."

"The Jews," says Voltaire, "in the later period of their sojourn at Jerusalem, "were scrupulously attached to nothing but the ceremonials of their law. The

After Cyrus had permitted the exiled nation[58] to return into the promised land, and after Ezra had restored the ancient records of their religion, two celebrated sects, the Sadducees and the Pharisees, insensibly arose at Jerusalem.[59] The former, selected from the more opulent and distinguished ranks of society, were strictly attached to the literal sense of the Mosaic law, and they piously rejected the immortality of the soul, as an opinion that received no countenance from the divine book, which they revered as the only rule of their faith. To the authority of Scripture the Pharisees added that of tradition, and they accepted, under the name of traditions, several speculative tenets from the philosophy or religion of the eastern nations. The doctrines of fate or predestination, of angels and spirits, and of a future state of rewards and punishments, were in the number of these new articles of belief; and as the Pharisees, by the austerity of their manners, had drawn into their party the body of the Jewish people, the immortality of the soul became the pre-

[58] See Le Clerc (*Prolegomena ad Hist Ecclesiast.* sect. 1, c. 8.) His authority seems to carry the greater weight, as he has written a learned and judicious commentary on the books of the *Old Testament*

[59] *Joseph. Antiquitat.* l. xiii. c. 10. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. According to the most natural interpretation of his words, the Sadducees admitted only the Pentateuch; but it has pleased some modern critics to add the Prophets to their creed, and to suppose that they contented themselves with rejecting the traditions of the Pharisees Dr. Jortin has argued that point in his *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 103.

"man who should have eaten pudding or rabbit, would have been stoned; while "he who denied the immortality of the soul might be high-priest."

"We *hope* for a blessed immortality beyond the grave," is the language of our most reasonable Christian sects. This hope, (which is not an affirmation,) reason and philosophy do not antagonize, if they do not support; but those sectarians who have least studied the question, and are the most ignorant in regard to the subject, are the most positive in their belief and the most secure in their faith.

In I. Kings iv. 29-31, it is stated that "God gave Solomon wisdom and under-"standing exceeding much. And Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all "the children of the east country, and all the wisdom of Egypt. For he was wiser "than all men." This so-called wise man discusses the subject of immortality very fully in Eccles. iii. 19, 20, as follows: "That which befalleth the sons of men "befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them, as the one dieth, so dieth the "other; yea, they have all one breath; so that a man hath no pre-eminence above "a beast. All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again."

In contrast with this materialistic teaching of the annointed king of Israel, let us quote a single paragraph from the writings of a modern philosopher, who cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be called a believer either in Judaism or Christianity, and yet whose words of burning eloquence, of beauty, and of pathos, have not been excelled since mortals first learned to crystallize their noblest thoughts in written symbols. And, while these words carefully embody the results of modern scientific research, and are based on experience and demonstrated facts, they do not, like the Hebrew voluptuary, deny to the mourner at the death-bed the consolation which hope and love demand.

"Life," says Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, "is a narrow vale between the cold and "barren peaks of two eternities. We strive in vain to look beyond the heights. "We cry aloud, and the only answer is the echo of our wailing cry. From the "voiceless lips of the unreplying dead there comes no word; but, in the night of "death, hope sees a star, and listening love can hear the rustle of a wing."—E.

vailing sentiment of the synagogue under the reign of the Asmonæan princes and pontiffs. The temper of the Jews was incapable of contenting itself with such a cold and languid assent as might satisfy the mind of a Polytheist; and, as soon as they admitted the idea of a future state, they embraced it with the zeal which has always formed the characteristic of the nation. Their zeal, however, added nothing to its evidence, or even probability: and it was still necessary that the doctrine of life and immortality, which had been dictated by nature, approved by reason, and received by superstition, should obtain the sanction of divine truth from the authority and example of Christ.

Among the Christians.

When the promise of eternal happiness was proposed to mankind on condition of adopting the faith, and of observing the precepts, of the gospel, it is no wonder that so advantageous an offer should have been accepted by great numbers of every religion, of every rank, and of every province in the Roman empire. The ancient Christians were animated by a contempt for their present existence, and by a just confidence of immortality, of which the doubtful and imperfect faith of modern ages cannot give us any adequate notion. In the primitive church the influence of truth was very powerfully strengthened by an opinion which, however it may deserve respect for its usefulness and antiquity, has not been found agreeable to experience. It was universally believed that the end of the world, and the kingdom of heaven, were at hand.* The near approach of this wonderful event had been predicted by the apostles; the tradition of it was preserved by their earliest disciples, and those who understood in their literal sense the discourses of Christ himself, were obliged to expect the second and glorious coming of the Son of Man in the clouds, before that generation was totally extinguished, which had beheld his humble condition upon earth, and which might still be witness of the calamities of the Jews under Vespasian or Hadrian. The revolution of seventeen centuries has instructed us not to press too closely the mysterious language of prophecy and revelation; but as long as, for wise purposes, this error was permitted to subsist in the church, it was productive of the most salutary

Approaching end of the world.

* This was, in fact, an integral part of the Jewish notion of the Messiah, from which the minds of the apostles themselves were but gradually detached. See Bertholdt, *Christologia Judæorum*, concluding chapters.— MILMAN.

effects on the faith and practice of Christians, who lived in the awful expectation of that moment when the globe itself, and all the various race of mankind, should tremble at the appearance of their divine Judge.[60]

Doctrine of the Millennium.

The ancient and popular doctrine of the Millennium was intimately connected with the second coming of Christ. As the works of the creation had been finished in six days, their duration in their present state, according to a tradition which was attributed to the prophet Elijah, was fixed to six thousand years.[61] By the same analogy it was inferred, that this long period of labor and contention, which was now almost elapsed, would be succeeded by a joyful Sabbath of a thousand years; and that Christ, with the triumphant band of the saints and the elect who had escaped death, or who had been miraculously revived, would reign upon earth till

[60] This expectation was countenanced by the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, and by the first epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians. Erasmus removes the difficulty by the help of allegory and metaphor; and the learned Grotius ventures to insinuate, that, for wise purposes, the pious deception was permitted to take place.*

[61] See Burnet's *Sacred Theory*, part iii. c. 5. This tradition may be traced as high as the author of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, who wrote in the first century, and who seems to have been half a Jew.†

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*Some modern theologians explain it without discovering either allegory or deception. They say, that Jesus Christ, after having proclaimed the ruin of Jerusalem and of the Temple, speaks of his second coming, and the signs which were to precede it; but those who believed that the moment was near, deceived themselves as to the sense of two words, an error which still subsists in our versions of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, xxiv. 29, 34. In verse 29, we read, "Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened," &c. The Greek word εὐθέως signifies *all at once, suddenly*, not *immediately;* so that it signifies only the sudden appearance of the signs which Jesus Christ announces, not the shortness of the interval which was to separate them from the "days of tribulation," of which he was speaking. The verse 34 is this: "Verily "I say unto you, This generation shall not pass till all these things shall be ful- "filled." Jesus, speaking to his disciples, uses these words, αὐτὴ γενεὰ, which the translators have rendered by this generation, but which means the race, the filiation of my disciples; that is, he speaks of a class of men, not of a generation. The true sense then, according to these learned men, is, In truth I tell you that this race of men, of which you are the commencement, shall not pass away till this shall take place; that is to say, the succession of Christians shall not cease till his coming. See *Commentary of M. Paulus on the New Test.*, edit. 1802, tom. iii. pp. 445, 446. — GUIZOT.

Others, as Rosenmuller and Kuinoel, in loc., confine this passage to a highly figurative description of the ruins of the Jewish city and polity. — MILMAN.

When such nicely-varied interpretations support opposite opinions, on passages in Matthew's Gospel, we feel the loss of his Hebrew original. Scripture critics appeal to Greek expressions, as if they were the *very words* used by the speaker, when, as is well known, they were uttered to Jews, recorded in their language, and put into Greek by some unknown translator. (*Hieron de Vir. Illust.* iii.) The difficulty of accurately representing the true sense of Hebrew in another language is admitted and notorious— ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

† In fact it is purely Jewish. See Mosheim, *De Reb. Christ.* ii. 8. *Lightfoot's Works*, 8vo. edit. vol. iii. p. 37. Bertholdt, *Christologia Judæorum*, ch. 38. — M.

the time appointed for the last and general resurrection.[62] So pleasing was this hope to the mind of believers, that the *New Jerusalem*, the seat of this blissful kingdom, was quickly adorned with all the gayest colors of the imagination. A felicity consisting only of pure and spiritual pleasure would have appeared too refined for its inhabitants, who were still supposed to possess their human nature and senses. A garden of Eden, with the amusements of the pastoral life, was no longer suited to the advanced state of society which prevailed under the Roman empire. A city was therefore erected of gold and precious stones, and a supernatural plenty of corn and wine was bestowed on the adjacent territory; in the free enjoyment of whose spontaneous productions the happy and benevolent people was never to be restrained by any jealous laws of exclusive property.[63] The assurance of such a Millennium was carefully inculcated by a succession of fathers from Justin Martyr[64] and Irenæus, who conversed with the immediate disciples of the apostles, down to Lactantius, who was preceptor to the son of Constantine.[65] Though it might not be universally received, it appears to have been the reigning sentiment of the orthodox believers; and it seems so well adapted to the desires and

62 The primitive church of Antioch computed almost 6000 years from the creation of the world to the birth of Christ. Africanus, Lactantius, and the Greek church, have reduced that number to 5,500, and Eusebius has contended himself with 5,200 years. These calculations were formed on the Septuagint, which was universally received during the six first centuries. The authority of the Vulgate and of the Hebrew text has determined the moderns, Protestants as well as Catholics, to prefer a period of about 4,000 years; though, in the study of profane antiquity, they often find themselves straitened by those narrow limits.*

63 Most of these pictures were borrowed from a misinterpretation of Isaiah, Daniel and the Apocalypse. One of the grossest images may be found in Irenæus (l. v. p. 455), the disciple of Papias, who had seen the apostle St. John.

64 See the second dialogue of Justin with Tryphon, and the seventh book of Lactantius. It is unnecessary to allege all the intermediate fathers, as the fact is not disputed. Yet the curious reader may consult *Daillé de Usu Patrum*, l. ii. c. 4.

65 The testimony of Justin of his own faith and that of his orthodox brethren, in the doctrine of a Millennium, is delivered in the clearest and most solemn manner (*Dialog. cum Tryphonte Jud.* pp. 177, 178, edit. Benedictin). If in the beginning of this important passage there is any thing like an inconsistency, we may impute it, as we think proper, either to the author or to his transcribers.†

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* Most of the more learned modern English Protestants, Dr. Hales, Mr. Faber, Dr. Russel, as well as the Continental writers, adopt the larger chronology. There is little doubt that the narrower system was framed by the Jews of Tiberias; it was clearly neither that of St. Paul, nor of Josephus, nor of the Samaritan Text. It is greatly to be regretted that the chronology of the earlier Scriptures should ever have been made a religious question. — MILMAN.

† The Millennium is described in what once stood as the XLIst Article of the English Church (see Collier, *Eccles. Hist.*, for Articles of Edw. VI.) as "a fable "of Jewish dotage." The whole of these gross and earthly images may be traced in the works which treat on the Jewish traditions, in Lightfoot, Schoetgen, and Eisenmenger; "*Das entdeckte Judenthum*," t. ii. 809, and briefly in Bertholdt, i. c. 38, 39. — MILMAN.

apprehensions of mankind, that it must have contributed in a very considerable degree to the progress of the Christian faith. But when the edifice of the church was almost completed, the temporary support was laid aside. The doctrine of Christ's reign upon earth was at first treated as a profound allegory, was considered by degrees as a doubtful and useless opinion, and was at length rejected as the absurd invention of heresy and fanaticism.[66] A mysterious prophecy which still forms a part of the sacred canon, but which was thought to favor the exploded sentiment, has very narrowly escaped the proscription of the church.[67]

Conflagration of Rome and of the world.

Whilst the happiness and glory of a temporal reign were promised to the disciples of Christ, the most dreadful calamities were denounced against an unbelieving world. The edification of the new Jerusalem was to advance by equal steps with the destruction of the mystic Babylon; and as long as the emperors who reigned before Constantine persisted in the profession of idolatry, the epithet of Babylon was applied to the city and to the empire of Rome. A regular series was prepared of all the moral and physical evils which can afflict a flourishing nation; intestine discord, and the invasion of the fiercest barbarians from the unknown regions of the North; pestilence and famine, comets and eclipses, earthquakes and inundations.[68] All these were only so many

[66] Dupin, *Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique*, tom. i. p. 223, tom. ii. p. 366, and *Mosheim*, p. 720; though the latter of these learned divines is not altogether candid on this occasion.

[67] In the council of Laodicea (about the year 360), the Apocalypse was tacitly excluded from the sacred canon, by the same churches of Asia to which it is addressed; and we may learn from the complaint of Sulpicius Severus, that their sentence had been ratified by the greater number of Christians of his time. From what causes then is the Apocalypse at present so generally received by the Greek, the Roman, and the Protestant Churches? The following ones may be assigned. 1. The Greeks were subdued by the authority of an impostor, who in the sixth century, assumed the character of Dionysius the Areopagite. 2. A just apprehension, that the grammarians might become more important than the theologians, engaged the council of Trent to fix the seal of their infallibility on all the books of Scripture contained in the *Latin Vulgate*, in the number of which the Apocalypse was fortunately included. (*Fr. Paolo, Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*, l. ii.) 3. The advantage of turning those mysterious prophecies against the Sec of Rome, inspired the Protestants with uncommon veneration for so useful an ally. See the ingenious and elegant discourses of the bishop of Litchfield on that unpromising subject.*

[68] Lactantius (*Institut. Divin.* vii. 15, &c.) relates the dismal tale of futurity with great spirit and eloquence.†

* The exclusion of the Apocalypse is not improbably assigned to its obvious unfitness to be read in churches. It is to be feared that a history of the interpretation of the Apocalypse would not give a very favorable view either of the wisdom or the charity of the successive ages of Christianity. Wetstein's interpretation, differently modified, is adopted by most Continental scholars.—MILMAN.

† Lactantius had a notion of a great Asiatic empire, which was previously to rise on the ruins of the Roman: quod Romanum nomen (horret animus dicere, sed dicam, quia futurum est) tolletur de terrâ, et imperium in Asiam revertetur. — M.

preparatory and alarming signs of the great catastrophe of Rome, when the country of the Scipios and Cæsars should be consumed by a flame from heaven, and the city of the seven hills, with her palaces, her temples, and her triumphal arches, should be buried in a vast lake of fire and brimstone. It might, however, afford some consolation to Roman vanity, that the period of their empire would be that of the world itself; which, as it had once perished by the element of water, was destined to experience a second and speedy destruction from the element of fire. In the opinion of a general conflagration the faith of the Christian very happily coincided with the tradition of the East, the philosophy of the Stoics, and the analogy of Nature; and even the country, which, from religious motives, had been chosen for the origin and principal scene of the conflagration, was the best adapted for that purpose by natural and physical causes; by its deep caverns, beds of sulphur, and numerous volcanoes, of which those of Ætna, of Vesuvius, and of Lipari, exhibit a very imperfect representation. The calmest and most intrepid sceptic could not refuse to acknowledge that the destruction of the present system of the world by fire was in itself extremely probable. The Christian, who founded his belief much less on the fallacious arguments of reason than on the authority of tradition and the interpretation of Scripture, expected it with terror and confidence as a certain and approaching event; and as his mind was perpetually filled with the solemn idea, he considered every disaster that happened to the empire as an infallible symptom of an expiring world.[69]

The Pagans devoted to eternal punishment.

The condemnation of the wisest and most virtuous of the Pagans, on account of their ignorance or disbelief of the divine truth, seems to offend the reason and the humanity of the present age.[70] But the primitive church, whose faith was of a much firmer consistence, delivered over, without hesitation,

[69] On this subject every reader of taste will be entertained with the third part of Burnet's *Sacred Theory*. He blends philosophy, Scripture, and tradition, into one magnificent system; in the description of which he displays a strength of fancy not inferior to that of Milton himself.

[70] And yet whatever may be the language of individuals, it is still the public doctrine of all the Christian churches; nor can even our own refuse to admit the conclusions which must be drawn from the eight and the eighteenth of her Articles. The Jansenists, who have so diligently studied the works of the fathers, maintain this sentiment with distinguished zeal; and the learned M. de Tillemont never dismisses a virtuous emperor without pronouncing his damnation. Zuinglius is perhaps the only leader of a party who has ever adopted the milder sentiment, and he gave no less offence to the Lutherans than to the Catholics. See Bossuet, *Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, l. ii. c. 19–22.

to eternal torture, the far greater part of the human species.* A charitable hope might perhaps be indulged in favor of Socrates, or some other sages of antiquity, who had consulted the light of reason before that of the gospel had arisen.[71] But it was unanimously affirmed that those who,

[71] Justin and Clemens of Alexandria allow that some of the philosophers were instructed by the Logos; confounding its double signification of the human reason, and of the Divine Word.

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*A golden city with foundations of precious gems, for the elect, and a burning lake of fire and brimstone for the condemned, was the crude belief of the early teachers of the Christian religion; and, while many Christians have now outgrown this primitive theology, and realize that we can best serve God by being just and merciful to our fellow men — that a life of virtue and happiness *here* does not unfit us for what may occur *hereafter* — that the moral doctrine of Confucius and of Jesus "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you," is nobler than "the vindictive threat of an infinite punishment for a finite offence," still this materialistic heaven and this realistic hell, form the usual stock in trade of our most successful revivalists, whose vivid pictures of the terrors of perdition, which are beneath the contempt of the wise, arouse the fears of weak-minded believers, and sometimes drive them to despair and insanity. In comparison with such childish conceptions of omnipotence and immortality, how grand seem the views of philosophers and rationalists, who contemplate with calm serenity, without alarm or apprehension, the action of those immutable laws which control the universe. Realizing that, in defiance of death's stern mandate, and notwithstanding CHANGE is written on the universal face of Nature, the benefactors of our race still survive in the influence of their works — that no generous aspiration, no earnest effort, is ever lost to humanity — no noble deed is ever achieved in vain. And that we now inherit and enjoy the civilization, the wisdom and experience garnered by our predecessors in the ages that are past, and which priceless legacy will be transmitted by us to myriads yet unborn. Says George Eliot:

"Oh, may I join the choir invisible
"Of those immortal dead who live again
"In minds made better by their presence; live
"In pulses stirred to generosity,
"In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
"For miserable aims that end with self,
"In thoughts sublime that pierce the night like stars
"And with their mild persistence urge men's search
"To vaster issues. * * *
"* * * This is life to come."

"For as soon as we have once clearly understood" says Bleek, "that individual "life and action only form a small fragment of the great eternal life of mankind, "and that it is only by partaking in the latter that the individual man really lives, "and, as we may hope, lives forever — striving for the general good no longer "appears a duty hard of fulfillment, but a necessity of our nature, which we are "the less able to resist, the more we have recognized the true essence of things. "And in truth it is the sentiment of such a relation that is the great source of all "noble and good efforts."

"The great mystery of existence," says Büchner, "consists in perpetual and "uninterrupted *change*. Every thing is immortal and indestructible, — the "smallest worm as well as the most enormous of the celestial bodies, — the sand-"grain or the water-drop as well as the highest being in creation: man and his "thoughts. Only the forms in which being manifests itself are changing: but "Being itself remains eternally the same and imperishable. When we die we do "not lose ourselves, but only our personal consciousness, or the casual form which "our being, in itself eternal and imperishable, had assumed for a short time; we "live on in Nature, in our race, in our children, in our descendants, in our deeds, "in our thoughts, — in short in the entire material and psychical contribution "which, during our short personal existence, we have furnished to the subsistence "of mankind and of nature in general."

"Humanity," says Radenhausen, "persists and flows on although the indi-"vidual disappears after a short course of life: but neither his life, nor that of the "water-drop is lost. For just as the latter could not complete its circulation "without dissolving or superinducing the combinations of other matters, so

since the birth or the death of Christ, had obstinately persisted in the worship of the dæmons, neither deserved nor could expect a pardon from the irritated justice of the Deity. These rigid sentiments, which had been unknown to the ancient world, appear to have infused a spirit of bitterness into a system of love and harmony. The ties of blood and friendship were frequently torn asunder by the difference of religious faith; and the Christians, who, in this world, found themselves oppressed by the power of the Pagans, were sometimes seduced by resentment and spiritual pride to delight in the prospect of their future triumph. "You are "fond of spectacles," exclaims the stern Tertullian;* "expect "the greatest of all spectacles, the last and eternal judgment "of the universe. How shall I admire, how laugh, how "rejoice, how exult, when I behold so many proud "monarchs, and fancied gods, groaning in the lowest abyss "of darkness; so many magistrates, who persecuted the "name of the Lord, liquefying in fiercer fires than they ever "kindled against the Christians; so many sage philosophers "blushing in red-hot flames with their deluded scholars; so

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"every man leaves the traces of his existence behind him in what he separated "or brought into new combinations, in the contribution to the culture treasures "of humanity, which is furnished by every human life, from the least to the "greatest." Says Schopenhauer:

"Drum schreitet, Thoren, ferner nicht,
"Ob Ihr im Geist unsterblich seid!
"Denn keines Todes Macht zerbricht
"Der Dinge Unvergänglichkeit,
"Die Alles was da ist und lebt,
"In einem ew'gen Kreise fuehrt
"Und, who sie zur Vernichtung strebt,
"Die Flammen neuen Lebens schuert!
"Unsterblich ist der kleinste Wurm,
"Unsterblich auch des Menschen Geist,
"Den jeder neue Todessturm
"In immer neue Bahnen reisst!
"So lebet Ihr, gestorben auch,
"In kuenftigen Geschlechtern fort,
"Und dieser ewige Gebrauch
"Verwechselt nichts als Zeit und Ort!" — E.

* "Quintus Septimus Florens Tertullianus," says Rev. Robert Taylor, "the last "that can be read into the second century, and the very first of all the Latin "Fathers, was, like the rest of them, originally a heathen, was afterwards a most "zealous and orthodox Christian, and finally fell into heresy. He was made "presbyter of the church of Carthage in Africa, of which he was a native, about "A. D. 193, and died, as may be conjectured, about the year 220. As he had become "tinctured with heresy, he lost the honor of his place in '*the noble army of* "*martyrs*.'"

In Taylor's *Syntagma*, p. 106, a specimen is given of Tertullian's manner of reasoning, as follows: "I find no other means to prove myself to be impudent "with success, and happily a fool, than by my contempt of shame; as, for instance: "I maintain that the Son of God was born: why am I not ashamed of maintaining "such a thing? Why! but because it is itself a shameful thing. I maintain that "the Son of God died: well, *that* is wholly credible because it is monstrously "absurd. I maintain that after having been buried, he rose again: and *that* I "take to be absolutely true, because it was manifestly impossible." — E.

"many celebrated poets trembling before the tribunal, not "of Minos, but of Christ; so many tragedians, more tuneful "in the expression of their own sufferings; so many "dancers—."* But the humanity of the reader will permit me to draw a veil over the rest of this infernal description, which the zealous African pursues in a long variety of affected and unfeeling witticisms.[72]

Were often converted by their fears.

Doubtless there were many among the primitive Christians of a temper more suitable to the meekness and charity of their profession. There were many who felt a sincere compassion for the danger of their friends and countrymen, and who exerted the most benevolent zeal to save them from the impending destruction. The careless Polytheist, assailed by new and unexpected terrors, against which neither his priests nor his philosophers could afford him any certain protection, was very frequently terrified and subdued by the menance of

72 Tertullian, *de Spectaculis*, c. 30. In order to ascertain the degree of authority which the zealous African had acquired, it may be sufficent to allege the testimony of Cyprian, the doctor and guide of all the western churches. (See *Prudent. Hym.* xiii. 100.) As often as he applied himself to his daily study of the writings of Tertullian, he was accustomed to say, "*Da mihi magistrum*, Give me my master." (*Hieronym. de Viris Illustribus*, tom. i. p. 284.)†

* This translation is not exact: the first sentence is imperfect. Tertullian says, Ille dies nationibus insperatus, ille derisus, cum tanta sæculi vetustas et tot ejus nativitates uno igne haurientur. The text does not authorize the exaggerated expressions, so many magistrates, so many sage philosophers, so many poets, &c.: but simply magistrates, philosophers, poets. — GUIZOT.

It is not clear that Gibbon's version or paraphrase is incorrect; Tertullian writes tot tantosque reges item præsides, &c. — MILMAN.

Both these fathers were prepared for the Christian faith by Platonism, and could not be so ungrateful to their eminent heathen teachers, as to exclude them from the mansions of the blest. Clemens, who was half a century later than Justin, has been censured for the use which he made of his philosophy in his religious writings, some part of which Cassiodorus suppressed in his translation on that account. R. Simon, *Hist. Crit.* p. 19, 20. — ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

† The object of Tertullian's vehemence in his *Treatise* was to keep the Christians away from the secular games celebrated by the Emperor Severus: it has not prevented him from showing himself in other places full of benevolence and charity towards unbelievers: the spirit of the gospel has sometimes prevailed over the violence of human passions: Qui ergo putaveris nihil nos de salute Cæsaris curare (he says in his *Apology*) inspice Dei voces, literas nostras. Scitote ex illis præceptum esse nobis ad redundationem, benignitates etiam pro inimicis Deum orare, et pro persecutoribus bona precari. Sed etiam nominatim atque manifestè orate inquit (Christus) pro regibus et pro principibus et potestatibus ut omnia sint tranquilla vobis. *Tert. Apol.* c. 31. — GUIZOT.

It would be wiser for Christianity, retreating upon its genuine records in the New Testament, to disclaim this fierce African, than to identify itself with his furious invectives by unsatisfactory apologies for their unchristian fanaticism.—M.

Tertullian, in a former note, was denounced by M. Guizot as an untrue exponent of early Christian sentiments. The first sentence, as given by him at full length, is far more violent and revolting than it is in Gibbon's abridged version. To make good his second charge of "exaggerated exclamations," he has himself had recourse to a most unpardonable mutilation. The "*so many*," which he censures as an amplifying interpolation, is actually in the original, and if used only once, it is applied to *all* by conjunctive particles. — ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

eternal tortures. His fears might assist the progress of his faith and reason; and if he could once persuade himself to suspect that the Christian religion might possibly be true, it became an easy task to convince him that it was the safest and most prudent party that he could possibly embrace.

THE THIRD CAUSE. Miraculous powers of the primitive church.

III. The supernatural gifts, which even in this life were ascribed to the Christians above the rest of mankind, must have conduced to their own comfort, and very frequently to the conviction of infidels. Besides the occasional prodigies, which might sometimes be effected by the immediate interposition of the Deity when he suspended the laws of nature for the service of religion, the Christian church, from the time of the apostles and their first disciples,[73] has claimed an uninterrupted succession of miraculous powers, the gift of tongues, of vision, and of prophesy, the power of expelling dæmons, of healing the sick, and of raising the dead.* The knowledge of foreign languages was frequently communicated to the contemporaries of Irenæus, though Irenæus himself was left to struggle with the difficulties of a barbarous dialect, whilst he preached

[73] Notwithstanding the evasions of Dr. Middleton, it is impossible to overlook the clear traces of visions and inspiration, which may be found in the apostolic fathers.†

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* If a miracle be defined as an occurrence opposed to the laws of nature, the definition itself demonstrates its impossibility: if it be only claimed as an apparent violation of those laws, then the miracle ceases when the modus operandi is discovered.

"Miracles," says Giebel, "are great horrors in the domain of science where, "not blind faith, but conviction derived from knowledge, is of any value."

"There is neither chance nor miracle;" says Jouvencel, "there exist but "phenomena governed by laws."

"Miracles," says the celebrated *Système de la Nature*, "exist only for him who "has not studied them."

"We have the fullest right," says Büchner, "and are scientifically correct, in "asserting there is no such thing as a miracle; everything that happens, does so "in a natural way. No revolution on earth or in heaven, however stupendous, "could occur in any other manner."

"Every miracle, if it existed," observes Cotta, "would lead to the conviction "that the creation is not deserving the respect which all pay to it, and the mystics "would necessarily be obliged to deduce from the imperfection of the created "world the imperfection of the creator."

"The government of the world," says Strauss, "must not be considered as de-"termined by an extramundane intelligence, but by one immanent in the cosmical "forces and their relations."

"We find," says Tuttle, "in the constant harmony of nature a sufficient proof "in favor of the immutability of its laws. Every miracle would involve their in-"fraction; a process to which nature would submit as little as to any other inter-"vention in its empire; in which every thing, from the gnat which dances in the "sunbeam up to the human mind, which issues from the brain, is governed by "fixed principles." — E.

† Gibbon should have noticed the distinct and remarkable passage from Chrysostom, quoted by Middleton (*Works*, vol. i. p. 105), in which he affirms the long discontinuance of miracles as a notorious fact. — MILMAN.

the gospel to the natives of Gaul.[74] The divine inspiration, whether it was conveyed in the form of a waking or of a sleeping vision, is described as a favor very liberally bestowed on all ranks of the faithful, on women as on elders, on boys as well as upon bishops. When their devout minds were sufficiently prepared by a course of prayer, of fasting, and of vigils, to receive the extraordinary impulse, they were transported out of their senses, and delivered in ecstasy what was inspired, being mere organs of the Holy Spirit,* just as a pipe or flute is of him who blows into it.[75] We may add that the design of these visions was, for the most part, either to disclose the future history, or to guide the present administration, of the church. The expulsion of the dæmons from the bodies of those unhappy persons whom they had been permitted to torment, was considered as a signal though ordinary triumph of religion, and is repeatedly alleged by the ancient apologists as the most convincing evidence of the truth of Christianity. The awful ceremony was usually performed in a public manner, and in the presence of a great number of spectators; the patient was relieved by the power or skill of the exorcist, and the vanquished dæmon was heard to confess that he was one of the fabled gods of antiquity, who had impiously

[74] *Irenæus adv. Hæres. Proem.* p. 3.† Dr. Middleton (*Free Inquiry*, p. 96, &c.) observes, that as this pretension of all others was the most difficult to support by art, it was the soonest given up. The observation suits his hypothesis.‡

[75] Athenagoras in *Legatione*. Justin Martyr, *Cohort. ad Gentes*. Tertullian *advers. Marcionit*, l. iv. These descriptions are not very unlike the prophetic fury, for which Cicero (*de Divinat.* ii. 54) expresses so little reverence.

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* The spiritualists of the present day claim that certain members of their society called "*Mediums*" are habitually influenced and controlled by spirits, or by persons who formerly lived upon the earth; and further, that these *Mediums* in their inspired or extatic state, oft teach doctrines they do not comprehend, and speak in languages they do not understand. All who have listened to their rhapsodies will unhesitatingly admit, at least, the latter portion of this claim. — E.

† This passage of Irenæus contains no allusion to the gift of tongues; it is merely an apology for a rude and unpolished Greek style, which could not be expected from one who passed his life in a remote and barbarous province, and was continually obliged to speak the Celtic language. — MILMAN.

‡ Except in the life of Pachomius, an Egyptian monk of the fourth century (see Jortin, *Ecc. Hist.* i, p. 368, edit. 1805), and the latter (not earlier) lives of Xavier, there is no claim laid to the gift of tongues since the time of Irenæus: and of this claim Xavier's own letters are profoundly silent. See *Douglas's Criterion*, p. 76, edit. 1807. — MILMAN.

The attack first made by Mr. Davis on this passage is repeated by Dean Milman in milder terms. They both misconceived Gibbon's meaning. He does not say that Irenæus made "any allusion to the gift of tongues:" but on the contrary, that he was silent on the subject; that while this miraculous faculty was asserted to be in the church, the bishop of Lyons had acquired, by the natural course of study, the means of conversing with the Gauls of his diocese. His words: "non "didicimus," "non affectavimus," clearly denote this. — ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

usurped the adoration of mankind.[76] But the miraculous cure of diseases of the most inveterate or even preternatural kind can no longer occasion any surprise, when we recollect that in the days of Irenæus, about the end of the second century, the resurrection of the dead was very far from being esteemed an uncommon event; that the miracle was frequently performed on necessary occasions, by great fasting and the joint supplication of the church of the place, and that the persons thus restored to their prayers had lived afterwards among them many years.[77] At such a period, when faith could boast of so many wonderful victories over death,* it seems difficult to account for the

[76] Tertullian (*Apolog.* c. 23) throws out a bold defiance to the Pagan magistrates. Of the primitive miracles, the power of exorcising is the only one which has been assumed by Protestants.†

[77] *Irenæus adv. Hæreses*, l. ii. 56, 57, l. v. c. 6. Mr. Dodwell (*Dissertat. ad. Irenæum*, ii. 42) concludes, that the second century was still more fertile in miracles than the first.‡

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*Faith no longer performs the miracles of the past. In the sunlight of the nineteenth century prayers are impotent, and do not restore the dead to life. The sublime order of nature is not now reversed at the bidding of priest or prelate. Blossoms do not greet the chill winds of autumn, neither does the ripened fruit appear to woo the genial warmth of spring. "The myths of Paganism," says Huxley. (*Lay Lessons*, pp. 277, 278,) "are as dead as Osiris or Zeus, and the man "who should revive them, in opposition to the knowledge of our time, would be "justly laughed to scorn; but the coeval imaginations current among the rude "inhabitants of Palestine, recorded by writers whose very name and age are ad- "mitted by every scholar to be unknown, have unfortunately not yet shared their "fate, but, even at this day, are regarded by nine-tenths of the civilized world as "the authoritative standard of fact. The cosmogony of the semi-barbarous "Hebrew is the incubus of the philosopher and the opprobium of the orthodox. "Who shall number the patient and earnest seekers after truth, from the days of "Galileo until now, whose lives have been embittered and their good name blasted "by the mistaken zeal of Bibliolaters? Who shall count the host of weaker men "whose sense of truth has been destroyed in the effort to harmonize impossibilities "—whose life has been wasted in the attempt to force the generous new wine of "Science into the old bottles of Judaism."

The brutal assassination and sad death, in 1881, of President Garfield, who was not only honored and beloved by his countrymen, but was also respected and admired wherever civilization holds its sway, gave an opportunity to test the efficacy of prayer as a means of controlling future events, such as the world has seldom witnessed. The probability that he would live was asserted by his physicians, and the hopes, desires, and prayers of the people for his recovery were universal. "There is no language," said an eloquent speaker, "in which petitions "have not arisen for Garfield's life, and no clime where tears have not fallen for "his death." This is indeed the mournful truth, and yet that brave and noble spirit sank at last to silence and to rest. Tears and petitions could not save his valued life. Invocations and prayers cannot change the inexorable decrees of fate. A nation suppliant, while the victim dies, demonstrates the futility of human appeals, and illustrates the eternal and immutable laws that control the universe.—E.

† But by Protestants neither of the most enlightened ages nor most reasoning minds. — MILMAN.

‡ It is difficult to answer Middleton's objection to this statement of Irenæus: "It is very strange, that from the time of the apostles there is not a single instance "of this miracle to be found in the three first centuries; except a single case, "slightly intimated in *Eusebius*, from the *Works of Papias*; which he seems to rank among the other fabulous stories delivered by that weak man." Middleton, *Works*, vol. i. p. 59. Bp. Douglas (*Criterion*, p. 389) would consider Irenæus to speak of what had "been performed formerly," not in his own time. — MILMAN.

skepticism of those philosophers who still rejected and derided the doctrine of the resurrection. A noble Grecian had rested on this important ground the whole controversy, and promised Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, that, if he could be gratified with the sight of a single person who had been actually raised from the dead, he would immediately embrace the Christian religion. It is somewhat remarkable that the prelate of the first eastern church, however anxious for the conversion of his friend, thought proper to decline this fair and reasonable challenge.[78]

Their truth contested.

The miracles of the primitive church, after obtaining the sanction of ages, have been lately attacked in a very free and ingenious inquiry,[79] which, though it has met with the most favorable reception from the public, appears to have excited a general scandal among the divines of our own as well as of the other Protestant churches of Europe.[80] Our different sentiments on this subject will be much less influenced by any particular arguments, than by our habits of study and reflection; and, above all, by the degree of the evidence which we have accustomed ourselves to require for the proof of a miraculous event. The duty of an historian does not call upon him to interpose his private judgment in this nice and important controversy; but he ought not to dissemble the difficulty of adopting such a theory as may reconcile the interest of religion with that of reason, of making a proper application of that theory, and of defining with precision the limits of that happy period, exempt from error and from deceit, to which we might be disposed to extend the gift of supernatural powers. From the first of the fathers to the last of the popes, a succession of bishops, of saints, of martyrs, and of miracles, is continued without interruption; and the progress of superstition was so gradual, and almost impercepti-

Our perplexity in defining the miraculous period.

[78] *Theophilus ad Autolycum*, l. i. p. 345. Edit. Benedictin. Paris, 1742.*

[79] Dr. Middleton sent out his *Introduction* in the year 1747, published his *Free Inquiry* in 1749, and before his death, which happened in 1750, he had prepared a vindication of it against his numerous adversaries.

[80] The university of Oxford conferred degrees on his opponents. From the indignation of Mosheim (p. 221), we may discover the sentiments of the Lutheran divines.†

* A candid skeptic might discern some impropriety in the Bishop being called upon to perform a miracle on demand. — MILMAN.

If the "candid" Bishop asserted his power to raise the dead, he should have been prepared to demonstrate that power when challenged, for one demonstration is worth more than a thousand assertions, or ten thousand apologies. — E.

† Yet many Protestant divines will now without reluctance confine miracles to the time of the apostles, or at least to the first century. — MILMAN.

ble, that we know not in what particular link we should break the chain of tradition. Every age bears testimony to the wonderful events by which it was distinguished,* and its testimony appears no less weighty and respectable than that of the preceding generation, till we are insensibly led on to accuse our own inconsistency, if in the eighth or in the twelfth century we deny to the venerable Bede, or to the holy Bernard, the same degree of confidence which, in the second century, we had so liberally granted to Justin or to Irenæus.[81] If the truth of any of those miracles is appreciated by their apparent use and propriety, every age had unbelievers to convince, heretics to confute, and idolatrous nations to convert; and sufficient motives might always be produced to justify the interposition of heaven. And yet, since every friend to revelation is persuaded of the reality, and every reasonable man is convinced of the cessation, of miraculous powers, it is evident that there must have been *some period* in which they were either suddenly or gradually withdrawn from the Christian church. Whatever era is chosen for that purpose, the death of the apostles, the conversion of the Roman empire, or the extinction of the Arian heresy,[82] the insensibility of the Christians who lived at that

[81] It may seem somewhat remarkable, that Bernard of Clairvaux, who records so many miracles of his friend St. Malachi, never takes any notice of his own, which, in their turn, however, are carefully related by his companions and disciples. In the long series of ecclesiastical history, does there exist a single instance of a saint asserting that he himself possessed the gift of miracles?

[82] The conversion of Constantine is the era which is most usually fixed by Protestants. The more rational divines are unwilling to admit the miracles of the fourth, whilst the more credulous are unwilling to reject those of the fifth century.†

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* "Mention to me a single nation," says Voltaire, "in which the most incredible "prodigies have not been performed, and especially in those periods in which the "people scarcely knew how to read or write." — E.

† All this appears to proceed on the principle that any distinct line can be drawn in an unphilosophic age between wonders and miracles, or between what piety, from their unexpected and extraordinary nature, the marvellous concurrence of secondary causes to some remarkable end, may consider *providential interpositions*, and *miracles* strictly so called, in which the laws of nature are suspended or violated. It is impossible to assign, on one side, limits to human credulity, on the other, to the influence of the imagination on the bodily frame; but some of the miracles recorded in the Gospels are such palpable *impossibilities*, according to the known laws and operations of nature, that if recorded on sufficient evidence, and the evidence we believe to be that of eye-witnesses, we cannot reject them, without either asserting, with Hume, that no evidence can prove a miracle, or that the Author of Nature has no power of suspending its ordinary laws. But which of the *post-apostolic* miracles will bear this test? — MILMAN.

M. Guizot has abstained from all remarks on this "third cause." Dean Milman has made several, which are those of an enlightened and liberal mind. "Many "Protestant divines," he says, "will now, without reluctance, confine miracles to "the time of the apostles, or at least to the first century." He admits that the *post-apostolic* miracles are doubtful, and that the most credible among them may be ascribed to some "marvellous concurrence of secondary causes," between which and actual suspensions of the laws of nature, "an unphilosophic age" can draw no line of distinction. — ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

time will equally afford a just matter of surprise. They still supported their pretensions after they had lost their power. Credulity performed the office of faith; fanaticism was permitted to assume the language of inspiration, and the effects of accident or contrivance were ascribed to supernatural causes. The recent experience of genuine miracles should have instructed the Christian world in the ways of Providence, and habituated their eye (if we may use a very inadequate expression) to the style of the divine artists. Should the most skillful painter of modern Italy presume to decorate his feeble imitations with the name of Raphael or Correggio, the insolent fraud would be soon discovered and indignantly rejected.*

Use of the primitive miracles.

Whatever opinion may be entertained of the miracles of the primitive church since the time of the apostles, this unresisting softness of temper, so conspicuous among the believers of the second and third centuries, proved of some accidental benefit to the cause of truth and religion. In modern times, a latent and even involuntary skepticism adheres to the most pious dispositions. Their admission of supernatural truths is much less an active consent than a cold and passive acquiescence. Accustomed long since to observe and to respect the invariable order of nature, our reason, or at least our imagination, is not sufficiently prepared to sustain the visible action of the Deity. But, in the first ages of Christianity, the situation of mankind was extremely different. The most curious, or the most credulous, among the Pagans, were often persuaded to enter into a society which asserted an actual claim to miraculous powers. The primitive Christians perpetually trod on mystic ground, and their minds were exercised by the habits of believing the most extraordinary events. They felt, or they fancied, that on every side they were incessantly assaulted by dæmons, comforted by visions, instructed by prophesy, and surpris-

* A religion which bases its claim to credence on the power of working miracles, must expect to encounter disbelief when its teachers have lost their mystic art. Each neophyte is entitled, in justice, to the same proof that convinced the first believers. If A has seen a ghost, he may be expected to believe that ghosts exist, but his experience is no proof to B, who would sooner believe in A's mistaken perceptions, or even falsehood, than in the reality of ghostly visitants. Like the doubting Thomas in scripture, he requires the evidence of his own senses before he will believe an assertion which is opposed to all his former experience. "It is "clear," says Bishop Watson, in his *Apology for Christianity*, letter iii., "that a "past miracle can neither be the object of sense nor of intuition, nor consequently "of demonstration: we cannot then, philosophically speaking, be said to know "that a miracle has ever been performed."—E.

ingly delivered from danger, sickness, and from death itself, by the supplications of the church. The real or imaginary progidies, of which they so frequently conceived themselves to be the objects, the instruments, or the spectators, very happily disposed them to adopt with the same ease, but with far greater justice, the authentic wonders of the evangelic history; and thus miracles that exceeded not the measure of their own experience inspired them with the most lively assurance of mysteries which were acknowledged to surpass the limits of their understanding. It is this deep impression of supernatural truths which has been so much celebrated under the name of faith; a state of mind described as the surest pledge of the divine favor and of future felicity, and recommended as the first, or perhaps the only merit of a Christian. According to the more rigid doctors, the moral virtues, which may be equally practised by infidels, are destitute of any value or efficacy in the work of our justification.*

THE FOURTH CAUSE. Virtues of the first Christians.

IV. But the primitive Christian demonstrated his faith by his virtues; and it was very justly supposed that the divine persuasion, which enlightened or subdued the understanding, must, at the same time, purify the heart, and direct the actions, of the believer. The first apologists of Christianity who justify the innocence of their brethren, and the writers of a later period who celebrate the sanctity of their ancestors, display, in the most lively colors, the reformation of manners which was introduced into the world by the preaching of the gospel. As it is my intention to remark only such human causes as were permitted to second the influence of revelation, I shall slightly mention two motives which might naturally render the lives of the primitive Christians much purer and more austere than those of their Pagan contemporaries, or their degenerate successors; repentance for their past sins, and the laudable desire of supporting the reputation of the society in which they were engaged.†

* The moral virtues which, as Gibbon here shows, are destitute of any value in the work of justification, are, notwithstanding, of inestimable value to human society and to human welfare. The practice of virtue and morality in this life cannot unfit mortals for happiness in a life to come, and gives us here on earth a foretaste of the heaven which is promised hereafter. — E.

† These, in the opinion of the editor, are the most uncandid paragraphs in Gibbon's *History*. He ought either, with manly courage, to have denied the moral reformation introduced by Christianity, or fairly to have investigated all its motives; not to have confined himself to an insidious and sarcastic description of the less pure and generous elements of the Christian character as it appeared even at that early time. — MILMAN.

Effects of their repentance.

It is a very ancient reproach, suggested by the ignorance or the malice of infidelity, that the Christians allured into their party the most atrocious criminals, who, as soon as they were touched by a sense of remorse, were easily persuaded to wash away, in the water of baptism,* the guilt of their past conduct, for which the temples of the gods refused to grant them any expiation. But this reproach, when it is cleared from misrepresentation, contributes as much to the honor as it did to the increase of the church.[83] The friends of Christianity may acknowledge without a blush that many of the most eminent saints had been before their baptism the most abandoned sinners. Those persons who in the world had followed, though in an imperfect manner, the dictates of benevolence and propriety, derived such a calm satisfaction from the opinion of their own rectitude as rendered them much less susceptible of the sudden emotions of shame, of grief, and of terror, which have given birth to so many wonderful conversions. After the example of their divine master, the missionaries of the gospel disdained not the society of men, and especially of women, oppressed by the consciousness, and very often by the effects, of their vices. As they emerged from sin and superstition to the glorious hope of immortality, they resolved to devote themselves to a life, not only of virtue, but of penitence. The desire of perfection became the ruling passion of their soul; and it is well known that, while reason embraces a cold mediocrity, our passions hurry us, with rapid violence, over the space which lies between the most opposite extremes.

[83] The imputations of Celsus and Julian, with the defence of the fathers, are very fairly stated by Spanheim, *Commentaire sur les Cæsars de Julian*, p, 468.

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* "Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow," is the promise held forth to those who believe in the virtues of the atonement. A willing assent to this dogma, not the practice of a virtuous life—an unbounded faith, not moral rectitude—is the essential condition for salvation. Hence Gibbon was justified in asserting that the most atrocious criminals, spurned with contempt from the temples of the gods, were admitted into the Christian community. "We are "made as the filth of the world," says St. Paul, I. Cor. iv. 13, "and are the off-"scouring of all things unto this day." And it is no demerit to Christianity, (except in the eyes of certain refined Christians like Milman,) that Christianity was established by and for the poor and ignorant, and that Christ labored especially for the outcast, the guilty, and the oppressed. It is true that this meek and lowly origin ill consorts with the dignity and pomp of the Church as established by law. The class prejudices, so conspicuous in English society, naturally cause both preacher and prelate to revolt at even the suggestion of the most casual contact with the depraved outcast. These men will willingly preach "Christ and him crucified," in consideration of receiving a substantial salary for their trouble. But who could imagine a Dean or a Bishop of the holy Episcopal Church consenting to be crucified, like Jesus, between two thieves, even to save the souls of a universe of sinners? —E.

Care of their reputation.

When the new converts had been enrolled in the number of the faithful, and were admitted to the sacraments of the church, they found themselves restrained from relapsing into their past disorders by another consideration of a less spiritual, but of a very innocent and respectable nature. Any particular society that has departed from the great body of the nation, or the religion to which it belonged, immediately becomes the object of universal as well as invidious observation. In proportion to the smallness of its numbers, the character of the society may be affected by the virtues and vices of the persons who compose it; and every member is engaged to watch with the most vigilant attention over his own behavior, and over that of his brethren; since, as he must expect to incur a part of the common disgrace, he may hope to enjoy a share of the common reputation. When the Christians of Bithynia were brought before the tribunal of the younger Pliny, they assured the proconsul that, far from being engaged in any unlawful conspiracy, they were bound by a solemn obligation to abstain from the commission of those crimes which disturb the private or public peace of society; from theft, robbery, adultery, perjury, and fraud.[84] Near a century afterwards, Tertullian, with an honest pride, could boast that very few Christians had suffered by the hand of the executioner, except on account of their religion.[85] Their serious and sequestered life, averse to the gay luxury of the age, inured them to chastity, temperance, economy, and all the sober and domestic virtues. As the greater number were of some trade or profession, it was incumbent on them, by the strictest integrity and the fairest dealing, to remove

[84] *Plin. Epist.* x 97*

[85] Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 44. He adds, however, with some degree of hesitation, "Aut si aliud, jam non Christianus."†

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* And this blamelessness was fully admitted by the candid and enlightened Roman. — MILMAN.

† Tertullian says positively no Christian, nemo illic Christianus; for the rest, the limitation which he himself subjoins, and which Gibbon quotes in the foregoing note, diminishes the force of this assertion, and appears to prove that at least he knew none such. — GUIZOT.

Is not the sense of Tertullian rather, if guilty of any other offence, he has thereby ceased to be a Christian? — MILMAN.

Dean Milman has undoubtedly given the true meaning of the passage, viz. that any one guilty of such crimes, "ceased to be a Christian." As an offending Quaker is now disowned by the society, so at that time an offending Christian was no longer a member of the church. — ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

By repenting of his misdeeds, however, he would again be entitled to all the privileges of church communion. Christ taught the doctrine of unbounded forgiveness, and that we should forgive our erring brother not only seven times, but "seventy times seven." — E.

the suspicions which the profane are too apt to conceive against the appearances of sanctity. The contempt of the world exercised them in the habits of humility, meekness, and patience. The more they were persecuted, the more closely they adhered to each other. Their mutual charity and unsuspecting confidence has been remarked by infidels, and was too often abused by perfidious friends.[86]

Morality of the fathers.

It is a very honorable circumstance for the morals of the primitive Christians, that even their faults, or rather errors, were derived from an excess of virtue. The bishops and doctors of the church, whose evidence attests, and whose authority might influence, the professions, the principles, and even the practice of their contemporaries, had studied the Scriptures with less skill than devotion; and they often received, in the most literal sense, those rigid precepts of Christ and the apostles, to which the prudence of succeeding commentators has applied a looser and more figurative mode of interpretation. Ambitious to exalt the perfection of the gospel above the wisdom of philosophy, the zealous fathers have carried the duties of self-mortification, of purity, and of patience, to a height which it is scarcely possible to attain, and much less to preserve, in our present state of weakness and corruption. A doctrine so extraordinary and so sublime must inevitably command the veneration of the people; but it was ill calculated to obtain the suffrage of those worldly philosophers who, in the conduct of this transitory life, consult only the feelings of nature and the interest of society.[87]

Principles of human nature.

There are two very natural propensities which we may distinguish in the most virtuous and liberal dispositions, the love of pleasure and the love of action. If the former be refined by art and learning, improved by the charms of social intercourse, and corrected by a just regard to economy, to health, and to reputation, it is productive of the greatest part of the happiness of private life. The love of action is a principle of a much stronger and more doubtful nature. It often leads to anger, to ambition, and to revenge; but when it is guided by the sense of propriety and benevolence, it becomes the parent of every virtue, and if those virtues are accompanied

[86] The philosopher Peregrinus (of whose life and death Lucian has left us so entertaining an account) imposed, for a long time, on the credulous simplicity of the Christians of Asia.

[87] See a very judicious treatise of Barbeyrac *sur la Morale des Pères.*

with equal abilities, a family, a state, or an empire may be indebted for their safety and prosperity to the undaunted courage of a single man. To the love of pleasure we may therefore ascribe most of the agreeable, to the love of action we may attribute most of the useful and respectable qualifications. The character in which both the one and the other should be united and harmonized would seem to constitute the most perfect idea of human nature. The insensible and inactive disposition, which should be supposed alike destitute of both, would be rejected, by the common consent of mankind, as utterly incapable of procuring any happiness to the individual, or any public benefit to the world. But it was not in *this* world that the primitive Christians were desirous of making themselves either agreeable or useful.*

The primitive Christians condemn pleasure and luxury.

The acquisition of knowledge, the exercise of our reason or fancy, and the cheerful flow of unguarded conversation, may employ the leisure of a liberal mind. Such amusements, however, were rejected with abhorrence, or admitted with the utmost caution, by the severity of the fathers, who despised all knowledge that was not useful to salvation, and who considered all levity of discourse as a criminal abuse of the gift of speech. In our present state of existence the body is so inseparably connected with the soul, that it seems to be our interest to taste, with innocence and moderation, the enjoyments of which that faithful companion is susceptible. Very different was the reasoning of our devout predecessors; vainly aspiring to imitate the perfection of angels, they disdained, or they affected to disdain, every earthly and corporeal delight.[88] Some of our senses indeed are necessary for our preservation, others for our subsistence, and others again for our information; and thus far it was impossible to reject the use of them. The first sensation of pleasure was marked as the first moment of their

[88] Lactant. *Institut. Divin.* l. vi. c. 20, 21, 22.

* Et que me fait cette homélie semi-stoicienne, semi-épicurienne? A-t-on jamais regardé l'amour du plaisir comme l'un des principes de la perfection morale? Et de quel droit faites vous de l'amour de l'action, et de l'amour du plaisir, les seuls élémens de l'etre humain? Est ce que vous faites abstraction de la vérité en elle-meme, de la conscience et du sentiment du devoir? Est ce que vous ne sentez point, par example, que le sacrifice du *moi* à la justice et à la verité, est aussi dans le cœur de l'homme: que tout n'est pas pour lui action ou plaisir, et que dans le bien ce n'est par le mouvement, mais la vérité, qu'il cherche? Et puis * * Thucydide et Tacite, ces maitres de l'histoire, ont ils jamais introduits dans leur récits un fragment de dissertation sur le *plaisir* et sur l'action? Villemain, Cours de Lit. Franç. part ii. Leçon v. — MILMAN.

abuse. The unfeeling candidate for heaven was instructed, not only to resist the grosser allurements of the taste or smell, but even to shut his ears against the profane harmony of sounds, and to view with indifference the most finished productions of human art.* Gay apparel, magnificent houses, and elegant furniture, were supposed to unite the double guilt of pride and of sensuality; a simple and mortified appearance was more suitable to the Christian who was certain of his sins, and doubtful of his salvation. In their censures of luxury the fathers are extremely minute and circumstantial;[89] and among the various articles which excite their pious indignation we may enumerate false hair, garments of any color except white, instruments of music, vases of gold or silver, downy pillows (as Jacob reposed his head on a stone), white bread, foreign wines, public salutations, the use of warm baths, and the practice of shaving the beard, which, according to the expression of Tertullian, is a lie against our own faces, and an impious attempt to improve the works of the Creator.[90] When Christianity was introduced among the rich and the polite, the observation of these singular laws was left, as it would be at present, to the few who were ambitious of superior sanctity. But it is always easy, as well as agreeable, for the inferior ranks of

89 Consult a work of Clements of Alexandria, entitled *The Pædagogue*, which contains the rudiments of ethics, as they were taught in the most celebrated of the Christian schools.

90 Tertullian, *de Spectaculis*, c. 23. Clemens Alexandrin. *Pædagog.* l. iii. c. 8.

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* Another proof of the monkish origin of Christianity. Asceticism, self humiliation, penance and prayer were the first requisites for salvation: and these doctrines originated in Alexandria, and were taught by the monks called Essenes or Therapeuts. "Jesus or Jeshua, called Christ," says Büchner, in the Appendix to his work entitled *Man in the Past, Present and Future*, "was not and did not desire "to be the founder of a new religion, and least of all a world-religion, although "millions and millions of men have regarded and still regard him as such, He "was merely a Jewish religious reformer, and his original doctrine is neither more "nor less than an improved and purified Judaism. His whole efforts were in the "direction of the religious sect of the Essenes, from which he arose, who were "directed to get rid of, or repress those externals which were then so highly "valued and to render religion more internal. Moreover after the death of Jesus "the first community of Christians still lived quite in the Jewish fashion, observed "the Sabbath and the Jewish laws, practiced circumcision, and respected Jerusalem and the Temple. It was Saul of Tarsus, afterwards called Paul, originally "the most zealous persecutor of the Jewish Christians, but afterwards converted, "who first made out of Christianity an opposition to Judaism and gave it great "extension by his travels and indefatigable activity. Nevertheless the original "pure doctrine was continued among the Jewish Christians as what is called "*Petrinism*, which remained strictly faithful to the teachings of the Master, but "very soon came near its end with the fall of Judaism, and was completely suppressed by the gradually developing *Paulinism* or religion of the *Gentile Christians*, who hated and despised the Jews and their doctrine. This Paulinism "speedily ruled the world. Paul is therefore the true founder of Christianity. "(See for details the little work by R. W. Kunis, *Vernunft und Offenbarung*, "Leipzig, 1870)." — E.

mankind to claim a merit from the contempt of that pomp and pleasure which fortune has placed beyond their reach. The virtue of the primitive Christians, like that of the first Romans, was very frequently guarded by poverty and ignorance.

Their sentiments concerning marriage and chastity.

The chaste severity of the fathers, in whatever related to the commerce of the two sexes, flowed from the same principle; their abhorrence of every enjoyment which might gratify the sensual, and degrade the spiritual nature of man. It was their favorite opinion, that if Adam had preserved his obedience to the creator, he would have lived forever in a state of virgin purity, and that some harmless mode of vegetation* might have peopled Paradise with a race of innocent and immortal beings.[91] The use of marriage was permitted only to his fallen posterity, as a necessary expedient to continue the human species, and as a restraint, however imperfect, on the natural licentiousness of desire. The hesitation of the orthodox casuists on this interesting subject betrays the perplexity of men unwilling to approve an institution which they were compelled to tolerate.[92] The enumeration of the very whimsical laws which they most circumstantially imposed on the marriage-bed would force a smile from the young and a blush from the fair. It was their unanimous sentiment that a first marriage was adequate to all the purposes of nature and of society. The sensual connection was refined into a resemblance of the mystic union of Christ with his church, and was pronounced to be indissoluble either by divorce or by death. The practice of second nuptials was branded with the name of a legal adultery; and the persons

91 Beausobre, *Hist. Critique du Manicheisme*, l. vii. c. 3. Justin, Gregory of Nyssa, Augustin, &c., strongly inclined to this opinion.†

92 Some of the Gnostic heretics were more consistent; they rejected the use of marriage.

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* Milton alone, among the poets, was in sympathy with the monks in their aversion to the feminine gender. In *Paradise Lost* he has repeated the complaint of the Christian fathers, who presumed to question the wisdom of their Creator, and would have preferred to generate the human race in the interesting and poetic manner that farmers now employ to propagate potatoes.

"——Oh! why did God,
"Creator wise, that peopled highest Heaven
"With spirits masculine, create at last
"This novelty on Earth, this fair defect
"Of nature?—And not fill the earth at once
"With Men as Angels, without feminine?
"Or find some other way to generate mankind."—E.

† But these were Gnostic or Manichean opinions. Beausobre distinctly ascribes Augustin's bias to his recent escape from Manicheism; and adds that he afterwards changed his views.—MILMAN.

who were guilty of so scandalous an offence against Christian purity were soon excluded from the honors, and even from the alms, of the church.[93] Since desire was imputed as a crime, and marriage was tolerated as a defect, it was consistent with the same principles to consider a state of celibacy as the nearest approach to the divine perfection.* It was with the utmost difficulty that ancient Rome could support the institution of six vestals;[94] but the primitive church was filled with a great number of persons of either sex, who had devoted themselves to the profession of perpetual chastity.[95] A few of these, among whom we may reckon the learned Origen, judged it the most prudent to disarm the tempter.[96] Some were insensible and some were invincible against the assaults of the flesh. Disdaining an ignominious flight, the virgins of the warm climate of Africa encountered the enemy in the closest engagement; they permitted priests and deacons to share their bed, and gloried amidst the flames in their unsullied purity. But insulted Nature some-

93 See a chain of tradition, from Justin Martyr to Jerome, in the *Morale des Pères*, c. iv. 6—26.

94 See a very curious Dissertation on the Vestals, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. iv. pp. 161–227. Notwithstanding the honors and rewards which were bestowed on those virgins, it was difficult to procure a sufficient number; nor could the dread of the most horrible death always restrain their incontinence.

95 Cupiditatem procreandi aut unam scimus aut nullam. *Minucius Fælix*, c. 31. Justin. *Apolog*, *Major*. Athenagoras in *Legat*. c. 28. Tertullian *de Cultu Fœmin*. l. ii.

96 Eusebius, l. vi. 8. Before the fame of Origen had excited envy and persecution, this extraordinary action was rather admired than censured. As it was his general practice to allegorize Scripture, it seems unfortunate that, in this instance only, he should have adopted the literal sense.†

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* The monkish doctrine that we best fit ourselves for happiness hereafter by a life of penitence and suffering on earth, was held in great esteem by the early fathers of the church. These stern ascetics never heartily approved, and, indeed, scarcely tolerated the institution of marriage, and the sacred home of happiness and love. The prison-like seclusion of a convent's walls, the gloomy cells of a monastery, a life of celibacy and denial, the crucifixion of the passions, the martyrdom of humanity, were the unnatural aims and desires of the Alexandrian fanatics, called Essenes or Therapeuts, who early overran the East and filled the forests and deserts with hermits and mendicants, who, in their degradation, disputed with wild beasts the occupancy of caves and caverns. John the Baptist, "crying in the "wilderness, clothed with camel's hair, and with a girdle of skin about his "loins," eating "locusts and wild honey," was a notable example of this monkish folly. His object was to gain converts to his particular sect, and, like our modern revivalists, he baptized all whom he could influence or convert. Even Jesus permitted himself to be won over and baptized by the rude and uncivilized monk. The disciples and early Christians, who "had all things in common," were undoubtedly members of some monastic order, and the Catholic church of to-day still boasts an army of priests and nuns who teach, by practice and precept, the dogma of celibacy and the holiness of asceticism. — E.

† "He made himself a eunuch for the kingdom of heaven's sake," which duty was inculcated by Christ, in Matt. xix, 12, and was also taught by the Essenes and Therapeuts of Alexandria. This horrible rite and revolting crime against nature, while it demonstrated Origen's sanctity, also illustrated his ignorance and fanaticism.—E.

times vindicated her rights, and this new species of martyrdom served only to introduce a new scandal into the church.[97] Among the Christian ascetics, however (a name which they soon acquired from their painful exercise), many, as they were less presumptuous, were probably more successful. The loss of sensual pleasure was supplied and compensated by spiritual pride. Even the multitude of Pagans were inclined to estimate the merit of the sacrifice by its apparent difficulty; and it was in the praise of these chaste spouses of Christ that the fathers have poured forth the troubled stream of their eloquence.[98] Such are the early traces of monastic principles and institutions, which, in a subsequent age, have counterbalanced all the temporal advantages of Christianity.[99]

Their aversion to the business of war and government.

The Christians were not less averse to the business than to the pleasures of this world. The defence of our persons and property they knew not how to reconcile with the patient doctrine which enjoined an unlimited forgiveness of past injuries, and commanded them to invite the repetition of fresh insults. Their simplicity was offended by the use of oaths, by the pomp of magistracy, and by the active contention of public life; nor could their humane ignorance be convinced that it was lawful on any occasion to shed the blood of our fellow-creatures, either by the sword of justice or by that of war, even though their criminal or hostile attempts should threaten the peace and safety of the whole community.[100] It was acknowledged that, under a less perfect law, the powers of the Jewish constitution had been exercised, with the approbation of heaven, by inspired prophets and by anointed kings. The Christians felt and confessed that such institutions might be necessary for the present system of the world, and they cheerfully submitted to the authority of their Pagan governors. But while they inculcated the maxims of passive obedience, they refused to

97 Cyprian. *Epist.* 4, and Dodwell, *Dissertat. Cyprianic.* iii. Something like this rash attempt was long afterwards imputed to the founder of the order of Fontevrault. Bayle has amused himself and his readers on that very delicate subject.

98 Dupin (*Bibilothèque Ecclesiastique*, tom. i. p. 195) gives a particular account of the dialogue of the ten virgins, as it was composed by Methodius, Bishop of Tyre. The praises of virginity are excessive.

99 The Ascetics (as early as the second century) made a public profession of mortifying their bodies, and of abstaining from the use of flesh and wine. Mosheim, p. 310.

100 See the *Morale des Pères*. The same patient principles have been revived since the Reformation by the Socinians, the modern Anabaptists, and the Quakers. Barclay, the apologist of the Quakers, has protected his brethren by the authority of the primitive Christians; pp. 542—549.

take any active part in the civil administration or the military defence of the empire. Some indulgence might, perhaps, be allowed to those persons who, before their conversion, were already engaged in such violent and sanguinary occupations;[101] but it was impossible that the Christians, without renouncing a more sacred duty, could assume the character of soldiers, of magistrates, or of princes.[102] This indolent or even criminal disregard to the public welfare, exposed them to the contempt and reproaches of the

[101] Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 21. *De Idololatria*, c. 17, 18. — Origen contra Celsum, l. v. p. 253, l. vii. p. 348, l. viii. pp. 423—428.

[102] Tertullian (*de Corona Militis*, c. 11) suggests to them the expedient of deserting; a counsel, which, if it had been generally known, was not very proper to conciliate the favor of the emperors towards the Christian sect.*

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* There is nothing which ought to astonish us in the refusal of the primitive Christians to take part in public affairs; it was the natural consequence of the contrariety of their principles to the customs, laws, and active life of the Pagan world. As Christians, they could not enter into the senate, which, according to Gibbon himself, always assembled in a temple or consecrated place, and where each senator, before he took his seat, made a libation of a few drops of wine, and burnt incense on the altar; as Christians, they could not assist at festivals and banquets, which always terminated with libations, &c.; finally, as "the innumerable deities and rites of polytheism were closely interwoven with every circumstance of public and private life," the Christians could not participate in them without incurring, according to their principles, the guilt of impiety. It was then much less by an effect of their doctrine, than by the consequence of their situation, that they stood aloof from public business. Whenever this situation offered no impediment, they showed as much activity as the Pagans. Proinde, says Justin Martyr (*Apol.* c. 17), nos solum Deum adoramus, et vobis in rebus aliis læti inservimus. — GUIZOT.

This quotation Dean Milman reminds M. Guizot is irrelevant, for it merely relates to the payment of taxes. — ENGLISH CHUCRHMAN.

Tertullian does not suggest to the soldiers the *expedient of deserting;* he says, that they ought to be constantly on their guard to do nothing during their service contrary to the law of God, and to resolve to suffer martyrdom rather than submit to a base compliance, or openly to renounce the service. (*De Cor. Mil.* ii. p. 127). He does not positively decide that the military service is not permitted to Christians: he ends, indeed, by saying, Puta denique licere militiam usque ad causam coronæ. — GUIZOT.

M. Guizot is, I think, again unfortunate in his defence of Tertullian. That father says, that many Christian soldiers had deserted, aut desciendum statim sit, ut a multis actum. The latter sentence, Puta, &c., &c., is a concession for the sake of argument: what follows is more to the purpose. — MILMAN.

Many other passages of Tertullian prove that the army was full of Christians, Hesterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella municipia, conciliabula, *castra ipsa.* (*Apol.* c. 37.) Navigamus et nos vobiscum et *militamus.* (c 42.) Origen, in truth, appears to have maintained a more rigid opinion (*Cont. Cels.* l. viii.); but he has often renounced this exaggerated severity, perhaps necessary to produce great results, and he speaks of the profession of arms as an honorable one. (l. iv. c. 218.) — GUIZOT.

On these points Christian opinion, it should seem, was much divided. Tertullian, when he wrote the *De Cor. Mil.*, was evidently inclining to more ascetic opinions, and Origen was of the same class. See Neander, vol. i. part ii. p. 305, edit. 1828. — MILMAN.

This passage was not included, even by Mr. Davis,† in the "misrepresentations "of Tertullian," which he laid to Gibbon's charge, and Dean Milman admits, that M. Guizot is "unfortunate in the defence" which he attempts. The distinction between telling soldiers "*openly to quit the service*," and suggesting "*the expedient of deserting*," is difficult to discern. — ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

† See Gibbon's *Vindication*, and answer to Mr. Davis, at the close of this volume — E.

Pagans, who very frequently asked, what must be the fate of the empire, attacked on every side by the barbarians, if all mankind should adopt the pusillanimous sentiments of the new sect.[103] To this insulting question the Christian apologists returned obscure and ambiguous answers, as they were unwilling to reveal the secret cause of their security; the expectation that, before the conversion of mankind was accomplished, war, government, the Roman empire, and the world itself, would be no more. It may be observed that, in this instance likewise, the situation of the first Christians coincided very happily with their religious scruples, and that their aversion to an active life contributed rather to excuse them from the service, than to exclude them from the honors, of the state and army.

THE FIFTH CAUSE. The Christians active in the government of the church.

V. But the human character, however it may be exalted or depressed by a temporary enthusiasm, will return by degrees to its proper and natural level, and will resume those passions that seem the most adapted to its present condition. The primitive Christians were dead to the business and pleasures of the world; but their love of action, which could never be entirely extinguished, soon revived, and found a new occupation in the government of the church. A separate society, which attacked the established religion of the empire, was obliged to adopt some form of internal policy, and to appoint a sufficient number of ministers, intrusted not only with the spiritual functions, but even with the temporal direction of the Christian commonwealth. The safety of that society, its honor, its aggrandizement, were productive, even in the most pious minds, of a spirit of patriotism, such as the first of the Romans had felt for the republic, and sometimes of a similar indifference in the use of whatever means might probably conduce to so desirable an end. The ambition of raising themselves or their friends to the honors and offices of the church was disguised by the laudable intention of devoting to the public benefit the power and consideration which, for that purpose only, it became their duty to solicit. In the exercise of their functions they were frequently called upon to detect the errors of heresy or the arts of faction, to oppose the designs of perfidious brethren, to stigmatize their characters with deserved infamy, and to expel them from the

[103] As well as we can judge from the mutilated representation of Origen (l. viii. p. 423), his adversary, Celsus, had urged this objection with great force and candor.

bosom of a society whose peace and happiness they had attempted to disturb.* The ecclesiastical governors of the Christians were taught to unite the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove; but as the former was refined, so the latter was insensibly corrupted, by the habits of government. In the church as well as in the world, the persons who were placed in any public station rendered themselves considerable by their eloquence and firmness, by their knowledge of mankind, and by their dexterity in business; and while they concealed from others, and perhaps from themselves, the secret motives of their conduct, they too frequently relapsed into all the turbulent passions of active life, which were tinctured with an additional degree of bitterness and obstinacy from the infusion of spiritual zeal.

Its primitive freedom and equality.

The government of the church has often been the subject, as well as the prize, of religious contention. The hostile disputants of Rome, of Paris, of Oxford, and of Geneva, have alike

*"The learned," says the Rev. Robert Taylor, in *Diegesis*, p. 366, "have reckoned "upwards of ninety different heresies which arose within the first three centuries; "nor does it appear that even the most early and primitive preachers of Christian- "ity, were able to keep the telling of the Christian story in their own hands, or to "provide any sort of security for having it told in the same way.

"The very earliest Christian writings that have come down to us, are of a con- "troversial character, and written in attempted refutation of heresies. These "heresies must therefore have been of *much earlier date and prior prevalence;* "they could not have been considered of sufficient consequence to have called (as "they seem to have done) for the entire devotion and enthusiastic zeal of the "orthodox party to extirpate, or keep them under, if they had not acquired deep "root, and become of serious notoriety — an inference which leads directly to the "conclusion that they were of anterior origination to any date that has hitherto "been ascribed to the gospel history.

"Tertullian speaks of only two heresies, that existed in the time of the Apostles, "*i. e.* the DOCETÆ, so called from the Greek Δοκιδὶς *opinion, suspicion, appear-* "*ance* merely, as expressive of their opinion that Christ had existed in appear- "ance only, and not in reality: and the EBIONITES, so called from the Hebrew "word *abionim*, in expression of their poverty, ignorance, and vulgarity. (Quoted "in Lardner, vol. iv. p. 512.) 'Docetism,' says Dr. Lardner, 'seems to have de- "'rived its origin from the Platonic philosophy. For the followers of this opinion "'were principally among the higher classes of men, and were chiefly those who "'had been converted from heathenism to Christianity.' (Lardner, vol. iv. p. 628.)

"Not only among the Apostles, but by those who were called Apostles them- "selves, was the *reality* of the crucifixion steadily denied. In the gospel of the "Apostle Barnabas, of which there is extant an Italian translation written in 1470, "which Toland (Toland's *Nazarenus*, Letter I. Chap. 5, p. 17.) himself saw, and "which was sold by Cramer to Prince Eugene, it is explicitly asserted, that 'Jesus "'Christ *was not crucified*, but that he was taken up into the third heavens by the "'ministry of four angels, Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Uriel; that he should "'not die till the very end of the world, and that it was Judas Iscariot, who was "'crucified in his stead.'

"This account of the matter entirely squares with the account which we have "of the bitter and unappeasable quarrel which took place between Paul and "Barnabas, in the Acts of the Apostles, (Acts xv. 39. '*And the contention was so* "'*sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other.*') We never "hear of their being reconciled again. We have no satisfactory account of "the ground of that quarrel; Paul lays a significant emphasis on the distinction "that *he* preached 'Jesus Christ, and *Him crucified*,' as if in marked opposition to "his former patron, Barnabas, who preached Jesus Christ, but *not* crucified."—E.

struggled to reduce the primitive and apostolic model[104] to the respective standards of their own policy. The few who have pursued this inquiry with more candor and impartiality are of opinion[105] that the apostles declined the office of legislation, and rather chose to endure some partial scandals and divisions, than to exclude the Christians of a future age from the liberty of varying their forms of ecclesiastical government according to the changes of times and circumstances. The scheme of policy which, under their approbation, was adopted for the use of the first century, may be discovered from the practice of Jerusalem, of Ephesus, or of Corinth. The societies which were instituted in the cities of the Roman empire were united only by the ties of faith and charity. Independence and equality formed the basis of their internal constitution. The want of discipline and human learning was supplied by the occasional assistance of the *prophets*,[106] who were called to that function without distinction of age, of sex,* or of natural abilities, and who, as often as they felt the divine impulse, poured forth the effusions of the Spirit in the assembly of the faithful. But these extraordinary gifts were frequently abused or misapplied by the prophetic teachers. They displayed them at an improper season, presumptuously disturbed the service of the assembly, and, by their pride or mistaken zeal, they introduced, particularly into the apostolic church at Corinth, a long and melancholy train of disorders. As the institution of prophets became useless, and even pernicious, their powers were withdrawn, and their office abolished. The public functions of religion were solely intrusted to the established ministers of the church, the *bishops* and the *presbyters;* two appellations which, in their first origin, appear to have distinguished the same office and the same order of persons.[107] The name of presbyter was expressive of their age, or rather

104 The aristocratical party in France, as well as in England, has strenuously maintained the divine origin of bishops. But the Calvinistical presbyters were impatient of a superior; and the Roman Pontiff refused to acknowledge an equal. See *Fra Paolo.*

105 In the history of the Christian hierarchy I have, for the most part, followed the learned and candid Mosheim.

106 For the prophets of the primitive church, see Mosheim, *Dissertationes ad Hist. Eccles. pertinentes*, tom. ii. pp. 132—208.

107 See the epistles of St. Paul, and of Clemens, to the Corinthians.†

* St. Paul distinctly reproves the intrusion of females into the prophetic office. 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35. 7 Tim. ii. 11.—MILMAN.

† The first ministers established in the church were the deacons, appointed at Jerusalem, seven in number; they were charged with the distribution of the alms; even females had a share in this employment. After the deacons came the elders or priests (πρεσβύτεροι), charged with the maintenance of order and decorum in

of their gravity and wisdom. The title of bishop denoted their inspection over the faith and manners of the Christians who were committed to their pastoral care. In proportion to the respective numbers of the faithful, a larger or smaller number of these *episcopal presbyters* guided each infant congregation with equal authority and with united counsels.[108]

Institution of bishops as presidents of the college of presbyters.

But the most perfect equality of freedom requires the directing hand of a superior magistrate: and the order of public deliberations soon introduces the office of a president, invested at least with the authority of collecting the sentiments, and of executing the resolutions, of the assembly. A regard for the public tranquility, which would so frequently have been interrupted by annual or by occasional elections, induced the primitive Christians to constitute an honorable and perpetual magistracy, and to chose one of the wisest and most holy among their presbyters to execute, during his life, the duties of their ecclesiastical governor. It was under these circumstances that the lofty title of Bishop began to raise itself above the humble appellation of Presbyter; and while the latter remained the most natural distinction for the members of every Christian senate, the former was appropriated to the dignity of its new president.[109] The advantages of this episcopal form of government, which appears to have been introduced before the end

[108] Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, l. vii.

[109] See *Jerome ad Titum*, c. i. and *Epistol.* 85 (in the Benedictine edition, 101), and the elaborate apology of Blondel, *pro sententiâ Hieronymi*. The ancient state, as it is described by Jerome, of the bishop and presbyters of Alexandria, receives a remarkable confirmation from the patriarch Eutychius, (*Annal.* tom. i. p. 330, *Vers. Pocock*,) whose testimony I know not how to reject, in spite of all the objections of the learned Pearson in his *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, part i. c. 11.

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the community, and to act everywhere in its name. The bishops were afterwards charged to watch over the faith and the instruction of the disciples; the apostles themselves appointed several bishops. Tertullian (*adv. Marcion*, c. v.) Clement of Alexandria, and many fathers of the second and third century, do not permit us to doubt this fact. The equality of rank between these different functionaries did not prevent their functions being, even in their origin, distinct: they became subsequently still more so. See Plank, *Gesch. der Christ. Kirch. Verf.*, vol. i. p. 24.—G.

On this extremely obscure subject, which has been so much perplexed by passion and interest, it is impossible to justify any opinion without entering into long and controversial details. It must be admitted, in opposition to Plank, that in the New Testament, the words πρεσβυτερος and επισκόπος are sometimes indiscriminately used. (Acts xx. v. 17, comp. with 28 Tit. i. 5 and 7. Philip i. 1.) But it is as clear, that as soon as we can discern the form of church government, at the period closely bordering upon, if not within, the apostolic age, it appears with a bishop at the head of each community, holding some superiority over the presbyters. Whether he was, as Gibbon from Mosheim supposes, merely an elective head of the college of Presbyters (for this we have, in fact, no valid authority), or whether his distinct functions were established on apostolic authority, is still contested. The universal submission to this episcopacy, in every part of the Christian world, appears to me strongly to favor the latter view. — MILMAN.

The instructions which Paul gave to Titus for choosing bishops, or, more correctly, "overlookers," were soon disregarded. — ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

of the first century,[110] were so obvious and so important for the future greatness, as well as the present peace, of Christianity, that it was adopted without delay by all the societies which were already scattered over the empire, had acquired in a very early period the sanction of antiquity,[111] and is still revered by the most powerful churches, both of the East and of the West, as a primitive and even as a divine establishment.[112] It is needless to observe that the pious and humble presbyters who were first dignified with the episcopal title could not possess, and would probably have rejected, the power and pomp which now encircles the tiara of the Roman Pontiff, or the mitre of a German prelate. But we may define, in a few words, the narrow limits of their original jurisdiction, which was chiefly of a spiritual, though in some instances of a temporal nature.[113] It consisted in the administration of the sacraments and discipline of the church, the superintendency of religious ceremonies, which imperceptibly increased in number and variety; the consecration of ecclesiastical ministers, to whom the bishop assigned their respective functions; the management of the public fund; and the determination of all such differences as the faithful were unwilling to expose before the tribunal of an idolatrous judge. These powers, during a short period, were exercised according to the advice of the presbyterial college, and with the consent and approbation of the assembly of Christians. The primitive bishops were considered only as the first of their equals, and the honorable servants of a free people. Whenever the episcopal chair became vacant by death, a new president was chosen among the presbyters by the suffrage of the whole congregation, every member of which supposed himself invested with a sacred and sacerdotal character.[114]

110 See the introduction to the *Apocalypse*. Bishops, under the name of angels, were already instituted in the seven cities of Asia. And yet the epistle of Clemens (which is probably of as ancient a date) does not lead us to discover any traces of episcopacy either at Corinth or Rome.

111 Nulla Ecclesia sine Episcopo, has been a fact as well as a maxim since the time of Tertullian and Irenæus.

112 After we have passed the difficulties of the first century, we find the episcopal government universally established, till it was interrupted by the republican genius of the Swiss and German reformers.

113 See Mosheim in the first and second centuries. Ignatius (*ad Smyrnæos*, c. 3, &c.) is fond of exalting the episcopal dignity. Le Clerc (*Hist. Eccles.* p. 569) very bluntly censures his conduct. Mosheim, with a more critical judgment (p. 161) suspects the purity even of the smaller epistles.

114 Nonne et Laici sacerdotes sumus?* Tertullian, *Exhort. ad Castitat.* c. 7. As the human heart is still the same several of the observations which Mr. Hume has made on Enthusiasm (*Essays*, vol. i. p. 76, quarto edit.) may be applied even to real inspiration.

* This expression was employed by the earlier Christian writers in the sense used by St. Peter, 1 Ep. ii. 9. It was the sanctity and virtue, not the power of the priesthood, in which all Christians were to be equally distinguished. — MILMAN.

Provincial councils.

Such was the mild and equal constitution by which the Christians were governed more than a hundred years after the death of the apostles. Every society formed within itself a separate and independent republic; and although the most distant of these little states maintained a mutual as well as friendly intercourse of letters and deputations, the Christian world was not yet connected by any supreme authority or legislative assembly. As the numbers of the faithful were gradually multiplied, they discovered the advantages that might result from a closer union of their interest and designs. Towards the end of the second century, the churches of Greece and Asia adopted the useful institutions of provincial synods,* and they may justly be supposed to have borrowed the model of a representative council from the celebrated examples of their own country, the Amphictyons, the Achæan league, or the assemblies of the Ionian cities. It was soon established as a custom and as a law, that the bishops of the independent churches should meet in the capital of the province at the stated periods of spring and autumn. Their deliberations were assisted by the advice of a few distinguished presbyters, and moderated by the presence of a listening multitude.[115] Their decrees, which were styled canons, regulated every important controversy of faith and discipline; and it was natural to believe that a liberal effusion of the Holy Spirit would be poured on the united assembly of the delegates of the Christian people. The institution of

115 *Acta Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian.* edit. Fell. p. 158. The council was composed of eighty-seven bishops from the provinces of Mauritania, Numidia, and Africa; some presbyters and deacons assisted at the assembly; præsente plebis maxima parte.

* The synods were not the first means taken by the insulated churches to enter into communion and assume a corporate character. The *dioceses* were first formed by the union of several country churches with a church in a city; many churches in one city uniting among themselves, or joining a more considerable church, became metropolitan. The dioceses were not formed before the beginning of the second century; before that time the Christians had not established sufficient churches in the country to stand in need of that union. It is towards the middle of the same century that we discover the first traces of the metropolitan constitution. (Probably the country churches were founded by missionaries from those in the city, and would preserve a natural connection with the parent church.)—M.

The provincial synods did not commence till towards the middle of the third century, and were not the first synods. History gives us distinct notions of the synods, held towards the end of the second century, at Ephesus, at Jerusalem, at Pontus, and at Rome, to put an end to the disputes which had arisen between the Latin and Asiatic churches about the celebration of Easter. But these synods were not subject to any regular form or periodical return; this regularity was first established with the provincial synods, which were formed by a union of the bishops of a district, subject to a metropolitan. Planck, p 90. *Geschichte der Christ. Kirch. Verfassung.* — GUIZOT.

This gradual organization of the church was more probably suggested by Plato's Republic than by the Greek Leagues and assemblies, to which it is attributed by Gibbon. — ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

synods was so well suited to private ambition, and to public interest, that in the space of a few years it was received throughout the whole empire. A regular correspondence was established between the provincial councils, which mutually communicated and approved their respective proceedings; and the Catholic church soon assumed the form, and acquired the strength, of a great federative republic.[116]

Union of the church.

As the legislative authority of the particular churches was insensibly superseded by the use of councils, the bishops obtained by their alliance a much larger share of executive and arbitrary power; and as soon as they were connected by a sense of their common interest, they were enabled to attack, with united vigor, the original rights of their clergy and people. The prelates of the third century imperceptibly changed the language of exhortation into that of command, scattered the seeds of future usurpations, and supplied by Scripture allegories and declamatory rhetoric, their deficiency of force and of reason. They exalted the unity and power of the church, as it was represented in the EPISCOPAL OFFICE, of which every bishop enjoyed an equal and undivided portion.[117] Princes and magistrates, it was often repeated, might boast an earthly claim to a transitory dominion; it was the episcopal authority alone which was derived from the Deity, and extended itself over this and over another world. The bishops were the vicegerents of Christ, the successors of the apostles, and the mystic substitutes of the high priest of the Mosaic law. Their exclusive privilege of conferring the sacerdotal character invaded the freedom both of clerical and of popular elections; and if, in the administration of the church, they still consulted the judgment of the presbyters, or the inclination of the people, they most carefully inculcated the merit of such a voluntary condescension. The bishops acknowledged the supreme authority which resided in the assembly of their brethren; but in the government of his peculiar diocese, each of them exacted from his *flock* the same implicit obedience as if that favorite metaphor had been literally just, and as if the shepherd had been of a more ex-

Progress of episcopal authority.

[116] Aguntur præterea per Græcias illas, certis in locis concilia, &c. *Tertullian de Jejuniis*, c. 13. The African mentions it as a recent and foreign institution. The coalition of the Christian churches is very ably explained by Mosheim, p. 164—170.

[117] Cyprian, in his admired treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, p. 75—86.

alted nature than that of his sheep.[118] This obedience, however, was not imposed without some efforts on one side, and some resistance on the other. The democratical part of the constitution was, in many places, very warmly supported by the zealous or interested opposition of the inferior clergy. But their patriotism received the ignominious epithets of faction and schism; and the episcopal cause was indebted for its rapid progress to the labors of many active prelates, who, like Cyprian of Carthage, could reconcile the arts of the most ambitious statesmen with the Christian virtues which seem adapted to the character of a saint and martyr.[119]

Pre-eminence of the metropolitan churches

The same causes which at first had destroyed the equality of the presbyters introduced among the bishops a pre-eminence of rank, and from thence a superiority of jurisdiction. As often as in the spring and autumn they met in provincial synod, the difference of personal merit and reputation was very sensibly felt among the members of the assembly, and the multitude was governed by the wisdom and eloquence of the few. But the order of public proceedings required a more regular and less invidious distinction; the office of perpetual presidents in the councils of each province was conferred on the bishops of the principal city; and these aspiring prelates, who soon acquired the lofty titles of metropolitans and primates, secretly prepared themselves to usurp over their episcopal brethren the same authority which the bishops had so lately assumed above the college of presbyters.[120] Nor was it long before an emulation of pre-eminence and power prevailed among the metropolitans themselves, each of them affecting to display, in the most pompous terms, the temporal honors and advantages of the city over which he presided; the numbers and opulence of the Christians who were subject to their pastoral care; the saints and martyrs who had arisen among them: and the purity with which they preserved the tradition of the faith, as it had been transmitted through a series of orthodox bishops from the apostle or the apostolic disciple to whom

[118] We may appeal to the whole tenor of Cyprian's conduct, of his doctrine, and of his epistles. Le Clerc, in a short life of Cyprian, *Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. xii. p. 207—378, has laid him open with great freedom and accuracy.

[119] If Novatus, Felicissimus, &c., whom the bishop of Carthage expelled from his church and from Africa, were not the most detestable monsters of wickedness, the zeal of Cyprian must occasionally have prevailed over his veracity. For a very just account of these obscure quarrels, see Mosheim, p. 497—512.

[120] Mosheim, p. 269, 574. Dupin, *Antiquæ Eccles. Disciplin.* p. 19, 20.

the foundation of their church was ascribed.[121] From every cause, either of a civil or of an ecclesiastical nature, it was easy to foresee that Rome must enjoy the respect, and would soon claim the obedience, of the provinces. The society of the faithful bore a just proportion to the capital of the empire; and the Roman church was the greatest, the most numerous, and, in regard to the West, the most ancient of all the Christian establishments, many of which had received their religion from the pious labors of her missionaries. Instead of *one* apostolic founder, the utmost boast of Antioch, of Ephesus, or of Corinth, the banks of the Tiber were supposed to have been honored with the preaching and martyrdom of the *two* most eminent among the apostles;[122] and the bishops of Rome very prudently claimed the inheritance of whatsoever prerogatives were attributed either to the person or to the office of St. Peter.[123] The bishops of Italy and of the provinces were disposed to allow them a primacy of order and association (such was their very accurate expression) in the Christian aristocracy.[124] But the power of a monarch was rejected with abhorrence; and the aspiring genius of Rome experienced, from the nations of Asia and Africa, a more vigorous resistance to her spiritual, than she had formerly done to her temporal, dominion. The patriotic Cyprian, who ruled with the most absolute sway the church of Carthage and the provincial synods, opposed with resolution and success the ambition of the Roman pontiff,

Ambition of the Roman pontiff.

121 Tertullian in a distinct treatise, has pleaded against the heretics, the right of prescription, as it was held by the apostolic churches.

122 The journey of St. Peter to Rome is mentioned by most of the ancients (see Eusebius, ii. 25), maintained by all the Catholics, allowed by some Protestants (see Pearson and Dodwell *de Success. Episcop. Roman.*), but has been vigorously attacked by Spanheim (*Miscellanea Sacra*, iii. 3). According to father Hardouin, the monks of the thirteenth century, who composed the Æneid, represented St. Peter under the allegorical character of the Trojan hero.*

123 It is in French only that the famous allusion to St. Peter's name is exact. Tu es *Pierre*, et sur cette *pierre*. — The same is imperfect in Greek, Latin, Italian, &c., and totally unintelligible in our Teutonic languages.†

124 *Irenæus adv. Hæreses*, iii. 3. Tertullian *de Præscription.* c. 36, and Cyprian, *Epistol.* 27, 55, 71, 75. Le Clerc (*Hist. Eccles.* p. 764) and Mosheim (p. 258, 278) labor in the interpretation of these passages. But the loose and rhetorical style of the fathers often appears favorable to the pretensions of Rome.

* It is quite clear that, strictly speaking, the church of Rome was not *founded* by either of these apostles. St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans proves undeniably the flourishing state of the church before his visit to the city; and many Roman Catholic writers have given up the impracticable task of reconciling with chronology any visit of St. Peter to Rome before the end of the reign of Claudius, or the beginning of that of Nero. — MILMAN.

† It is exact in Syro-Chaldaic, the language in which it was spoken by Jesus Christ. (St. Matt. xvi. 17.) Peter was called Cephas; and the word cepha signifies base, foundation, rock. — GUIZOT.

artfully connected his own cause with that of the eastern bishops, and, like Hannibal, sought out new allies in the heart of Asia.[125] If this Punic war was carried on without any effusion of blood, it was owing much less to the moderation than to the weakness of the contending prelates. Invectives and excommunications were *their* only weapons; and these, during the progress of the whole controversy, they hurled against each other with equal fury and devotion.* The hard necessity of censuring either a pope, or a saint and martyr, distresses the modern Catholics, whenever they are obliged to relate the particulars of a dispute in which the champions of religion indulged such passions as seem much more adapted to the senate or to the camp.[126]

Laity and clergy.

The progress of the ecclesiastical authority gave birth to the memorable distinction of the laity and of the clergy, which had been unknown to the Greeks and Romans.[127] The former of these appellations comprehended the body of the Christian people; the latter, according to the signification of the word, was appropriated to the chosen portion that had been set apart for the service of religion; a celebrated order of men, which has furnished the most important, though not always the most edifying, subjects for modern history. Their mutual hostilities sometimes disturbed the peace of the infant church, but their zeal and activity were united in the common cause, and the love of power, which (under the most artful disguises) could insinuate itself into the breasts of bishops and martyrs, animated them to increase the number of their subjects, and to enlarge the limits of the Christian empire. They were destitute of any temporal force, and they were for a

125 See the sharp epistle from Firmilianus, bishop of Cæsarea, to Stephen, bishop of Rome, *ap. Cyprian. Epistol.* 75.

126 Concerning this dispute of the rebaptism of heretics, see the epistles of Cyprian, and the seventh book of Eusebius.

127 For the origin of these words, see Mosheim, p. 141. Spanheim, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* p. 633. The distinction of *Clerus* and *Laicus* was established before the time of Tertullian.

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* Nothing can exceed in intensity the hatred and ferocity engendered between Christians by a difference in creeds and dogmas. Religious wars have ever proved the most bloody and cruel in the history of mankind. When blind fanaticism is aroused, reason is dethroned, love is quenched, mercy is forgotten, and the mistaken enthusiast sincerely believes he is doing a service to a wise and merciful God by cruelly injuring and murdering his fellow men. Says Moore, in *Lalla Rookh:*

" * * * Oh! the lover may
" Distrust that look which steals his soul away;—
" The babe may cease to think that it can play
" With heaven's rainbow;—alchymists may doubt
" The shining gold their crucibles give out;
" But Faith, fanatic Faith, once wedded fast
" To some dear falsehood, hugs it to the last."—E.

long time discouraged and oppressed, rather than assisted, by the civil magistrate; but they had acquired, and they employed within their own society, the two most efficacious instruments of government, rewards and punishments; the former derived from the pious liberality, the latter from the devout apprehensions, of the faithful.

Oblations and revenue of the church.

I. The community of goods, which had so agreeably amused the imagination of Plato,[128] and which subsisted in some degree among the austere sect of the Essenians,[129] was adopted for a short time in the primitive church. The fervor of the first proselytes prompted them to sell those worldly possessions which they despised, to lay the price of them at the feet of the apostles, and to content themselves with receiving an equal share out of the general distribution.[130] The progress of the Christian religion relaxed, and gradually abolished, this generous institution, which, in hands less pure than those of the apostles, would too soon have been corrupted and abused by the returning selfishness of human nature; and the converts who embraced the new religion were permitted to retain the possession of their patrimony, to receive legacies and inheritances, and to increase their separate property by all the lawful means of trade and industry. Instead of an absolute sacrifice, a moderate proportion was accepted by the ministers of the gospel; and in their weekly or monthly assemblies, every believer, according to

[128] The community instituted by Plato is more perfect than that which Sir Thomas More has imagined for his Utopia. The community of women, and that of temporal goods, may be considered as inseparable parts of the same system.

[129] *Joseph. Antiquitat.* xviii. 2. Philo, *de Vit. Contemplativ.*

[130] See the *Acts of the Apostles*, c. 2, 4, 5. with *Grotius's Commentary*. Mosheim, in a particular dissertation, attacks the common opinion with very inconclusive arguments.*

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* This is not the general judgment on Mosheim's learned dissertation. There is no trace in the latter part of the New Testament of this community of goods, and many distinct proofs of the contrary. All exhortations to almsgiving would have been unmeaning if property had been in common. — MILMAN.

Dean Milman has here told the exact truth. The doctrines and teachings of Jesus were soon perverted. The Community he established was soon suppressed. The great and powerful church founded in his name was diametrically opposed to the principles he inculcated. "And all that believed were together, and *had* "*all things common;* And sold their possessions and goods, and *parted them to* "*all men, as every man had need.*" (Acts ii. 44-45.) "And the multitude of "them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any *of them* "that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; *but they had all things* "*common. Neither was there any among them that lacked:* for as many as were "possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things "that were sold, And laid *them* down at the apostles' feet: and distribution was "made unto every man according as he had need." (Acts iv. 32, 34, 35.) This is the doctrine taught by the Communist Mazdak, in Persia; by Pythagoras in Greece; by the Essenes in Alexandria; and by Jesus in Palestine: but it was not, and it is not the doctrine of the Church of Rome. — E.

the exigency of the occasion, and the measure of his wealth and piety, presented his voluntary offering for the use of the common fund.[131] Nothing, however inconsiderable, was refused; but it was diligently inculcated that, in the article of Tithes, the Mosaic law was still of divine obligation; and that, since the Jews, under a less perfect discipline, had been commanded to pay a tenth part of all that they possessed, it would become the disciples of Christ to distinguish themselves by a superior degree of liberality,[132] and to acquire some merit by resigning a superfluous treasure, which must so soon be annihilated with the world itself.[133] It is almost unnecessary to observe the revenue of each particular church, which was of so uncertain and fluctuating a nature, must have varied with the poverty or the opulence of the faithful, as they were dispersed in obscure villages, or collected in the great cities of the empire. In the time of the emperor Decius it was the opinion of the magistrates, that the Christians of Rome were possessed of very considerable wealth; that vessels of gold and silver were used in their religious worship; and that many among their proselytes had sold their lands and houses to increase the public riches of the sect; at the expense, indeed, of their unfortunate children, who found themselves beggars because their parents had been saints.[134] We should listen with distrust to the suspicions

131 Justin Martyr, *Apolog. Major*, c. 89. Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 39.

132 *Irenæus ad Hæres*, l. iv. c. 27, 34. Origen in *Num. Hom.* ii.' Cyprian *de Unitat. Eccles. Constitut. Apostol.* l. ii. c. 34, 35, with the notes of Cotelerius. The Constitutions introduce this divine precept, by declaring that priests are as much above kings as the soul is above the body. Among the tithable articles, they enumerate corn, wine, oil, and wool. On this interesting subject, consult Prideaux's *History of Tithes*, and *Fra Paolo delle Materie Beneficiarie;* two writers of a very different character.

133 The same opinion, which prevailed about the year one thousand, was productive of the same effects. Most of the Donations express their motive, "ap- "propinquante mundi fine." See Mosheim's *General History of the Church*, vol. i. p. 457.

134 Tum summa cura est fratribus
(Ut sermo testatur loquax),
Offerre fundis venditis
Sestertiorum millia
Addicta avorum prædia
Fœdis sub auctionibus,
Successor exheres gemit
Sanctis egens Parentibus.
Hæc occuluntur abditis
Ecclesiarum in angulis;
Et summa pietas creditur
Nudare dulces liberos.
Prudent. περὶ στεφάνων. Hymn 2.

The subsequent conduct of the deacon Laurence only proves how proper a use was made of the wealth of the Roman church; it was undoubtedly very considerable; but *Fra Paolo* (c. 3) appears to exaggerate, when he supposes that the successors of Commodus were urged to persecute the Christians by their own avarice, or that of their Prætorian præfects.

of strangers and enemies: on this occasion, however, they receive a very specious and probable color from the two following circumstances, the only ones that have reached our knowledge, which define any precise sums, or convey any distinct idea. Almost at the same period, the bishop of Carthage, from a society less opulent than that of Rome, collected a hundred thousand sesterces (above eight hundred and fifty pounds sterling), on a sudden call of charity to redeem the brethren of Numidia, who had been carried away captives by the barbarians of the desert.[135] About a hundred years before the reign of Decius, the Roman church had received, in a single donation, the sum of two hundred thousand sesterces from a stranger of Pontus, who proposed to fix his residence in the capital.[136] These oblations, for the most part, were made in money; nor was the society of Christians either desirous or capable of acquiring, to any considerable degree, the encumbrance of landed property. It had been provided by several laws, which were enacted with the same design as our statutes of mortmain, that no real estates should be given or bequeathed to any corporate body, without either a special privilege or a particular dispensation from the emperor or from the senate;[137] who were seldom disposed to grant them in favor of a sect, at first the object of their contempt, and at last of their fears and jealousy. A transaction, however, is related under the reign of Alexander Severus, which discovers that the restraint was sometimes eluded or suspended, and that the Christians were permitted to claim and to possess lands within the limits of Rome itself.[138] The progress of Christianity, and the civil confusion of the empire, contributed to relax the severity of the laws; and, before the close of the third century, many considerable estates were bestowed on the opulent churches of Rome, Milan, Carthage, Antioch, Alexandria, and the other great cities of Italy and the provinces.

Distribution of the revenue.

The bishop was the natural steward of the church; the public stock was intrusted to his care without account or control; the presbyters were confined to their spiritual functions; and

[135] Cyprian, *Epistol.* 62, [136] Tertullian *de Præscriptione*, c. 30.

[137] Diocletian gave a rescript, which is only a declaration of the old law; "Collegium, si nullo speciali privilegio subnixum sit, hæreditatem capere non posse, "dubium non est." *Fra Paolo* (c. 4) thinks that these regulations had been much neglected since the reign of Valerian.

[138] *Hist. August.* p. 131. The ground had been public; and was now disputed between the society of Christians and that of butchers.*

* Popinarii, rather victuallers. — MILMAN.

the more dependent order of deacons was solely employed in the management and distribution of the ecclesiastical revenue.[139] If we may give credit to the vehement declamations of Cyprian, there were too many among his African brethren, who, in the execution of their charge, violated every precept, not only of evangelic perfection, but even of moral virtue. By some of these unfaithful stewards the riches of the church were lavished in sensual pleasures; by others they were perverted to the purposes of private gain, of fraudulent purchases, and of rapacious usury.[140] But as long as the contributions of the Christian people were free and unconstrained, the abuse of their confidence could not be very frequent; and the general uses to which their liberality was applied, reflected honor on the religious society. A decent portion was reserved for the maintenance of the bishop and his clergy; a sufficient sum was allotted for the expense of the public worship, of which the feasts of love, the *agapæ*, as they were called, constituted a very pleasing part. The whole remainder was the sacred patrimony of the poor. According to the discretion of the bishop, it was distributed to support widows and orphans, the lame, the sick, and the aged, of the community; to comfort strangers and pilgrims, and to alleviate the misfortunes of prisoners and captives, more especially when their sufferings had been occasioned by their firm attachment to the cause of religion.[141] A generous intercourse of charity united the most distant provinces, and the smaller congregations were cheerfully assisted by the alms of their more opulent brethren.[142] Such an institution, which paid less regard to the merit than to the distress of the object, very materially conduced to the progress of Christianity. The Pagans, who were actuated by a sense of humanity, while they derided the doctrines, acknowledged the benevolence of the new sect.[143] The prospect of immediate relief and of future protection allured into its hospitable bosom many of those

139 *Constitut. Apostol.* ii. 35.

140 Cyprian *de Lapsis*, p. 89. *Epistol.* 65. The charge is confirmed by the nineteenth and twentieth canon of the council of Illiberis.

141 See the apologies of Justin, Tertullian, &c.

142 The wealth and liberality of the Romans to their most distant brethren is gratefully celebrated by Dionysius of Corinth, *ap. Euseb.* l. iv. c. 23.*

143 See Lucian in *Peregrin.* Julian (*Epist.* 49) seems mortified that the Christian charity maintains not only their own, but likewise the heathen poor.

* There can be no doubt, that the progress of Christianity was much assisted by these ample funds. But they parented also many of the mischiefs, by which it was corrupted. See how sharply, in the fifth century, Salvianus of Marseilles reproved them in his treatise de Avaritia, præsertim Clericorum et Sacerdotum. — ENG. CH.

unhappy persons whom the neglect of the world would have abandoned to the miseries of want, of sickness, and of old age. There is some reason likewise to believe, that great numbers of infants, who, according to the inhuman practice of the times, had been exposed by their parents, were frequently rescued from death, baptized, educated, and maintained, by the piety of the Christians, and at the expense of the public treasure.[144]

Excommunication.

II. It is the undoubted right of every society to exclude from its communion and benefits such among its members as reject or violate those regulations which have been established by general consent. In the exercise of this power the censures of the Christian church were chiefly directed against scandalous sinners, and particularly those who were guilty of murder, of fraud, or of incontinence; against the authors, or the followers of any heretical opinions which had been condemned by the judgment of the episcopal order; and against those unhappy persons, who, whether from choice or from compulsion, had polluted themselves, after their baptism, by an act of idolatrous worship. The consequences of excommunication were of a temporarl, as well as a spiritual, nature. The Christian against whom it was pronounced was deprived of any part in the oblations of the faithful; the ties both of religious and of private friendship were dissolved; he found himself a profane object of abhorrence to the persons whom he most esteemed, or by whom he had been the most tenderly beloved; and as far as an expulsion from a respectable society could imprint on his character a mark of disgrace, he was shunned or suspected by the generality of mankind. The situation of these unfortunate exiles was in itself very painful and melancholy; but, as it usually happens, their apprehensions far exceeded their sufferings. The benefits of the Christian communion were those of eternal life, nor could they erase from their minds the awful opinion, that to those ecclesiastical governors by whom they were condemned, the Deity had committed the keys of hell and of paradise. The heretics, indeed, who might be supported by the consciousness of their intentions, and by the flattering hope that they alone had discovered the true path of salvation, endeavored to regain, in their separate assemblies,

[144] Such, at least, has been the laudable conduct of more modern missionaries, under the same circumstances. Above three thousand new-born infants are annually exposed in the streets of Pekin. See Le Comte, *Mémoires sur la Chine*, and the *Récherches sur les Chinois et les Egyptiens*, tom. i. p. 61.

those comforts, temporal as well as spiritual, which they no longer derived from the great society of Christians. But almost all those who had reluctantly yielded to the power of vice or idolatry were sensible of their fallen condition, and anxiously desirous of being restored to the benefits of the Christian communion.

With regard to the treatment of these penitents, two opposite opinions, the one of justice, the other of mercy, divided the primitive church. The more rigid and inflexible casuists refused them forever, and without exception, the meanest place in the holy community which they had disgraced or deserted; and leaving them to the remorse of a guilty conscience, indulged them only with a faint ray of hope that the contrition of their life and death might possibly be accepted by the Supreme Being.[145] A milder sentiment was embraced, in practice as well as in theory, by the purest and most respectable of the Christian churches.[146] The gates of reconciliation and of heaven were seldom shut against the returning penitent; but a severe and solemn form of discipline was instituted, which, while it served to expiate his crime, might powerfully deter the spectators from the imitation of his example. Humbled by a public confession, emaciated by fasting, and clothed in sackcloth, the penitent lay prostrate at the door of the assembly, imploring with tears the pardon of his offences, and soliciting the prayers of the faithful.[147] If the fault was of a very heinous nature, whole years of penance were esteemed an inadequate satisfaction to the divine justice; and it was always by slow and painful gradations that the sinner, the heretic, or the apostate, was readmitted into the bosom of the church. A sentence of perpetual excommunication was, however, reserved for some crimes of an extraordinary magnitude, and particularly for the inexcusable relapses of those penitents who had already experienced and abused the clemency of their ecclesiastical superiors. According to the circumstances or the number of the guilty, the exercise of the Christian discipline was varied by the discretion of the bishops. The councils of Ancyra and Illiberis were held about the same time, the one in Galatia,

Public penance.

145 The Montanists and the Novatians, who adhered to this opinion with the greatest rigor and obstinacy, found *themselves* at last in the number of excommunicated heretics. See the learned and copious Mosheim, *Secul.* ii. and iii.

146 Dionysius *ap. Euseb.* iv. 23. Cyprian, *de Lapsis.*

147 Cave's *Primitive Christianity*, part iii. c. 5. The admirers of antiquity regret the loss of this public penance.

the other in Spain; but their respective canons, which are still extant, seem to breathe a very different spirit. The Galatian, who after his baptism had repeatedly sacrificed to idols, might obtain his pardon by a penance of seven years; and if he had seduced others to imitate his example, only three years more were added to the term of his exile. But the unhappy Spaniard who had committed the same offence was deprived of the hope of reconciliation, even in the article of death; and his idolatry was placed at the head of a list of seventeen other crimes, against which a sentence no less terrible was pronounced. Among these we may distinguish the inexpiable guilt of calumniating a bishop, a presbyter, or even a deacon.[148]

The dignity of episcopal government.

The well-tempered mixture of liberality and rigor, the judicious dispensation of rewards and punishments, according to the maxims of policy as well as justice, constituted the *human* strength of the church. The bishops, whose paternal care extended itself to the government of both worlds, were sensible of the importance of these prerogatives; and, covering their ambition with the fair pretence of the love of order, they were jealous of any rival in the exercise of a discipline so necessary to prevent the desertion of those troops which had enlisted themselves under the banner of the cross, and whose numbers every day became more considerable. From the imperious declamations of Cyprian we should naturally conclude that the doctrines of excommunication and penance formed the most essential part of religion;*

[148] See in Dupin, *Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique*, tom. ii. pp. 304—313, a short but rational exposition of the canons of those councils, which were assembled in the first moments of tranquillity after the persecution of Diocletian. This persecution had been much less severely felt in Spain than in Galatia; a difference which may, in some measure, account for the contrast of their regulations.

*"St. Cyprian, (Thascius Cœcilius Cyprianus,) Bishop of Carthage," says the Rev. Robert Taylor, in *The Diegesis*, p. 343, "was an African, who was converted "from Paganism to Christianity, in the year 246, and suffered martyrdom in the year "258. So that the greatest part of his life was spent in heathenism. Cyprian had "a good estate, which he sold and gave to the poor immediately upon his con- "version. His advancement to the highest offices of the church was strikingly "rapid; he was made presbyter the year after his conversion, and bishop of Car- "thage, the year after that. And let it not seem invidious to state, what may be "a *characteristic truth*, in the words of Dr. Lardner himself, 'The estate which "'Cyprian had sold for the benefit of the poor, was *by some favorable providence* "'restored to him again.' He was bishop of a most flourishing church, the "metropolis of a province, and neither in fame nor fortune a loser by his conver- "sion. Cyprian had rendered himself obnoxious to the government under which "he had long enjoyed his episcopal dignity in peace and safety. ['The constitu- "tion of every particular church in those times was a well-tempered monarchy. "'The bishop was the monarch, and the presbytery was his senate.' * * 'Cyprian "'carried his spiritual authority to such a pitch, as to claim the right of putting "'his rebellious and unruly deacon to death.'—*Principles of the Cyprianic age*, by

and that it was much less dangerous for the disciples of Christ to neglect the observance of the moral duties, than to despise the censures and authority of their bishops. Sometimes we might imagine that we were listening to the voice of Moses, when he commanded the earth to open, and to swallow up, in consuming flames, the rebellious race which refused obedience to the priesthood of Aaron; and we should sometimes suppose that we heard a Roman consul asserting the majesty of the republic, and declaring his inflexible resolution to enforce the rigor of the laws.* "If such irregularities are suffered with impunity" (it is thus that the bishop of Carthage chides the lenity of his colleague), "If such irregularities are suffered, there is an end of EPISCOPAL VIGOR;[149] an end of the sublime and divine power of governing the Church, an end of Christianity itself." Cyprian had renounced those temporal honors which it is probable he would never have obtained; but the acquisition of such absolute command over the consciences and understanding of a congregation, however obscure or

[149] Cyprian. *Epist.* 69.

"John Sage, a Scottish bishop, 1695, pp. 32, 33.] And it is impossible not to see "from the intolerant turbulence of his character, his restless ambition, and his "inordinate claims of more than human authority; that more than human patience "would have been required on the part of any government on earth, to have "brooked the eternal clashings of the civil administration with his assumed "superior authority over the minds of the subjects of the empire. He had been "twice banished, and subsequently recalled, and reinstated in his possessions "and dignities, but again and again persisting in holding councils and assemblies, "and enacting decrees, in defiance and actual *solicitation* of martyrdom, he was "judicially sentenced to be beheaded, upon which, he exclaimed, *God be thanked*, "and suffered accordingly, on the 14th of September, in the year 258. 'It is need-"'less,' says St. Jerom, 'to give a catalogue of his works, they are *brighter than* "'*the sun*.' St. Austin calls him a blessed martyr, and there can be no doubt that "he has as good a claim, as any other tyrant who ever expiated his tyranny in "the same way, to that title." — E.

* Gibbon has been accused of injustice to the character of Cyprian, as exalting the "censures and authority of the church above the observance of the moral "duties." Felicissimus had been condemned by a synod of bishops (non tantum mea, sed plurimorum coepiscorum, sententia condemnatum), on the charge not only of schism, but of embezzlement of public money, the debauching of virgins, and frequent acts of adultery. His violent menaces had extorted his readmission into the church, against which Cyprian protests with much vehemence: ne pecuniæ commissæ sibi fraudator, ne stuprator virginum, ne matrimoniorum multorum depopulator et corruptor, ultra adhuc sponsam Christi incorruptam præsentiæ suæ dedecore, et impudica atque incesta contagione, violaret. See *Chelsum's remarks*, p. 134. If these charges against Felicissimus were true, they were something more than "irregularities." A Roman censor would have been a fairer subject of comparison than a consul. On the other hand it must be admitted that the charge of adultery deepens very rapidly, as the controversy becomes more violent. It is first represented as a single act, recently detected, and which men of character were prepared to substantiate: adulterii etiam crimen accedit, quod patres nostri graves viri *deprehendisse* se nuntiaverunt, et probaturos se asseverarunt. Epist. xxxviii. The heretic has now darkened into a man of notorious and general profligacy. Nor can it be denied that of the whole long epistle, very far the larger and the more passionate part dwells on the breach of ecclesiastical unity, rather than on the violation of Christian holiness. — MILMAN.

despised by the world, is more truly grateful to the pride of the human heart than the possession of the most despotic power, imposed by arms and conquest on a reluctant people.*

Recapitulation of the five causes.

In the course of this important, though perhaps tedious, inquiry, I have attempted to display the secondary causes which so efficaciously assisted the truth of the Christian religion. If among these causes we have discovered any artificial ornaments, any accidental circumstances, or any mixture of error and passion, it cannot appear surprising that mankind should be the most sensibly affected by such motives as were suited to their imperfect nature. It was by the aid of these causes, exclusive zeal, the immediate expectation of another world, the claim of miracles, the practice of rigid virtue, and the constitution of the primitive church, that Christianity spread itself with so much success in the Roman empire. To the first of these the Christians were indebted for their invincible valor, which disdained to capitulate with the enemy whom they were resolved to vanquish. The three succeeding causes supplied their valor with the most formidable arms. The last of these causes united their courage, directed their arms, and gave their efforts that irresistible weight which even a small band of well-trained and intrepid volunteers has so often possessed over an undisciplined multitude, ignorant of the object, and careless of the event of the war. In the various religions of Polytheism, some wandering fanatics of Egypt and Syria who addressed themselves to the credulous superstition of the populace, were perhaps the only order of priests[150] that derived their whole support and credit from their sacerdotal profession, and were very

Weakness of polytheism.

150 The arts, the manners, and the vices of the priests of the Syrian goddess are very humorously described by Apuleius, in the eight book of his *Metamorphoses*.

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* This supposition appears unfounded: the birth and the talents of Cyprian might make us presume the contrary. Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus, Carthaginensis, artis oratoriæ professione clarus, magnam sibi gloriam, opes, honores acquisivit, epularibus cænis et largis dapibus assuetus, pretiosa veste conspicuus, auro atque purpura fulgens, fascibus oblectatus et honoribus, stipatus clientium cuneis, frequentiore comitatu officii agminis honestatus, ut ipse de se loquitur in Epistola ad Donatum. See Dr. Cave, *Hist. Liter.* b. i. p. 87. — GUIZOT.

Cave has rather embellished Cyprian's language. — MILMAN.

Cyprian's language respecting himself was, as Dean Milman admits, "rather "embellished," by Dr. Cave. Gibbon has been accused of misrepresenting the character of Cyprian. It will come more fully forward in the next chapter. In the mean time it is sufficient to remark, that this prelate had formed himself by the writings of Tertullian, whose vehemence all moderate Christians lament and disavow. — ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

deeply affected by a personal concern for the safety or prosperity of their tutelar deities. The ministers of Polytheism, both in Rome and in the provinces, were, for the most part, men of a noble birth, and of an affluent fortune, who received, as an honorable distinction, the care of a celebrated temple, or of a public sacrifice; exhibited, very frequently at their own expense, the sacred games;[151] and with cold indifference performed their ancient rites, according to the laws and fashion of their country. As they were engaged in the ordinary occupations of life, their zeal and devotion were seldom animated by a sense of interest, or by the habits of an ecclesiastical character. Confined to their respective temples and cities, they remained without any connection of discipline or government; and whilst they acknowledged the supreme jurisdiction of the senate, of the college of pontiffs, and of the emperor, those civil magistrates contented themselves with the easy task of maintaining in peace and dignity the general worship of mankind. We have already seen how various, how loose, and how uncertain were the religious sentiments of Polytheists. They were abandoned, almost without control, to the natural workings of a superstitious fancy. The accidental circumstances of their life and situation determined the object as well as the degree of their devotion; and as long as their adoration was successively prostituted to a thousand deities, it was scarcely possible that their hearts could be susceptible of a very sincere or lively passion for any of them.

The skepticism of the Pagan world proved favorable to the new religion.

When Christianity appeared in the world, even these faint and imperfect impressions had lost much of their original power. Human reason, which by its unassisted strength is incapable of perceiving the mysteries of faith, had already obtained an easy triumph over the folly of Paganism; and when Tertullian or Lactantius employ their labors in exposing its falsehood and extravagance, they are obliged to transcribe the eloquence of Cicero or the wit of Lucian. The contagion of these sceptical writings had been diffused far beyond the number of their readers. The fashion of incredulity was communicated from the philos-

[151] The office of Asiarch was of this nature, and it is frequently mentioned in Aristides, the Inscriptions, &c. It was annual and elective. None but the vainest citizens could desire the honor: none but the most wealthy could support the expense. See, in the *Patres Apostol.* tom. ii. p. 200, with how much indifference Philip the Asiarch conducted himself in the martyrdom of Polycarp. There were likewise Bithyniarchs, Lyciarchs, &c.

opher to the man of pleasure or business, from the noble to the plebeian, and from the master to the menial slave who waited at his table, and who eagerly listened to the freedom of his conversation. On public occasions the philosophic part of mankind affected to treat with respect and decency the religious institutions of their country; but their secret contempt penetrated through the thin and awkward disguise; and even the people, when they discovered that their deities were rejected and derided by those whose rank or understanding they were accustomed to reverence, were filled with doubts and apprehensions concerning the truth of those doctrines to which they had yielded the most implicit belief. The decline of ancient prejudice exposed a very numerous portion of human kind to the danger of a painful and comfortless situation. A state of scepticism and suspense may amuse a few inquisitive minds. But the practice of superstition is so congenial to the multitude that if they are forcibly awakened, they still regret the loss of their pleasing vision. Their love of the marvellous and supernatural, their curiosity with regard to future events, and their strong propensity to extend their hopes and fears beyond the limits of the visible world, were the principal causes which favored the establishment of Polytheism. So urgent on the vulgar is the necessity of believing, that the fall of any system of mythology will most probably be succeeded by the introduction of some other mode of superstition. Some deities of a more recent and fashionable cast might soon have occupied the deserted temples of Jupiter and Apollo, if, in the decisive moment, the wisdom of Providence had not interposed a genuine revelation, fitted to inspire the most rational esteem and conviction, whilst, at the same time, it was adorned with all that could attract the curiosity, the wonder, and the veneration of the people. In their actual disposition, as many were almost disengaged from their artificial prejudices, but equally susceptible and desirous of a devout attachment, an object much less deserving would have been sufficient to fill the vacant place in their hearts, and to gratify the uncertain eagerness of their passions. Those who are inclined to pursue this reflection, instead of viewing with astonishment the rapid progress of Christianity, will perhaps be surprised that its success was not still more rapid and still more universal.*

* Gibbon has here glanced at what he ought to have made the first and chief natural cause of the success of Christianity.—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

As well as the peace and union of the Roman empire.

It has been observed, with truth as well as propriety, that the conquests of Rome prepared and facilitated those of Christianity. In the second chapter of this work, we have attempted to explain in what manner the most civilized provinces of Europe, Asia, and Africa, were united under the dominion of one sovereign, and gradually connected by the most intimate ties of laws, of manners, and of language. The Jews of Palestine, who had fondly expected a temporal deliverer, gave so cold a reception to the miracles of the divine Prophet,* that it was found unnecessary to publish, or at least to preserve, any Hebrew gospel.[152] The authentic

[152] The modern critics are not disposed to believe what the fathers almost unanimously assert, that St. Matthew composed a Hebrew gospel, of which only the Greek translation is extant. It seems, however, dangerous to reject their testimony.†

* The reception was not so cold as Gibbon seems to think. In the space of two days, eight thousand Jewish converts were baptized. (Acts ii. 27—40; iv. 4.) They formed the first Christian church. — GUIZOT.

This was before the reception of the new religion among the Greeks. Subsequently to that change, Christianity, as is well known, made little progress in Judæa, but, on the contrary, was everywhere resisted by the Jews, while the Gentiles welcomed it gladly. The Apostles soon quitted their own country, and foreign lands were the theatres of their exertions and the scenes of their triumph.—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

† Strong reasons appear to confirm this testimony. Papias, contemporary of the apostle St. John, says positively that Mathew *had written the discourses of Jesus Christ in Hebrew, and that each interpreted them as he could.* This Hebrew was the Syro-Chaldaic dialect, then in use at Jerusalem: Origen, Irenæus, Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, confirm this statement. Jesus Christ preached himself in Syro-Chaldaic, as is proved by many words which he used, and which the Evangelists have taken the pains to translate. St. Paul, addressing the Jews, used the same language: Acts xxi. 40, xxii. 2, xxvi 14. The opinions of some critics prove nothing against such undeniable testimonies. Moreover their principal objection is, that St. Matthew quotes the Old Testament according to the Greek version of the LXX., which is inaccurate; for of ten quotations, found in his Gospel, seven are evidently taken from the Hebrew text; the three others offer little that differ: moreover, the latter are not literal quotations. St. Jerome says positively, that, according to a copy which he had seen in the library of Cæsarea, the quotations were made in Hebrew (in Catal). More modern critics, among others Michaelis, do not entertain a doubt on the subject. The Greek version appears to have been made in the time of the apostles, as St. Jerome and St. Augustine affirm, perhaps by one of them.—GUIZOT.

Among modern critics, Dr. Hug has asserted the Greek original of St. Matthew, but the general opinion of the most learned biblical writers supports the view of M. Guizot.—MILMAN.

The concurrent testimony of so many early writers leaves no reasonable ground to doubt the fact, that there was a Hebrew original of Matthew's gospel. Eusebius repeats it no less than six times; and all assert it so positively, that to question it is, as Gibbon hints, to shake the very foundation of all primitive ecclesiastical history. Papias, who is the chief authority for it, has been called a weak man and of small capacity. Yet he was considered in his days competent to be a bishop, he is confidently quoted by those nearest to his time; and Eusebius not only praises his abilities, and particularly his knowledge of the Scriptures (lib. iii. c. 36), but devotes also a long chapter (39) to the information derived from him.—E. C.

Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, the first of the fathers of the second century, is supposed to have flourished between the years 110 and 116. He is the author of five books, entitled *An Explication of the Oracles of the Lord.* "Dr. Lardner "considers him" says Taylor, in *The Diegesis*, p. 305, "a man of small capacity, "but esteems his testimony to the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark as very

histories of the actions of Christ were composed in the Greek language, at a considerable distance from Jerusalem, and after the Gentile converts were grown extremely numerous.[153] As soon as those histories were translated into the Latin tongue, they were perfectly intelligible to all the subjects of Rome, excepting only to the peasants of Syria and Egypt, for whose benefit particular versions were afterwards made. The public highways, which had been constructed for the use of the legions, opened an easy passage for the Christian missionaries from Damascus to Corinth, and from Italy to the extremity of Spain or Britain; nor did those spiritual conquerors encounter any of the obstacles which usually retard or prevent the introduction of a foreign religion into a distant country. There is the strongest reason to believe, that before the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, the faith of Christ had been preached in every province, and in all the great cities of the empire; but the foundation of the several congregations, the numbers of the faithful who composed them, and their proportion to the unbelieving multitude, are now buried in obscurity, or disguised by

Historical view of the progress of Christianity.

153 Under the reigns of Nero and Domitian, and in the cities of Alexandria, Antioch, Rome and Ephesus. See Mill, *Prolegomena ad Nov. Testament*, and Dr. Lardner's fair and extensive collection, vol. xv.*

"valuable," and significally adds: 'If Papias had been a wiser man, he had left "us a confirmation of many more books of the New Testament.'

"It is perhaps a very different impression of the character of this primitive "bishop, and of the value of his testimony, which the reader would be led to form, "upon consideration of the evidence arising from his writings themselves as pre- "served to us on the authority of his admirer and disciple Irenæus, in which he "gravely assures us, that he had immediately learned from the Evangelist St. John "himself, that 'the Lord taught and said, that the days shall come in which vines "'shall spring up, each having ten thousand branches, and in each branch shall be "'ten thousand arms, and on each arm of a branch ten thousand tendrils, and on "'each tendril ten thousand bunches, and on each bunch ten thousand grapes, "'and each grape, on being pressed, shall yield five and twenty gallons of wine; "'and when any one of the saints shall take hold of one of these bunches, another "'shall cry out, I am a better bunch, take me, and bless the Lord *by* me.' The "same infinitely silly methaphors of multiplication by ten thousand, are continued "with respect to grains of wheat, apples, fruits, flowers, and animals beyond all "endurance, precisely after the fashion of that famous *sorites* of the nursery upon "*the House that Jack built*, the malt, the rat, the cat, the dog, the cow, &c.: all "which Jesus concluded by saying, 'And these things are believable by all be- "'lievers; but Judas, the traitor, not believing, asked him, But how shall things "'that shall propagate thus be brought to an end by the Lord? And the Lord "'answered him and said, Those who shall live in those times shall see.' Papias, "however, notwithstanding his intimacy with the Evangelist St. John, and the "value of his testimony to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, fell into the *slight* "*error* of believing that no such an event as the crucifixion ever happened, but "that Jesus Christ lived to be a very old man, and died in peace in the bosom of "his own family. Papias, with all his absurdities, had some respect for *poetical* "justice.—E.

* This question has, it is well known, been most elaborately discussed since the time of Gibbon. The Preface to the Translation of Schleiermacher's Version of St. Luke contains a very able summary of the various theories.—M.

fiction and declamation. Such imperfect circumstances, however, as have reached our knowledge concerning the increase of the Christian name in Asia and Greece, in Egypt, in Italy, and in the West, we shall now proceed to relate, without neglecting the real or imaginary acquisitions which lay beyond the frontiers of the Roman empire.

In the East.

The rich provinces that extend from the Euphrates to the Ionian Sea were the principal theatre on which the apostle of the Gentiles displayed his zeal and piety. The seeds of the gospel, which he had scattered in a fertile soil, were diligently cultivated by his disciples; and it should seem that, during the two first centuries, the most considerable body of Christians was contained within those limits. Among the societies which were instituted in Syria, none were more ancient or more illustrious than those of Damascus, of Berea or Aleppo, and of Antioch. The prophetic introduction of the Apocalypse has described and immortalized the seven churches of Asia; Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira,[154] Sardes, Laodicea, and Philadelphia; and their colonies were soon diffused over that populous country. In a very early period, the islands of Cyprus and Crete, the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia, gave a favorable reception to the new religion; and Christian republics were soon founded in the cities of Corinth, of Sparta, and of Athens.[155] The antiquity of the Greek and Asiatic churches allowed a sufficient space of time for their increase and multiplication; and even the swarms of Gnostics and other heretics serve to display the flourishing condition of the orthodox church, since the appellation of heretics has always been applied to the less numerous party. To these domestic testimonies we may add the confession, the complaints, and the apprehensions of the Gentiles themselves. From the writings of Lucian, a philosopher who had studied mankind, and who describes their manners in the most lively colors, we may learn that, under the reign of Commodus his native country of Pontus was filled with Epicureans and *Chris-*

154 The Alogians (*Epiphanius de Hæres 51*) disputed the genuineness of the Apocalypse, because the church of Thyatira was not yet founded. Epiphanius, who allows the fact, extricates himself from the difficulty by ingeniously supposing that St. John wrote in the spirit of prophecy. See *Abauzit, Discours sur l'Apocalypse.*

155 The epistles of Ignatius and Dionysius (*ap. Euseb.* iv. 23) point out many churches in Asia and Greece. That of Athens seems to have been one of the least flourishing.

tians.[156] Within fourscore years after the death of Christ,[157] the humane Pliny laments the magnitude of the evil which he vainly attempted to eradicate. In his very curious epistle to the emperor Trajan, he affirms that the temples were almost deserted, that the sacred victims scarcely found any purchasers, and that the superstition had not only infected the cities, but had even spread itself into the villages and the open country of Pontus and Bithynia.[158]

The church of Antioch.

Without descending into a minute scrutiny of the expressions, or the motives, of those writers, who either celebrate or lament the progress of Christianity in the East, it may in general be observed, that none of them have left us any grounds from whence a just estimate might be formed of the real numbers of the faithful in those provinces. One circumstance, however, has been fortunately preserved, which seems to cast a more distinct light on this obscure but interesting subject. Under the reign of Theodosius, after Christianity had enjoyed during more than sixty years the sunshine of imperial favor, the ancient and illustrious church of Antioch consisted of one hundred thousand persons, three thousand of whom were supported out of the public oblations.[159] The splendor and dignity of the queen of the East, the acknowledged populousness of Cæsarea, Seleucia, and Alexandria, and the destruction of two hundred and fifty thousand souls in the earthquake which afflicted Antioch under the elder Justin,[160] are so many convincing proofs that the whole number of its inhabitants was not less than half a million, and that the Christians, however multiplied by zeal and power, did not exceed a fifth part of that great city. How different a proportion must we adopt when we compare the persecuted with the triumphant church, the west with the east, remote

156 Lucian in *Alexandro*, c. 25. Christianity, however, must have been very unequally diffused over Pontus; since, in the middle of the third century, there were no more than seventeen believers in the extensive diocese of Neo-Cæsarea. See M. de Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclesiast.* tom. iv. p. 675, from Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, who were themselves natives of Cappadocia.*

157 According to the ancients, Jesus Christ suffered under the consulship of the two Gemini, in the year 29 of our present era. Pliny was sent into Bithynia (according to Pagi) in the year 110.†

158 Plin. Epist. x. 97.

159 *Chrysostom. Opera*, tom. vii. pp. 658, 810 [edit. Savil. ii. 422, 529].

160 *John Malala*, tom. ii. p. 144. He draws the same conclusion with regard to the populousness of Antioch.

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* Gibbon forgot the conclusion of this story, that Gregory left only seventeen heathens in his diocese. The antithesis is suspicious, and both numbers may have been chosen to magnify the spiritual fame of the wonder-worker.—M.

† Clinton (F. R. i. 89) has corrected this date to 103.—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

villages with populous towns, and countries recently converted to the faith, with the place where the believers first received the appellation of Christians! It must not, however, be dissembled, that, in another passage, Chrysostom, to whom we are indebted for this useful information, computes the multitude of the faithful as even superior to that of the Jews and Pagans.[161] But the solution of this apparent difficulty is easy and obvious. The eloquent preacher draws a parallel between the civil and the ecclesiastical constitution of Antioch; between the list of Christians who had acquired heaven by baptism, and the list of citizens who had a right to share the public liberality. Slaves, strangers, and infants, were comprised in the former; they were excluded from the latter.

In Egypt.

The extensive commerce of Alexandria, and its proximity to Palestine, gave an easy entrance to the new religion. It was at first embraced by great numbers of the Therapeutæ, or Essenians of the lake Mareotis, a Jewish sect which had abated much of its reverence for the Mosaic ceremonies. The austere life of the Essenians, their fasts and excommunications, the community of goods, the love of celibacy, their zeal for martyrdom, and the warmth though not the purity of their faith, already offered a very lively image of the primitive discipline.[162] It was in the school of Alexandria that the Christian theology appears to have assumed a regular and scientific form; and when Hadrian visited Egypt, he found a church composed of Jews and of Greeks, sufficiently important to attract the notice of that inquisitive prince.[163] But the progress of Christianity was for a long time confined within the limits of a single city, which was itself a foreign colony, and till

161 *Chrysostom.* tom. i. p. 592. I am indebted for these passages, though not for my inference, to the learned Dr. Lardner. Credibility of the Gospel History, vol. xii. p. 370.*

162 Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, l. 2, c. 20, 21, 22, 23, has examined with the most critical accuracy the curious treatise of Philo, which describes the Therapeutæ. By proving that it was composed as early as the time of Augustus, Basnage has demonstrated, in spite of Eusebius (l. ii. c. 17) and a crowd of modern Catholics, that the Therapeutæ were neither Christians nor monks. It still remains probable that they changed their name, preserved their manners, adopted some new articles of faith, and gradually became the fathers of the Egyptian Ascetics.

163 See a letter of Hadrian in the *Augustan History*, p. 245.

* The statements of Chrysostom with regard to the population of Antioch, whatever may be their accuracy, are perfectly consistent. In one passage he reckons the population at 200,000. In a second the Christians at 100,000. In a third he states that the Christians formed more than half the population. Gibbon has neglected to notice the first passage, and has drawn his estimate of the population of Antioch from other sources. The 3,000 maintained by alms were widows and virgins alone. — MILMAN.

the close of the second century the predecessors of Demetrius were the only prelates of the Egyptian church. Three bishops were consecrated by the hands of Demetrius, and the number was increased to twenty by his successor Heraclas.[164] The body of the natives, a people distinguished by a sullen inflexibility of temper,[165] entertained the new doctrine with coldness and reluctance; and even in the time of Origen it was rare to meet with an Egyptian who had surmounted his early prejudices in favor of the sacred animals of his country.[166] As soon, indeed, as Christianity ascended the throne, the zeal of those barbarians obeyed the prevailing impulsion; the cities of Egypt were filled with bishops, and the deserts of Thebais swarmed with hermits.

In Rome.

A perpetual stream of strangers and provincials flowed into the capacious bosom of Rome. Whatever was strange or odious, whoever was guilty or suspected, might hope, in the obscurity of that immense capital, to elude the vigilance of the law. In such a various conflux of nations, every teacher, either of truth or of falsehood, every founder, whether of a virtuous or a criminal association, might easily multiply his disciples or accomplices. The Christians of Rome, at the time of the accidental persecution of Nero, are represented by Tacitus as already amounting to a very great multitude,[167] and the language of that great historian is almost similar to the style employed by Livy, when he relates the introduction and the suppression of the rites of Bacchus. After the Bacchanals had awakened the severity of the senate, it was likewise apprehended that a very great multitude, as it were *another people*, had been initiated into those abhorred mysteries. A more careful inquiry soon demonstrated that the offenders did not exceed seven thousand; a number indeed sufficiently alarming, when considered as the object of public justice.[168] It is with the same candid allowance that we

[164] For the succession of Alexandrian bishops, consult *Renaudot's History*, p. 24, &c. This curious fact is preserved by the patriarch Eutychius, (*Annal. tom.* i, p. 334, vers. *Pocock.*) and its internal evidence would alone be a sufficient answer to all the objections which Bishop Pearson has urged in the *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*.*

[165] *Ammian. Marcellin.* xxii. 16. [166] *Origen contra Celsum*, lib. i. p. 40.

[167] Ingens multitudo is the expression of *Tacitus*, xv. 44.

[168] *T. Liv.* xxxix. 13, 15, 16, 17. Nothing could exceed the horror and consternation of the senate on the discovery of the Bacchanalians, whose depravity is described, and perhaps exaggerated, by Livy.

* See *Clinton's Catalogue;* (F. R. ii, 535.) Demetrius became bishop of Alexandria, A. D. 190, and Heraclas succeeded him in 223.—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

should interpret the vague expressions of Tacitus, and in a former instance of Pliny, when they exaggerate the crowds of deluded fanatics who had forsaken the established worship of the gods. The church of Rome was undoubtedly the first and most populous of the empire; and we are possessed of an authentic record which attests the state of religion in that city about the middle of the third century, and after a peace of thirty-eight years. The clergy, at that time, consisted of a bishop, forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, as many sub-deacons, forty-two acolythes, and fifty readers, exorcists, and porters. The number of widows, of the infirm, and of the poor, who were maintained by the oblations of the faithful, amounted to fifteen hundred.[169] From reason, as well as from the analogy of Antioch, we may venture to estimate the Christians of Rome at about fifty thousand. The populousness of that great capital cannot perhaps be exactly ascertained; but the most modest calculation will not surely reduce it lower than a million of inhabitants, of whom the Christians might constitute at the most a twentieth part.[170]

In Africa and the western provinces.

The western provincials appeared to have derived the knowledge of Christianity from the same source which had diffused among them the language, the sentiments, and the manners of Rome. In this more important circumstance, Africa, as well as Gaul, was gradually fashioned to the imitation of the capital. Yet notwithstanding the many favorable occasions which might invite the Roman missionaries to visit the Latin provinces, it was late before they passed either the sea or the Alps;[171] nor can we discover in those great countries any assured traces either of faith

169 *Eusebius*, lib. vi. c. 43. The Latin translator (M. de Valois) has thought proper to reduce the number of presbyters to forty-four.

170 This proportion of the presbyters and of the poor, to the rest of the people, was originally fixed by Burnet (*Travels into Italy*, p. 168), and is approved by Moyle (vol. ii. p. 151). They were both unacquainted with the passage of Chrysostom, which converts their conjecture almost into a fact.

171 Serius trans Alpes, religione Dei suscepta. *Sulpicius Severus*, l. ii. These were the celebrated martyrs of Lyons. See *Eusebius*, v. i. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii, p. 316. According to the Donatists, whose assertion is confirmed by the tacit acknowledgment of Augustin, Africa was the last of the provinces which received the Gospel. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclsiast.* tom. i, p. 754.*

* It was natural that Christianity should advance slowly in the west, where the way had not been opened for it by philosophy. The doctrines of the Greek schools, which had been for four centuries working onward round their birthplaces, had only been recently introduced into Rome, and were still but "a more "refined species of luxury, and a kind of table furniture, set apart for the enter- "tainment of the great." (*Div. Leg.* book iii, sec. iii.)—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

or of persecution that ascend higher than the reign of the Antonines.[172] The slow progress of the gospel in the cold climate of Gaul was extremely different from the eagerness with which it seems to have been received on the burning sands of Africa. The African Christians soon formed one of the principal members of the primitive church. The practice introduced into that province of appointing bishops to the most inconsiderable towns, and very frequently to the most obscure villages, contributed to multiply the splendor and importance of their religious societies, which during the course of the third century were animated by the zeal of Tertullian, directed by the abilities of Cyprian, and adorned by the eloquence of Lactantius. But if, on the contrary, we turn our eyes toward Gaul, we must content ourselves with discovering, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, the feeble and united congregations of Lyons and Vienna; and even as late as the reign of Decius we are assured that in a few cities only, Arles, Narbonne, Thoulouse, Limoges, Clermont, Tours, and Paris, some scattered churches were supported by the devotion of a small number of Christians.[173] Silence is indeed very consistent with devotion; but as it is seldom compatible with zeal, we may perceive and lament the languid state of Christianity in those provinces which had exchanged the Celtic for the Latin tongue, since they did not, during the three first centuries, give birth to a single ecclesiastical writer. From Gaul, which claimed a just pre-eminence and authority over all the countries on this side of the Alps, the light of the gospel was more faintly reflected on the remote provinces of Spain and Britain; and if we may credit the vehement assertions of Tertullian, they had already received the first rays of the faith, when he addressed his Apology to the magistrates of the emperor Severus.[174] But the obscure and imperfect origin of the western churches of Europe has been so negligently recorded, that if we would relate the time and manner of their foundation, we must

[172] Tum primum intra Gallias martyria visa. *Sulp. Severus*, l. ii. With regard to Africa, see *Tertullian ad Scapulam*, c. iii. It is imagined, that the Scyllitan martyrs were the first. (*Acta Sincera, Ruinart.* p. 34.) One of the adversaries of Apuleius seems to have been a Christian. *Apolog.* p. 496, 497, edit. Delphin.

[173] Raræ in aliquibus civitatibus ecclesiæ, paucorum Christianorum devotione, resurgerent. *Acta Sincera*, p. 130. *Gregory of Tours*, l. i. c. 28. *Mosheim*, pp. 207, 449. There is some reason to believe that, in the beginning of the fourth century, the extensive dioceses of Liege, of Treves, and of Cologne, composed a single bishopric, which had been very recently founded. See *Mémories de Tillemont*, tom. vi. part i. pp. 43, 411.

[174] The date of Tertullian's *Apology* is fixed, in a dissertation of Mosheim, to the year 198.

supply the silence of antiquity by those legends which avarice or superstition long afterwards dictated to the monks in the lazy gloom of their convents.[175] Of these holy romances, that of the apostle St. James can alone, by its singular extravagance, deserve to be mentioned. From a peaceful fisherman of the Lake of Gennesareth, he was transformed into a valorous knight, who charged at the head of the Spanish chivalry in their battles against the Moors. The gravest historians have celebrated his exploits; the miraculous shrine of Compostella displayed his power; and the sword of a military order, assisted by the terrors of the Inquisition, was sufficient to remove every objection of profane criticism.[176]

Beyond the limits of the Roman empire.

The progress of Christianity was not confined to the Roman empire; and according to the primitive fathers, who interpret facts by prophecy, the new religion, within a century after the death of its divine Author, had already visited every part of the globe. "There exists not," says Justin Martyr, "a people, whether Greek or Barbarian, or "any other race of men, by whatsoever appellation or man-"ners they may be distinguished, however ignorant of arts "or agriculture, whether they dwell under tents, or wander "about in covered wagons, among whom prayers are not "offered up in the name of a crucified Jesus to the Father "and Creator of all things."[177] But this splendid exaggeration, which even at present it would be extremely difficult to reconcile with the real state of mankind, can be considered only as the rash sally of a devout but careless writer, the measure of whose belief was regulated by that of his wishes. But neither the belief nor the wishes of the fathers can alter the truth of history. It will still remain an undoubted fact, that the barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who afterwards subverted the Roman monarchy, were involved in the darkness of paganism; and that even the conversion of Iberia, of Armenia, or of Æthiopia, was not

[175] In the fifteenth century, there were few who had either inclination or courage to question, whether Joseph of Arimathea founded the monastery of Glastonbury, and whether Dionysius the Areopagite preferred the residence of Paris to that of Athens.

[176] The stupendous metamorphosis was performed in the ninth century. See *Mariana*, (*Hist. Hispan.* l. vii. c. 13, tom. i p. 285, edit. *Hag. Com.* 1733), who, in every sense, imitates Livy, and the honest detection of the legend of St. James by Dr. Geddes, *Miscellanies*, vol. ii. p. 221.

[177] Justin Martyr, *Dialog. cum Tryphon*, p. 341. *Irenæus adv. Hæres*, l. i. c. 10. *Tertullian adv. Jud.* c. 7. See *Mosheim*, p. 203.

attempted with any degree of success till the sceptre was in the hands of an orthodox emperor.[178] Before that time, the various accidents of war and commerce might indeed diffuse an imperfect knowledge among the tribes of Caledonia,[179] and among the borderers of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates.[180] Beyond the last-mentioned river, Edessa was distinguished by a firm and early adherence to the faith.[181] From Edessa the principles of Christianity were easily introduced into the Greek and Syrian cities which obeyed the successors of Artaxerxes; but they do not appear to have made any deep impression on the minds of the Persians, whose religious system, by the labors of a well-disciplined order of priests, had been constructed with much more art and solidity than the uncertain mythology of Greece and Rome.[182]

General proportion of christians and pagans.

From this impartial though imperfect survey of the progress of Christianity, it may perhaps seem probable that the number of its proselytes has been excessively magnified by fear on the one side, and by devotion on the other. According to the irreproachable testimony of Origen,[183] the proportion of the faithful was very inconsiderable, when compared with the multitude of an unbelieving world; but, as we are left without any distinct information, it is impossible to determine, and it is difficult even to conjecture, the real

178 See the fourth century of Mosheim's *History of the Church*. Many, though very confused circumstances, that relate to the conversion of Iberia and Armenia, may be found in *Moses of Chorene*, lib. ii. c. 78–89.*

179 According to Tertullian, the Christian faith had penetrated into parts of Britain inaccessible to the Roman arms. About a century afterwards, Ossian, the son of Fingal, is *said* to have disputed, in his extreme old age, with one of the foreign missionaries, and the dispute is still extant, in verse, and in the Erse language. See Mr. Macpherson's *Dissertation on the Antiquity of Ossian's Poems*, p. 10.

180 The Goths, who ravaged Asia in the reign of Gallienus, carried away great numbers of captives; some of whom were Christians, and became missionaries. See Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclesiast.* tom. iv. p. 44.

181 The legend of Abgarus, fabulous as it is, affords a decisive proof, that many years before Eusebius wrote his history, the greatest part of the inhabitants of Edessa had embraced Christianity. Their rivals, the citizens of Carrhæ, adhered, on the contrary, to the cause of Paganism, as late as the sixth century.

182 According to Bardesanes (ap. *Eusebius Præpar. Evangel.*) there were some Christians in Persia before the end of the second century. In the time of Constantine, (see his epistle to Sapor, *Vit.* l. iv. c. 13) they composed a flourishing church. Consult Beausobre, *Hist. Critique du Manicheisme*, tom. i. p. 180, and the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of Assemani.

183 *Origen contra Celsum*, l. viii. p. 424.

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* Mons. St. Martin has shown that Armenia was the first *nation* that embraced Christianity. *Mémoires sur l'Armenie*, vol. i, p. 306, and notes to Le Beau. Gibbon, indeed, had expressed his intention of withdrawing the words "of "Armenia" from the text of future editions. (*Vindication, Works*, iv. 577.) He was bitterly taunted by Porson for neglecting or declining to fulfill his promise. Preface to *Letters to Travis*.—MILMAN.

numbers of the primitive Christians. The most favorable calculation, however, that can be deduced from the examples of Antioch and of Rome, will not permit us to imagine that more than a twentieth part of the subjects of the empire had enlisted themselves under the banner of the cross before the important conversion of Constantine. But their habits of faith, of zeal, and of union, seemed to multiply their numbers; and the same causes which contributed to their future increase served to render their actual strength more apparent and more formidable.

Whether the first christians were mean and ignorant.

Such is the constitution of civil society, that, whilst a few persons are distinguished by riches, by honors, and by knowledge, the body of the people is condemned to obscurity, ignorance and poverty. The Christian religion, which addressed itself to the whole human race, must consequently collect a far greater number of proselytes from the lower than from the superior ranks of life. This innocent and natural circumstance has been improved into a very odious imputation, which seems to be less strenuously denied by the apologists than it is urged by the adversaries of the faith; that the new sect of Christians was almost entirely composed of the dregs of the populace; of peasants and mechanics, of boys and women, of beggars and slaves, the last of whom might sometimes introduce the missionaries into the rich and noble families to which they belonged. These obscure teachers (such was the charge of malice and infidelity) are as mute in public as they are loquacious and dogmatical in private. Whilst they cautiously avoid the dangerous encounter of philosophers, they mingle with the rude and illiterate crowd, and insinuate themselves into those minds whom their age, their sex, or their education, has the best disposed to receive the impression of superstitious terrors.[184]

Some exceptions with regard to learning.

This unfavorable picture, though not devoid of a faint resemblance, betrays, by its dark coloring and distorted features, the pencil of an enemy. As the humble faith of Christ diffused itself through the world, it was embraced by several persons who derived some consequence from the advantages of nature or fortune. Aristides, who presented an eloquent apology to the emperor Hadrian, was an Athenian

184 *Minucius Felix*, c. 8, with Wouwerus's notes. *Celsus ap. Origen*, l. iii. pp. 138, 142. *Julian ap. Cyril.* l. vi. p. 206, edit. Spanheim.

philosopher.[185] Justin Martyr had sought divine knowledge in the schools of Zeno, of Aristole, of Pythagoras, and of Plato, before he fortunately was accosted by the old man, or rather the angel, who turned his attention to the study of the Jewish prophets.[186] Clemens of Alexandria had acquired much various reading in the Greek, and Tertullian in the Latin, language. Julius Africanus and Origen possessed a very considerable share of the learning of their times; and although the style of Cyprian is very different from that of Lactantius, we might almost discover that both those writers had been public teachers of rhetoric. Even the study of philosophy was at length introduced among the Christians, but it was not always productive of the most salutary effects; knowledge was as often the parent of heresy as of devotion, and the description which was designed for the followers of Artemon may, with equal propriety, be applied to the various sects that resisted the successors of the apostles. "They presume to alter the "Holy Scriptures, to abandon the ancient rule of faith, "and to form their opinions according to the subtile pre- "cepts of logic. The science of the church is neglected "for the study of geometry, and they lose sight of heaven "while they are employed in measuring the earth. Euclid "is perpetually in their hands. Aristotle and Theophrastus "are the objects of their admiration; and they express an "uncommon reverence for the works of Galen. Their "errors are derived from the abuse of the arts and sciences "of the infidels, and they corrupt the simplicity of the "gospel by the refinements of human reason."[187]

With regard to rank and fortune.

Nor can it be affirmed with truth that the advantages of birth and fortune were always separated from the profession of Christianity. Several Roman citizens were brought before the tribunal of Pliny, and he soon discovered that a great number of persons of *every order* of men in Bithynia had deserted the religion of their ancestors.[188] His unsuspected

[185] *Euseb. His. Eccles.* iv. 3. *Hieronym. Epist.* 83.

[186] The story is prettily told in Justin's *Dialogues*. Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 334), who relates it after him, is sure that the old man was a disguised angel.

[187] *Eusebius*, v. 28. It may be hoped, that none, except the heretics, gave occasion to the complaint of Celsus (ap. *Origen*, l. ii. p. 77), that the Christians were perpetually correcting and altering their gospels.*

[188] Plin. *Epist.* x. 97. Fuerunt alii similis amentiæ, cives Romani . . . Multi enim omnis ætatis, *omnis ordinis*, utriusque sexus, etiam vocantur in periculum et vocabuntur.

*Origen states in reply, that he knows of none who had altered the Gospels except the Marcionites, the Valentinians, and perhaps some followers of Lucanus. — M.

testimony may, in this instance, obtain more credit than the bold challenge of Tertullian, when he addresses himself to the fears as well as to the humanity of the pro-consul of Africa, by assuring him that if he persists in his cruel intentions he must decimate Carthage, and that he will find among the guilty many persons of his own rank, senators and matrons of noblest extraction, and the friends or relations of his most intimate friends.[189] It appears, however, that about forty years afterward the emperor Valerian was persuaded of the truth of this assertion, since in one of his rescripts he evidently supposes that senators, Roman knights, and ladies of quality, were engaged in the Christian sect.[190] The church still continued to increase its outward splendor as it lost its internal purity, and, in the reign of Diocletian, the palace, the courts of justice, and even the army, concealed a multitude of Christians, who endeavored to reconcile the interests of the present with those of a future life.

Christianity most favorably received by the poor and simple.

And yet these exceptions are either too few in number, or too recent in time, entirely to remove the imputation of ignorance and obscurity which has been so arrogantly cast on the first proselytes of Christianity.* Instead of employing in our defence the fictions of later ages, it will be more prudent to convert the occasion of

189 Tertullian *ad Scapulam.* Yet even his rhetoric rises no higher than to claim a tenth part of Carthage.

190 Cyprian. *Epist.* 79.

* To this imperfect list ought to be added the names of many Pagans, whose conversion, in the very dawn of Christianity, lessens the force of the historian's imputation. Among these are the pro-consul Sergius Paulus, converted at Paphos. (*Acts*, c. 13, v. 7 and 12.) Dionysius the Areopagite, who, with many others, was converted by Paul, at Athens (*Acts*, c. 17, v. 34). Several persons in the court of Nero (*Philipp.* c. 4, v. 22). Erastus the revenue officer at Corinth, (*Romans*, c. 16, v. 23). Some Asiarchs (*Acts*, c. 19, v. 31). To the philosophers may also be added Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, Hegesippus, Melito, Miltiades, Pantœnus, Ammonius Saccas, and others, all distinguished by their talents.—G.

M. Guizot's own list is far from complete. He has omitted such names as Polycarp, Hippolytus Africanus, and Irenæus. He might also have inserted in it the two brothers, Theodorus and Athendorus, whose conversion by Origen, through the influence of his Platonic philosophy, is fully related by Jerome, (*De Vir. Ill.* c. 65), and the former of whom became Gregory Thaumaturgus, the zealous bishop of Neo-Cæsarea. It is a very erroneous notion, that Christianity was the "most favorably received by the poor and simple." Facts prove that its earliest friends were rich and educated. The church of Antioch, while yet only a year old, had funds to spare for the poor at Jerusalem; and the rapid growth of ecclesiastical wealth, already noticed, could not have taken place if the first proselytes had been mostly ignorant and obscure. The Gnostics, who, though heretics, were Christians, are admitted to have been generally of the higher orders. The eminent men, to whom Gibbon points out as still adhering to heathenism, prove nothing in any way, but the common force of accidental contingencies or habitual adherence to opinions adopted in early life. — ENG. CHURCHMAN.

It is no disgrace to Christianity that it originated among the poor and oppressed, and that Jesus, its most prominent advocate, was poorer, to quote his own words, than the birds of the air and the beasts of the field; but this fact seems very repugnant to M. Guizot and the English Churchman, whose aristocratic

scandal into a subject of edification. Our serious thoughts will suggest to us that the apostles themselves were chosen by Providence among the fishermen of Galilee, and that, the lower we depress the temporal condition of the first Christians, the more reason we shall find to admire their merit and success. It is incumbent on us diligently to remember, that the kingdom of heaven was promised to the poor in spirit, and that minds afflicted by calamity and the contempt of mankind, cheerfully listen to the divine promise of future happiness; while, on the contrary, the fortunate are satisfied with the possession of this world; and the wise abuse in doubt and dispute their vain superiority of reason and knowledge.

Rejected by by some eminent men of the first and second centuries.

We stand in need of such reflections to comfort us for the loss of some illustrious characters, which in our eyes might have seemed the most worthy of the heavenly present. The names of Seneca, of the elder and the younger Pliny, of Tacitus, of Plutarch, of Galen, of the slave Epictetus, and of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, adorn the age in which they flourished, and exalt the dignity of human nature. They filled with glory their respective stations, either in active or in contemplative life; their excellent understandings were improved by study; philosophy had purified their minds from the prejudices of the popular superstition; and their days were spent in the pursuit of truth and the practice of virtue. Yet all these sages (it is no less an object of surprise than of concern) overlooked or rejected the perfection of the Christian system. Their language or their silence equally discover their contempt for the growing sect, which in their time had diffused itself over the Roman empire. Those among them who condescend to mention the Christians consider them only as obstinate and perverse enthusiasts, who exacted an implicit submission to their mysterious doctrines, without being able to produce a single argument that could engage the attention of men of sense and learning.[191]

191 Dr. Lardner, in his first and second volumes of Jewish and Christian testimonies, collects and illustrates those of Pliny the younger, of Tacitus, of Galen, of Marcus Antoninus, and perhaps of Epictetus (for it is doubtful whether that philosopher means to speak of the Christians). The new sect is totally unnoticed by Seneca, the elder Pliny, and Plutarch.

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tastes instinctively repudiate this plebian origin. On page 131 we have quoted Luther and Feuerbach as authority on this subject. On page 125 a sketch is given of the eunuch Origen and his tutor, Ammonius Saccus, who taught that Christianity and paganism, when properly understood, were identical.—E.

Their neglect of prophecy.

It is at least doubtful whether any of these philosophers perused the apologies * which the primitive Christians repeatedly published in behalf of themselves and of their religion; but it is much to be lamented that such a cause was not defended by abler advocates. They expose with superfluous wit and eloquence the extravagance of Polytheism. They interest our compassion by displaying the innocence and sufferings of their injured brethren. But when they would demonstrate the divine origin of Christianity, they insist much more strongly on the predictions which announced, than on the miracles which accompanied, the appearance of the Messiah.† Their favorite argument might serve to edify a Christian or to convert a Jew, since both the one and the other acknowledge the authority of those prophecies, and both are obliged, with devout reverence, to search for their sense and their accomplishment. But this mode of persuasion loses much of its weight and influence, when it is addressed to those who neither understand nor respect the Mosaic dispensation and the prophetic style.[192] In the

192 If the famous prophecy of the Seventy Weeks had been alleged to a Roman philosopher, would he not have replied in the words of Cicero, "Quæ tandem ista "auguratio est, annorum potius quam aut mensium aut dierum?" *De Divinatione*, ii. 30. Observe with what irreverence Lucian (in *Alexandro*, c. 13) and his friend *Celsus ap. Origen* (l. vii. p. 327) express themselves concerning the Hebrew prophets.

* The emperors Hadrian, Antoninus, &c., read with wonder the *Apologies* for their faith, which Justin Martyn, Aristides, Melito, and others addressed to them. (See *Hieron. ad Mag.* and *Orosius*, lib. 8, c. 13, p. 488.) Eusebius says expressly, that the cause of Christianity was defended in the presence of the senate, by Apollonius the martyr, in a very elegant oration. "Cum judex multis cum pre-"cibus obsecrasset petiisset que ab illo, uti coram senatu rationem fidei suæ red-"derit, elegantissima oratione pro defensione fidei pronuntiata, &c. (*Euseb. Latine*, lib. 5, c. 21, p. 154.)—GUIZOT.

Gibbon, in his severer spirit of criticism, may have questioned the authority of Jerome and Eusebius. There are some difficulties about Apollonius, which Heinichen (note in loc. *Eusebii*) would solve, by supposing him to have been, as Jerome states, a senator.—MILMAN.

It is not very clear, either from this Latin version, or the original Greek, or the context, when carefully considered, whether this oration was held before the senate or the judge. The latter seems the most probable, and would get rid of some doubts and difficulties. It ought not to excite any surprise, that the *Apologies* insisted so little on the miraculous evidence of the writers' faith, in an age when hostile disputants ascribed all such works to magic, and when the belief in this agency was so prevalent, that Apuleius was obliged to defend himself judicially against the charge of having employed it, to win the affections of a wealthy widow. All the early defenders of Christianity insist on its realization both of prophecy and philosophy. That which the emperor Hadrian received from Aristides is described by Jerome, as "contextum philosophorum sententiis." Gibbon estimated Christianity too low, and ancient philosophy too high, to take correct views of their mutual bearings and concurrent action.—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

† "The most candid and learned even of Christian inquirers," says the Rev. Robert Taylor, "have admitted, that antiquity is most deficient just exactly "where it is most important; that there is absolutely nothing known of the church "history in those times on which a rational man could place any reliance; and "that the epocha when Christian truth first dawned upon the world is appropri-"ately designated as the *Age of Fable*."—E.

unskillful hands of Justin and the succeeding apologists, the sublime meaning of the Hebrew oracles evaporates in distant types, affected conceits, and cold allegories; and even their authenticity was rendered suspicious to an unenlightened Gentile, by the mixture of pious forgeries, which, under the names of Orpheus, Hermes, and the Sibyls,[193] were obtruded on him as of equal value with the genuine inspiration of Heaven. The adoption of fraud and sophistry in the defence of revelation too often reminds us of the injudicious conduct of those poets who load their *invulnerable* heroes with a useless weight of cumbersome and brittle armor.

Neglect of miracles.

But how shall we excuse the supine inattention of the Pagan and philosophic world, to those evidences which were presented by the hand of Omnipotence, not to their reason, but to their senses? During the age of Christ, of his apostles, and of their first disciples, the doctrine which they preached was confirmed by innumerable prodigies. The lame walked, the blind saw, the sick were healed, the dead were raised, demons were expelled, and the laws of Nature were frequently suspended for the benefit of the church. But the sages of Greece and Rome turned aside from the awful spectacle, and, pursuing the ordinary occupations of life and study, appeared unconscious of any alterations in the moral or physical government of the world. Under the reign of Tiberius, the whole earth,[194] or at least a celebrated province of the Roman empire,[195] was involved in a preternatural darkness of three hours.* Even this miraculous event,

General silence concerning the darkness of the Passion.

193 The philosophers who derided the more ancient predictions of the Sibyls would easily have detected the Jewish and Christian forgeries, which have been so triumphantly quoted by the fathers, from Justin Martyr to Lactantius. When the Sibylline verses had performed their appointed task, they, like the system of the millennium, were quietly laid aside. The Christian Sibyl had unluckily fixed the ruin of Rome for the year 195, A. U. C. 948.

194 The fathers, as they are drawn out in battle array by Dom Calmet (*Dissertations sur la Bible*, tom. iii. pp. 295–308), seem to cover the whole earth with darkness, in which they are followed by most of the moderns.

195 *Origen ad Matth.* c. 27, and a few modern critics, Beza, Le Clerc, Lardner, &c., are desirous of confining it to the land of Judea.

* As the "darkness of the Passion" produced, in an age of credulity, no effect upon the people who are supposed to have witnessed the occurrence, it seems strange that, after the lapse of eighteen centuries, it should be regarded as miraculous by those who claim to be illumined by the light of modern science and to have outgrown the errors and superstitions of the obsolete past.

The arrest and crucifixion of the carpenter's son, by the fanatical and intolerant people he endeavored to instruct, illustrates the fact that the benefactors of mankind are often the victims of religious frenzy and sectarian zeal. That Jesus, in the last moments of his troubled life, realized the fatal mistake he had made in his enthusiastic but mistaken belief in his own divinity, seems almost

which ought to have excited the wonder, the curiosity, and the devotion of mankind, passed without notice in an age of science and history.[196] It happened during the lifetime of Seneca and the elder Pliny, who must have experi-

[196] The celebrated passage of Phlegon is now wisely abandoned. When Tertullian assures the Pagans that the mention of the prodigy is found in *Arcanis* (not *Archivis*) vestris (see his *Apology*, c 21), he probably appeals to the Sibylline verses, which relate it exactly in the words of the Gospel.†

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certain, if we may judge by his dying words of bitter and hopeless sorrow; but he could not have realized nor even imagined the ferocity — the horrible barbarity that during the dark ages of ecclesiastical supremacy inspired the sectarian massacres, wars and cruelties that were perpetrated in his name. Himself a victim of religious persecution — a martyr for the liberty of thought — suffering death for opinion's sake — a friend to the lowly and despised — who, in his sermon on the mount, blessed the poor in spirit, those that mourn, the meek, the merciful, the pure in heart, the peacemakers, and the persecuted, — he never could have believed that his followers would in turn become persecutors — would torture the noble and the brave — burn at the stake those who dared to think — imprison in dungeons the friends and benefactors of humanity — destroy both old and young — murder babes in their mother's arms — redden the earth with human blood, and do all this in his name, and for exercising the right of freethought for which he was crucified.

Socrates, the Pagan, "died like a philosopher," while Jesus, the reformer, expired in sorrow and in sadness. "He was oppressed and afflicted," says the prophet Isaiah, "yet he opened not his mouth." And yet, when hope and courage had fled, when death and despair confronted the victim on the cross, when the humane and loving Jesus realized the fallacy of his own cherished faith, and knew that he was but human and was not divine — that he was but a man and not a god, — this consciousness of his own fatal deception wrung from his dying lips that most sad and mournful cry — the pathetic and hopeless wail of a deceived and despairing soul, — "Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani? My God, my God, why "hast thou forsaken me?" — E.

† According to some learned theologians a misunderstanding of the text in the Gospel has given rise to this mistake, which has employed and wearied so many laborious commentators, though Origen had already taken the pains to preinform them. The expression σκὸτος ἐγένετο does not mean, they assert, an eclipse, but any kind of obscurity occasioned in the atmosphere, whether by clouds or any other cause. As this obscuration of the sun rarely took place in Palestine, where in the middle of April the sky was unusually clear, it assumed, in the eyes of the Jews and Christians, an importance conformable to the received notion, that the sun concealed at midday was a sinister presage. See *Amos* viii. 9, 10. The word σκὸτος is often taken in this sense by contemporary writers; the Apocalypse says, ἐσκοτίσθη ὁ ἥλιος the sun was concealed, when speaking of an obscuration caused by smoke and dust. (*Revel.* ix. 2.) Moreover, the Hebrew word ophal, which in the LXX. answers to the Greek σκὸτος, signifies any darkness; and the Evangelists, who have modeled the sense of their expressions by those of the LXX., must have taken it in the same latitude. This darkening of the sky usually precedes earthquakes. (*Matt.* xxvii. 51.) The Heathen authors furnish us a number of examples, of which a miraculous explanation was given at the time. See *Ovid.* ii. v. 33, l. xv. v. 785. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* l. ii c. 30. Wetstein has collected all these examples in his edition of the *New Testament*.

We need not, then, be astonished at the silence of the Pagan authors concerning a phenomenon which did not extend beyond Jerusalem, and which might have nothing contrary to the laws of nature; although the Christians and the Jews may have regarded it as a sinister presage. See Michaelis, *Notes on New Testament*, v. i. p. 290. Paulus, *Commentary on New Testament*, iii. p. 760.—GUIZOT.

* As the above explanation of M. F. Guizot, was copied by both Dean Milman and the English Churchman, it evidently met with their approval. It agrees with the views of the "most learned theologians," and is fortified by reference to the writings of the learned Michaelis and the devout Paulus. It is the best explanation that can be given, because it explains the event on purely natural principles, without resorting to supernatural aid.

The "darkness of the Passion" was no miracle, as ignorant and superficial theologians sometimes assert, but merely a passing cloud; a rising mist; a column

enced the immediate effects, or received the earliest intelligence, of the prodigy. Each of these philosophers, in a laborious work, has recorded all the great phenomena of nature, earthquakes, meteors, comets, and eclipses, which his indefatigable curiosity could collect.[197] Both the one and the other have omitted to mention the greatest phenomenon to which the mortal eye has been witness since the creation of the globe. A distinct chapter of Pliny[198] is designed for eclipses of an extraordinary nature and unusual duration; but he contents himself with describing the singular defect of light which followed the murder of Cæsar,* when, during the greatest part of a year, the orb of the sun appeared pale and without splendor. This season of obscurity, which cannot surely be compared with the preternatural darkness of the Passion, had been already celebrated by most of the poets[199] and historians of that memorable age.[200]

197 Seneca, *Quæst. Natur.* l. i. 15, vi. l. vii. 17. Plin. *Hist. Natur.* l. ii.

198 Plin. *Hist. Natur.* ii. 30.

199 Virgil. *Georgic.* i. 466. *Tibullus*, l. i. *Eleg.* v. ver. 75. Ovid. *Metamorph.* xv. 782. Lucan. *Pharsal.* i. 540. The last of these poets places this prodigy before the civil war.

200 See a public epistle of M. Antony in *Josephi. Antiquit.* xiv. 12. *Pluturch in Cæsar*, p. 471. *Appian. Bell. Civil.* l. iv. *Dion Cassius*, l. xlv. p. 431. *Julius Obsequens*, c. 128. His little treatise is an abstract of Livy's prodigies.

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of smoke; an eruption of a distant volcano; a swarm of bees or locusts, that obscured the direct rays of the sun. There was nothing supernatural involved—it was purely a natural event. Matthew xxvii: 45, when properly translated, "does "not mean an eclipse,"—does not mean a miracle. It is merely an interesting observation on the weather, and is no proof of the divinity of Christ, or of any thing else. How could the "sages of Greece and Rome"—the eminent historians, Seneca and Pliny—be expected to record so trivial an event? To St. Matthew alone belongs the honor of chronicling the atmospheric illusions.

The same style of reasoning would explain, on natural principles, all the miracles that are quoted as a proof of the divinity of Jesus. "The lame walked," after they had been cured. "The blind saw," after the proper remedies were applied. "The sick were healed," by a skillful physician. "The dead were "raised," or rather those who had swooned or fallen in a trance were revived by stimulants. "Demons were expelled,"—that is, the priests so asserted. "The "laws of nature were suspended for the benefit of the church," that is to say: the church was benefited by claiming dominion over nature's laws.—E.

* The credulous belief that the births and deaths of celebrated persons, as well as the occurrence of remarkable events, were accompanied by visible convulsions of nature, was admirably ridiculed by Shakespeare, who was too intelligent to reverence this ancient superstition. In King Henry IV. he represents Owen Glendower as boasting that:

"At my nativity
"The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes
"Of burning cressets; know, that at my birth,
"The frame and huge foundation of the earth
"Shook like a coward!"

To which bombast the unbelieving Hotspur irreverently replies:

"Why, so it would have done
"At the same season, if your mother's cat
"Had kittened, though yourself had ne'er been born."—E.

COUNCIL OF THE GODS. 202*a*

COUNCIL OF THE GODS.

MOUNT OLYMPUS was the favorite abode of the gods, and it was there the twelve celestials assembled to deliberate on mundane affairs. Their names were, according to Ennius, Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars, Mercury, Jovi, Neptunus, Vulcanus, and Apollo.

The Jews peopled their heaven only with "spirits masculine," entirely excluding the feminine. The Greeks and Romans, who entertained more rational ideas of happiness, included, like the Christians and Mahometans, both sexes in their "abodes of the blest."

The barbarous Jewish belief, which exalts man and oppresses woman, found in Milton an able interpreter. So great was his repugnance to the female sex that he censures the Jewish deity for having created woman, and objects to the plan adopted for replenishing the earth. In the spirit of true monkish asceticism he mournfully sings:

"——Oh! why did God,
"Creator wise, that peopled highest Heaven
"With spirits masculine, create at last
"This novelty on Earth, this fair defect
"Of nature?—And not fill the world at once
"With Men as Angels, without feminine?
"Or find some other way to generate mankind."

Homer shines resplendent in contrast with the English bard. The Pagan poet o'ertops the Christian misogynist. His invocation to the Muses attests his appreciation and reverence for "lovely woman, God's last, best gift to man."

"Achilles wrath to Greece, the direful spring
"Of woes unnumber'd, heavenly Goddess sing!"

Again, in describing the Council of the Gods:—

"Immortal Hebe, fresh with bloom divine,
"The golden goblet crowns with purple wine."

Jupiter presided with august dignity at these councils, and the gods and goddesses discussed with intelligence and decorum the most momentous affairs of the human race. It is a significant fact, showing the origin of these myths, that the number of these deities corresponds with the twelve signs of the zodiac; and also, with the twelve lunar months, which compose the lunar cycle or year. This natural truth, underlying a mass of fable, is the key which unlocks many Pagan and Jewish mysteries. These mysteries can be explained in a rational manner by calling to mind the Astronomical, or rather Astrological belief of the Egyptians, and remembering the mystic language the priests employed in teaching to the neophytes and explaining to the initiated, the sacred mysteries of Eleusis. This mystic lore admitted of two distinct and often opposite interpretations, like the Delphian oracles, or the prophecy of the witches in Macbeth,

"That palter with us in a double sense,"

and the learned and initiated understood and approved what the ignorant and vulgar believed and adored.

There were twelve tribes of Israel, twelve labors of Hercules, and twelve members composed the Amphictyonic Council of the Delphian Oracle. There were twelve articles in the apostle's creed,—twelve signs in the zodiac,—twelve months in the year, twelve hours in the day. The twelve great apostles of Christianity, correspond with the twelve gods of Olympus. There were twelve gates in the heavenly Jerusalem, and twelve pillars in the temple of Heliopolis. There were twelve shields of Mars, and twelve altars were erected to Janus, (one for each month). The twelve foundations for the walls of the New Jerusalem were garnished with twelve different precious stones, and twelve angels presided in heaven over the twelve gates named after the twelve tribes of Israel.—E.

(Oceanus.*)

III.†

THE CONDUCT OF THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT TOWARD THE CHRISTIANS, FROM THE REIGN OF NERO TO THAT OF CONSTANTINE.

Christianity persecuted by the Roman emperors.

IF we seriously consider the purity of the Christian religion, the sanctity of its moral precepts, and the innocent as well as austere lives of the greater number of those who, during the first ages, embraced the faith of the gospel, we should naturally suppose that so benevolent a doctrine would have been received with due reverence even by the unbelieving world; that the learned and the polite, however they might deride the miracles, would have esteemed the virtues, of the new sect; and that the magis-

*Oceanus, according to Hesiod, was one of the Titans, and ruler of the exterior waters encompassing the earth, while the interior seas were assigned to Neptune. The above engraving is from a statue dug up in Rome in the 16th century, and represents the god as an old man, reclining on the waves, with a sceptre in his right hand and a sea monster by his side.—E.

† Chap. XVI. ‡ Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

‡ The following note by Mackintosh is copied without comment by Dean Milman. It is perhaps too coarse for this learned author to have written, but not too coarse for him to publish; and illustrates the Christian spirit that pervades his criticisms. Bohn's edition and that of Guizot are both free from this blemish. The great merit of Gibbon's writings consists in the fact that he was strictly impartial, and wrote as a historian, not as an advocate.—E.

The sixteenth chapter I cannot help considering as a very ingenious and specious, but very disgraceful extenuation of the cruelties perpetrated by the

trates, instead of persecuting, would have protected an order of men who yielded the most passive obedience to the laws, though they declined the active cares of war and government. If, on the other hand, we recollect the universal toleration of Polytheism, as it was invariably maintained by the faith of the people, the incredulity of philosophers, and the policy of the Roman senate and emperors, we are at a loss to discover what new offence the Christians had committed, what new provocation could exasperate the mild indifference of antiquity, and what new motives could urge the Roman princes, who beheld without concern a thousand forms of religion subsisting in peace under their gentle sway, to inflict a severe punishment on any part of their subjects who had chosen for themselves a singular but an inoffensive mode of faith and worship.

The religious policy of the ancient world seems to have assumed a more stern and intolerant character to oppose the progress of Christianity. About fourscore years after the death of Christ, his innocent disciples were punished with death by the sentence of a proconsul of the most amiable and philosophic character, and according to the laws of an emperor distinguished by the wisdom and justice of his general administration. The apologies which were repeatedly addressed to the successors of Trajan are filled with the most pathetic complaints, that the Christians who obeyed the dictates, and solicited the liberty of conscience, were alone, among all the subjects of the Roman empire, excluded from the common benefits of their auspicious government. The deaths of a few eminent martyrs have been recorded with care; and from the time that Christianity was invested with the supreme power, the governors of the church have been no less diligently employed in dis-

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Roman magistrates against the Christians. It is written in the most contemptibly factious spirit of prejudice against the sufferers; it is unworthy of a philosopher and of a man of humanity. Let the narrative of Cyprian's death be examined. He had to relate the murder of an innocent man of advanced age, and in a station deemed venerable by a considerable body of the provincials of Africa, put to death because he refused to sacrifice to Jupiter. Instead of pointing the indignation of posterity against such an atrocious act of tyranny, he dwells, with visible art, on the small circumstances of decorum and politeness which attended this murder, and which he relates with as much parade as if they were the most important particulars of the event.

Dr. Robertson has been the subject of much blame for his real or supposed lenity towards the Spanish murderers and tyrants in America. That the sixteenth chapter of Mr. G. did not excite the same or greater disapprobation, is a proof of the unphilosophical and indeed fanatical animosity against Christianity, which was so prevalent during the latter part of the eighteenth century.—*Mackintosh:* see Life, i. pp. 244, 245.—MILMAN.

playing the cruelty, than in imitating the conduct, of their Pagan adversaries. To separate (if it be possible) a few authentic as well as interesting facts from an undigested mass of fiction and error, and to relate, in a clear and rational manner, the causes, the extent, the duration, and the most important circumstances of the persecutions to which the first Christians were exposed, is the design of the present chapter.*

Inquiry into their motives.

The sectaries of a persecuted religion, depressed by fear, animated with resentment, and perhaps heated by enthusiasm, are seldom in a proper temper of mind calmly to investigate, or candidly to appreciate, the motives of their enemies, which often escape the impartial and discerning view even of those who are placed at a secure distance from the flames of persecution. A reason has been assigned for the conduct of the emperors toward the primitive Christians, which may appear the more specious and probable, as it is drawn from the acknowleged genius of Polytheism. It has already been observed, that the religious concord of the world was principally supported by the implicit assent and reverence which the nations of antiquity expressed for their respective traditions and ceremonies. It might, therefore, be expected that they would unite with indignation, against any sect of people which should separate itself from the communion of mankind, and claiming the exclusive possession of divine knowledge, should disdain every form of worship except its own, as impious and idolatrous. The rights of toleration were held by mutual indulgence; they were justly forfeited

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* The history of the first age of Christianity is only found in the Acts of the Apostles, and in order to speak of the first persecutions experienced by the Christians, that book should naturally have been consulted; those persecutions, then limited to individuals and to a narrow sphere, interested only the persecuted, and have been related by them alone. Gibbon, making the persecutions ascend no higher than Nero, has entirely omitted those which preceded this epoch, and of which St. Luke has preserved the memory. The only way to justify this omission was, to attack the authenticity of the Acts of the Apostles; for, if authentic, they must necessarily be consulted and quoted. Now, antiquity has left very few works of which the authenticity is so well established as that of the Acts of the Apostles. (See Lardner's *Cred. of Gospel His.* part ii.) It is, therefore, without sufficient reason, that Gibbon has maintained silence concerning the narrative of St. Luke, and this omission is not without importance.—GUIZOT.

Gibbon did not question the authenticity of the Acts of the Apostles, for he has quoted facts from them. He did not consider the transactions there related to be any evidence of a public and general persecution, nor have they been so considered by ecclesiastical historians. M. Guizot alone thinks that proofs are to be found there of the repression of Christianity by imperial mandate and official cruelty, from which it again came forth unsubdued. This note was intended by him, as introductory to some which follow, and in which it will be seen that he maintains such an opinion.—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

by a refusal of the accustomed tribute. As the payment of this tribute was inflexibly refused by the Jews, and by them alone, the consideration of the treatment which they experienced from the Roman magistrates will serve to explain how far these speculations are justified by facts, and will lead us to discover the true causes of the persecution of Christianity.

Rebellious spirit of the Jews.

Without repeating what has been already mentioned of the reverence of the Roman princes and governors for the temple of Jerusalem, we shall only observe that the destruction of the temple and city was accompanied and followed by every circumstance that could exasperate the minds of the conquerors, and authorize religious persecution by the most specious arguments of political justice and the public safety. From the reign of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius, the Jews discovered a fierce impatience of the dominion of Rome, which repeatedly broke out in the most furious massacres and insurrections. Humanity is shocked at the recital of the horrid cruelties which they committed in the cities of Egypt, of Cyprus, and of Cyrene, where they dwelt in treacherous friendship with the unsuspecting natives;[1] and we are tempted to applaud the severe retaliation which was exercised by the arms of the legions against a race of fanatics, whose dire and credulous superstition seemed to render them the implacable enemies not only of the Roman government, but of human kind.[2] The enthusiasm of the

[1] In Cyrene they massacred 220,000 Greeks; in Cyprus, 240,000; in Egypt, a very great multitude. Many of these unhappy victims were sawn asunder, according to a precedent to which David * had given the sanction of his example. The victorious Jews devoured the flesh, licked up the blood, and twisted the entrails like a girdle, round their bodies. See *Dion Cassius*, l. lxviii. p. 1145.†

[2] Without repeating the well-known narratives of Josephus, we may learn from *Dion* (l. lxix. p. 1162), that in Hadrian's war 580,000 Jews were cut off by the sword, besides an infinite number which perished by famine, by disease, and by fire.

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* The conduct of David cannot always be commended as an example worthy of imitation. On a certain occasion, recorded in II. Samuel, vi., 14–22, his wife Michal espied, "though a window," her liege lord, clothed in his curious "linen ephod," immodestly, "in the eyes of the handmaids," "leaping and dancing before the "Lord; and," her education as the daughter of a king having taught her better manners, instinctively "she despised him in her heart." When she rebuked this lewd conduct, the "anointed of the Lord," shamelessly replied: "I will yet be more "vile than thus, and will be base in mine own sight: and of the maidservants," &c. It is perhaps unnecessary to state that king David rigidly executed this threat, and fully demonstrated his veracity at the expense of his morality.—E.

† Some commentators, among them Reimarus, in his notes on Dion Cassius, think that the hatred of the Romans against the Jews has led that historian to exaggerate the cruelties committed by the latter. *Dion Cass.* lxviii, p. 1146.—GUIZOT.

To this must be added, the proneness of the ancients to magnify calamities. Their means of information were too scanty and vague to be accurate. Rumor alone supplied them with intelligence, and we know how that grows larger at every step, especially when dealing with numbers.—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

Jews was supported by the opinion that it was unlawful for them to pay taxes to an idolatrous master; and by the flattering promise which they derived from their ancient oracles, that a conquering Messiah would soon arise, destined to break their fetters, and to invest the favorites of heaven with the empire of the earth. It was by announcing himself as their long-expected deliverer, and by calling on all the descendants of Abraham to assert the hope of Israel, that the famous Barchochebas collected a formidable army, with which he resisted during two years the power of the emperor Hadrian.[3]

Toleration of the Jewish religion.

Notwithstanding these repeated provocations, the resentment of the Roman princes expired after the victory; nor were their apprehensions continued beyond the period of war and danger. By the general indulgence of polytheism, and by the mild temper of Antoninus Pius, the Jews were restored to their ancient privileges, and once more obtained the permission of circumcising their children, with the easy restraint that they should never confer on any foreign proselyte that distinguishing mark of the Hebrew race.[4] The numerous remains of that people, though they were still excluded from the precincts of Jerusalem, were permitted to form and to maintain considerable establishments both in Italy and in the provinces, to acquire the freedom of Rome, to enjoy municipal honors, and to obtain at the same time an exemption from the burdensome and expensive offices of society. The moderation or the contempt of the Romans gave a legal sanction to the form of ecclesiastical police which was instituted by the vanquished sect. The patriarch, who had fixed his residence at Tiberias, was empowered to appoint his subordinate ministers and apostles, to exercise a domestic jurisdiction, and to receive from his dispersed brethren an annual contribution.[5] New synagogues were frequently erected in the principal cities of the empire; and the sabbaths, the fasts, and the festivals, which were

[3] For the sect of the Zealot's, see Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, l. i. c. 17; for the character of the Messiah, according to the Rabbis, l. v. c. 11, 12, 13; for the actions of Barchochebas, l. vii. c. 12.*

[4] It is to Modestinus, a Roman lawyer (l. vi. regular.) that we are indebted for a distinct knowledge of the edict of Antoninus. See *Casaubon ad Hist. August.* p. 27.

[5] See Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, l. iii. c. 2, 3. The office of Patriarch was suppressed by Theodosius the younger.

* This war lasted three years and a half, from the spring of 132 to August, 135. See Dio and Jerome, as quoted by Clinton, F. R. 1, 122.—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

either commanded by the Mosaic law, or enjoined by the traditions of the Rabbis, were celebrated in the most solemn and public manner.[6] Such gentle treatment insensibly assuaged the stern temper of the Jews. Awakened from their dream of prophecy and conquest, they assumed the behavior of peaceable and industrious subjects. Their irreconcilable hatred of mankind, instead of flaming out in acts of blood and violence, evaporated in less dangerous gratifications. They embraced every opportunity of overreaching the idolators in trade; and they pronounced secret and ambiguous imprecations against the haughty kingdom of Edom.[7]

The Jews were a people which followed, the Christians a sect which deserted, the religion of their fathers.

Since the Jews, who rejected with abhorrence the deities adored by their sovereign and by their fellow-subjects, enjoyed, however, the free exercise of their unsocial religion, there must have existed some other cause, which exposed the disciples of Christ to those severities from which the posterity of Abraham was exempt. The difference between them is simple and obvious; but, according to the sentiments of antiquity, it was of the highest importance. The Jews were a *nation;* the Christians were a *sect;* and if it was natural for every community to respect the sacred institutions of their neighbors, it was incumbent on them to persevere in those of their ancestors. The voice of oracles, the precepts of philosophers, and the authority of the laws, unanimously enforced this national obligation. By their lofty claim of superior sanctity, the Jews might provoke the Polytheists to consider them as an odious and impure race. By disdaining the intercourse of other nations, they might deserve their contempt. The

[6] We need only mention the Purim, or deliverance of the Jews from the rage of Haman, which, till the reign of Theodosius, was celebrated with insolent triumph and riotous intemperance. Basnage, *His. des Juifs*, l. vi. c. 17, l. viii. c. 6.

[7] According to the false Josephus, Tsepho, the grandson of Esau, conducted into Italy the army of Æneas, king of Carthage. Another colony of Idumæans, flying from the sword of David, took refuge in the dominions of Romulus. For these, or for other reasons of equal weight, the name of Edom was applied by the Jews to the Roman empire.*

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* The false Josephus is a romancer of very modern date, though some of these legends are probably more ancient. It may be worth considering whether many of the stories in the Talmud are not history in a figurative disguise, adopted from prudence. The Jews might dare to say many things of Rome, under the significant appellation of Edom, which they feared to utter publicly. Later and more ignorant ages took literally, and perhaps embellished, what was intelligible among the generation to which it was addressed. (*Hist. of Jews*, iii. 131.)

The false Josephus has the inauguration of the emperor, with the seven electors and apparently the pope assisting at the coronation! Pref. page, xxvi.—MILMAN.

laws of Moses might be for the most part frivolous or absurd; yet, since they had been received during many ages by a large society, his followers were justified by the example of mankind; and it was universally acknowledged that they had a right to practice what it would have been criminal in them to neglect. But this principle, which protected the Jewish synagogue, afforded not any favor or security to the primitive church. By embracing the faith of the gospel the Christians incurred the supposed guilt of an unnatural and unpardonable offence. They dissolved the sacred ties of custom and education, violated the religious institutions of their country, and presumptuously despised whatever their fathers had believed as true, or had reverenced as sacred. Nor was this apostasy (if we may use the expression) merely of a partial or local kind; since the pious deserter who withdrew himself from the temples of Egypt or Syria would equally disdain to seek an asylum in those of Athens or Carthage. Every Christian rejected with contempt the superstitions of his family, his city, and his province. The whole body of Christians unanimously refused to hold any communion with the gods of Rome, of the empire, and of mankind. It was in vain that the oppressed believer asserted the inalienable rights of conscience and private judgment. Though his situation might excite the pity, his arguments could never reach the understanding, either of the philosophic or of the believing part of the Pagan world. To their apprehensions, it was no less a matter of surprise that any individuals should entertain scruples against complying with the established mode of worship, than if they had conceived a sudden abhorrence to the manners, to the dress, or to the language of their native country.[8]

Christianity accused of Atheism, and mistaken by the people and philosophers.

The surprise of the Pagans was soon succeeded by resentment; and the most pious of men were exposed to the unjust but dangerous imputation of impiety. Malice and prejudice concurred in representing the Christians as a

[8] From the arguments of Celsus, as they are represented and refuted by Origen (l. v. pp. 247–259), we may clearly discover the distinction that was made between the Jewish *people* and the Christian *sect*. See, in the *Dialogue of Minucius Felix* (c. 5, 6), a fair and not inelegant description of the popular sentiments, with regard to the desertion of the established worship.*

* In all this there is doubtless much truth; yet does not the more important difference lie on the surface? The Christians made many converts, the Jews but few. Had the Jewish been equally a proselytizing religion, would it not have encountered as violent persecution? — MILMAN.

society of atheists, who, by the most daring attack on the religious constitution of the empire, had merited the severest animadversion of the civil magistrate. They had separated themselves (they gloried in the confession) from every mode of superstition which was received in any part of the globe by the various temper of polytheism: but it was not altogether so evident what deity, or what form of worship, they had substituted for the gods and temples of antiquity. The pure and sublime idea which they entertained of the Supreme Being escaped the gross conception of the Pagan multitude, who were at a loss to discover a spiritual and solitary God, that was neither represented under any corporeal figure or visible symbol, nor was adored with the accustomed pomp of libations and festivals, of altars and sacrifices.[9] The sages of Greece and Rome, who had elevated their minds to the contemplation of the existence and attributes of the First Cause, were induced by reason or by vanity to reserve for themselves and their chosen disciples the privilege of this philosophical devotion.[10] They were far from admitting the prejudices of mankind as the standard of truth, but they considered them as flowing from the original disposition of human nature; and they supposed that any popular mode of faith and worship which presumed to disclaim the assistance of the senses,

[9] Cur nullas aras habent? Templa nulla? nulla nota simulacra? . . . Unde autem, vel quis ille, aut ubi, Deus unicus, solitarius, destitutus? *Minucius Felix*, c. 10. The Pagan interlocutor goes on to make a distinction in favor of the Jews, who had once a temple, altars, victims, &c.

[10] It is difficult (says Plato) to attain, and dangerous to publish, the knowledge of the true God. See the *Théologie des Philosophes*, in the Abbé d'Olivet's French translation of *Tully de Natura Deorum*, tom. i. p. 275.*

* Nevertheless both he and others did publish their notions, orally to their scholars and in books for their readers. We are not to suppose, as many do when it suits their argument, that publication in early times was the same as it is now. Yet the opinions thus propagated did spread far and wide. In Plato's time, those of Socrates had been carried by Aristippus to the very border of the African desert, and the two contemporaries rivalled each other in teaching them at Syracuse, in the immediate proximity of Latium. Within the next hundred years the permanent colleges and public libraries of Alexandria made them more generally known. Gibbon's observations may apply to Rome, perhaps to Athens, but not to the prevailing sentiment of the educated classes in the East.—ENG. CH.

In all the religions of antiquity there were two distinct interpretations to be given to every dogma and to every symbol;—one explanation was for the common people, another for the select few,—one for the devout devotee, the other for the initiated and learned. In this respect Paganism was quite as deceptive as Judaism and Christianity. When Plato told his disciples "It is difficult to attain, and "dangerous to publish, the knowledge of the true God," his language was understood by them. The Jews understood the meaning of 2 Esdras, xv: 26, "Some "things shalt thou publish, and some things shalt thou show secretly to the wise." The disciples also understood Jesus when he said: "Unto you it is given to know "the mystery of the kingdom of God: but unto them that are without, all these "things are done in parables: That seeing they may see, and not perceive; and "hearing they may hear and not understand."—Mark iv. 11, 12.—E.

would, in proportion as it receded from superstition, find itself incapable of restraining the wanderings of the fancy, and the visions of fanaticism. The careless glance which men of wit and learning condescended to cast on the Christian revelation, served only to confirm their hasty opinion, and to persuade them that the principle, which they might have revered, of the divine unity, was defaced by the wild enthusiasm, and annihilated by the airy speculations, of the new sectaries. The author of a celebrated dialogue, which has been attributed to Lucian, whilst he affects to treat the mysterious subject of the Trinity in a style of ridicule and contempt,* betrays his own ignorance of the weakness of human reason, and of the inscrutable nature of the divine perfections.[11]

It might appear less surprising, that the founder of Christianity should not only be revered by his disciples as a sage and a prophet, but that he should be adored as a God. The Polytheists were disposed to adopt every article of faith, which seemed to offer any resemblance, however distant or imperfect, to the popular mythology; and the legends of Bacchus, of Hercules, and of Æsculapius, had, in some measure, prepared their imagination for the appear-

11 The author of the Philopatris perpetually treats the Christians as a company of dreaming enthusiasts δαίμονίοι ἀιθέριοι ἀιθεροβατουντες ἀεροβατοῦντες, &c.; and in one place manifestly alludes to the vision in which St. Paul was transported to the third heaven. In another place, Triephon, who personates a Christian, after deriding the gods of Paganism, proposes a mysterious oath.

Ὑψιμέδοντα θεὸν, μέγαν, ἄμβροτον, οὐρανίωνα,
Υἱὸν πατρὸς, πνεῦμα ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον,
Ἓν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία.

Ἀριθμέειν με διδάσκεις (is the profane answer of Critias,) καὶ ὅρκος ἀριθμητίκη; οὐκ οἶδα γάρ τι λέγεις· ἓν τρία, τρία, ἕν.

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* The researches of modern scientists have thrown a flood of light upon the origin and significance of many ancient myths and symbols; and the physical meaning of the original worship of the trinity—of the trinity in unity—will perhaps explain this author's ridicule and contempt for this "mysterious subject." Dr. Inman, in his *Ancient Faiths Embodied in Ancient Names*, has enabled the English scholar to become acquainted with facts well known to French and German scientists. This subject has also been ably treated by Taylor in *The Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries;* by Messrs. Westropp and Wake in *Ancient Symbol Worship;* by Higgins in *The Anacalypsis;* by Col. Fanin in *Secret Museum of Naples;* by Knight in *A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus;* and also in many other expensive and privately printed works.

On page 42, of *Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism*, Dr. Inman says that "When once a person knows the true origin of the doctrine of the "Trinity—one which is far too improper to have been adopted by the writers of "the New Testament—it is impossible not to recognize in the signs which are "symbolical of it, the thing which is signified. . . . Nor will the most fiery "persecution demonstrate that the religion of Christ, as it appears in our churches "and cathedrals, especially if they are papal, is not tainted by a mass of paganism "of disgusting origin."—E.

ance of the Son of God under a human form.[12] But they were astonished that the Christians should abandon the temples of those ancient heroes, who, in the infancy of the world, had invented arts, instituted laws, and vanquished the tyrants or monsters who infested the earth, in order to choose for the exclusive object of their religious worship an obscure teacher, who, in a recent age, and among a barbarous people, had fallen a sacrifice either to the malice of his own countrymen, or to the jealousy of the Roman government. The Pagan multitude, reserving their gratitude for temporal benefits alone, rejected the inestimable present of life and immortality which was offered to mankind by Jesus of Nazareth. His mild constancy in the midst of cruel and voluntary sufferings, his universal benevolence, and the sublime simplicity and innocence of his character, were insufficient, in the opinion of those carnal men, to compensate for the want of fame, of empire, and of success; and, whilst they refused to acknowledge his stupendous triumph over the powers of darkness and of the grave, they misrepresented, or they insulted, the equivocal birth, wandering life, and ignominious death, of the divine author of Christianity.[13]

The union and assemblies of the Christians considered as a dangerous conspiracy.

The personal guilt which every Christian had contracted in thus preferring his private sentiment to the national religion, was aggravated in a very high degree by the number and union of the criminals. It is well known, and has been already observed, that Roman policy viewed, with the utmost jealousy and distrust, any association among its subjects; and that the privileges of private corporations, though formed for the most harmless or beneficial purpose, were bestowed with a very sparing hand.[14] The religious assemblies of the Christians, who had separated themselves from the public worship, appeared of a much less innocent nature: they were illegal in their principle, and in their consequences might become dan-

12 According to Justin Martyr (*Apolog. Major*, c. 70–85), the demon who had gained some imperfect knowledge of the prophecies, purposely contrived this resemblance, which might deter, though by different means, both the people and the philosophers from embracing the faith of Christ.

13 In the first and second books of Origen, Celsus treats the birth and character of our Saviour with the most impious contempt. The orator Libanius praises Porphyry and Julian for confuting the folly of a sect, which styles a dead man of Palestine, God, and the Son of God. Socrates, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* iii. 23.

14 The emperor Trajan refused to incorporate a company of 150 firemen for the use of the city of Nicomedia. He disliked all associations. See *Plin. Epist.* x. 42, 43

gerous; nor were the emperors conscious that they violated the laws of justice, when, for the peace of society, they prohibited those secret and sometimes nocturnal meetings.[15] The pious disobedience of the Christians made their conduct, or perhaps their designs, appear in a much more serious and criminal light; and the Roman princes, who might perhaps have suffered themselves to be disarmed by a ready submission, deeming their honor concerned in the execution of their commands, sometimes attempted, by rigorous punishments, to subdue this independent spirit, which boldly acknowledged an authority superior to that of the magistrate. The extent and duration of this spiritual conspiracy seemed to render it every day more deserving of his animadversion. We have already seen that the active and successful zeal of the Christians had insensibly diffused them through every province and almost every city of the empire. The new converts seemed to renounce their family and country, that they might connect themselves in an indissoluble band of union with a peculiar society, which everywhere assumed a different character from the rest of mankind. Their gloomy and austere aspect, their abhorrence of the common business and pleasures of life, and their frequent predictions of impending calamities,[16] inspired the Pagans with the apprehension of some danger, which would arise from the new sect, the more alarming as it was the more obscure. "Whatever," says Pliny, "may "be the principle of their conduct, their inflexible obstinacy "appeared deserving of punishment."[17]

Their manners calumniated.

The precautions with which the disciples of Christ performed the offices of religion were at first dictated by fear and necessity; but they were continued from choice. By imitating the awful secrecy which reigned in the Eleusinian mysteries,* the Christians had

[15] The proconsul Pliny had published a general edict against unlawful meetings. The prudence of the Christians suspended their Agapæ; but it was impossible for them to omit the exercise of public worship.

[16] As the prophecies of the antichrist, approaching conflagration, &c., provoked those Pagans whom they did not convert, they were mentioned with caution and reserve; and the Montanists were censured for disclosing too freely the dangerous secret. See *Mosheim*, p. 413.

[17] Neque enim dubitabam, quodcumque esset quod faterentur (such are the words of Pliny), pervicaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri.

"* The Eleusinian mysteries; or, sacrament of the Lord's supper," says Rev. Robt. Taylor in the *Diegesis*, "was the most august of all the Pagan ceremonies "celebrated, more especially by the Athenians, every fifth year, in honor of *Ceres*, "the goddess of corn, who, in allegorical language, had given us *her flesh to eat;* "as Bacchus, the god of wine, in a like sense, had given us *his blood to drink;* "though both these mysticisms are claimed by Jesus Christ, (John vi. 55.) They

flattered themselves that they should render their sacred institutions more respectable in the eyes of the Pagan world.[18] But the event, as it often happens to the operations of subtle policy, deceived their wishes and their expectations. It was concluded that they only concealed what they would have

[18] See Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 101, and Spanheim, *Remarques sur les Cæsars de Julien*, p. 468, &c.

" were celebrated every fifth year at Eleusis, a town of Attica, from whence their " name; which name, however, both in the word and in the signification of it, is " precisely the same as one of the titles of Jesus Christ. (Ευ ει ο ερχομενος— " 'Art thou the *he that should come*?'—Matth. xi. 3. Εγερσις, the Advent, or " *coming*, from the common root.) From these ceremonies, in like manner, is " derived the very name attached to our Christian sacrament of the Lord's " supper—'*those holy mysteries;*' and not one or two, but absolutely *all* and " *every one* of the observances used in our Christian solemnity. Very many " of our forms of expression in that solemnity are precisely the same as those " that appertained to the Pagan rite. Nor, notwithstanding all we hear of " the rapid propagation of Christianity, and the conversion of Constantine, " were these heathen mysteries abolished, till the reign of the elder Theodosius, " who had the honor of instituting the INQUISITION, which was so great an " improvement upon them, in their stead, about the year 440.

" Mosheim acknowledges (vol. i, p. 204) that 'the primitive Christians gave the " 'name of *mysteries* to the institutions of the Gospel, and decorated particularly " 'the holy sacrament with that title; that they used *the very terms* employed " 'in the heathen mysteries, and adopted some of the rites and ceremonies of " 'which those renowned mysteries consisted. This imitation began in the " 'eastern provinces; but, after the time of Adrian, who first introduced the " 'mysteries among the Latins, it was followed by the Christians who dwelt in " 'the western parts of the empire. A great part, therefore, of the service of the " 'church in this century (the second) had a certain air of the heathen mysteries, " 'and resembled them considerably in many particulars.'

" If it were possible to be mistaken in the significancy of the monogram of " Bacchus, the I H S, to whose honor, in conjunction with CERES, these *holy* " *mysteries* were distinctively dedicated, the insertion of those letters in a circle " of *rays of glory*, over the centre of the holy table, is an hieroglyphic that " depends not on the fallibility of translation, but conveys a sense that cannot be " misread by any eye on which the sun's light shines. I H S are Greek char- " acters, by ignorance taken for Roman letters; and YES, which is the proper " reading of those letters, is none other than the very identical name of BACCHUS, " that is, of the SUN, of which BACCHUS was one of the most distinguished per- " sonifications; And YES, or IES, with the Latin termination of US, added to it, is " *Jesus*. The surrounding rays of glory, as expressive of the sun's light, make " the identity of Christ and Bacchus as clear as the sun.

" These *rays of glory* are a sort of universal *letter* that cannot be misread or " misinterpreted; no written language, no words that man could utter, could so " distinctly, so expressively say that it was the SUN, and nothing but the Sun, " that was so emblemized. And these rays are seen alike surrounding the heads " of the Indian CHREESHNA, as he is exhibited in the beautiful plate engraved by " Barlow, and inscribed to the Archbishop of Canterbury; round the Grecian " Apollo; and in all our pictures of Jesus Christ. Nay, more—the epithet THE " LORD, as we have seen, was peculiarly and distinctively appropriate to the SUN, " and to all personifications of the Sun; so that the SUN and the LORD were per- " fectly synonymous, and *Sun's day* and the *Lord's day* the same to every nation " on whom his light hath shone.

" As it was especially to the honor of Bacchus, as the SUN, that the mysteries " were celebrated, so the *bread and wine* which the Lord (or Sun) had *commanded* " *to be received*, was called *the Lord's supper*. Throughout the whole ceremony, " the name of the *Lord* was many times repeated, and his brightness or *glory*, not " only exhibited to the eye by the rays which surrounded his name, but was made " the peculiar theme or subject of their triumphant exultation. Now bring we " up our most sacred Christian ordinance! *That* also is designated, as the cere- " mony in honor of Bacchus was, *the Lord's supper*. In *that* also all other " epithets of the deity so honored, are merged in the peculiar appropriation of

blushed to disclose. Their mistaken prudence afforded an opportunity for malice to invent, and for suspicious credulity to believe, the horrid tales which described the Christians as the most wicked of human kind, who practised in their dark recesses every abomination that a depraved fancy could suggest, and who solicited the favor of their unknown God by the sacrifice of every moral virtue. There were many who pretended to confess or to relate the ceremonies of this abhorred society. It was asserted, "that a "new-born infant, entirely covered over with flour, was "presented, like some mystic symbol of initiation, to the "knife of the proselyte, who unknowingly inflicted many "a secret and mortal wound on the innocent victim of his "error; that as soon the cruel deed was perpetrated, the "sectaries drank up the blood, greedily tore asunder the "quivering members, and pledged themselves to eternal "secrecy, by a mutual consciousness of guilt. It was as "confidently affirmed, that this inhuman sacrifice was "succeeded by a suitable entertainment, in which intem-"perance served as a provocative to brutal lust; till, at "the appointed moment, the lights were suddenly extin-"guished, shame was banished, nature was forgotten; and, "as accident might direct, the darkness of the night was "polluted by the incestuous commerce of sisters and "brothers, of sons and of mothers."[19]

Their imprudent defence.

But the perusal of the ancient apologies was sufficient to remove even the slightest suspicion from the mind of a candid adversary. The Christians, with the intrepid security of innocence, appeal

[19] See Justin Martyr, *Apolog.* i. 35, ii. 14. Athenagoras, in *Legation*, c. 27. Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 7, 8, 9. *Minucius Felix*, c. 9, 10, 30, 31. The last of these writers relates the accusation in the most elegant and circumstantial manner. The answer of Tertullian is the boldest and most vigorous.

"the term THE LORD. It would sound irreverently, even in Christian ears, to "call it Jesus's supper, or Jesus's table; it is always termed the *Lord's*."

Plate 59 of Moor's *Hindu Pantheon* contains a representation of Crishna resting in the arms and being nursed by Devaki, in which the heads of both are surrounded with rays of light,—similar to the representations of the Virgin and Child in papal paintings. The account of Crishna's birth and early history, as given by the above author, is also similar to the New Testament account of Mary and Jesus.

"The Holy Virgin Astarte," says Dr. Wilder in appendix to *Ancient Symbol Worship*, "whose return was announced by Virgil in the days of Augustus, as "introducing a new Golden Age, now under her old designation of Blessed "Virgin and Queen of Heaven, receives homage as 'the one whose sole divinity "'the whole orb of the earth venerates.' The Mother and Child, the latter "adorned with the nimbus or aureole of the ancient sun-gods, are now the object "of veneration as much as were Ceres and Bacchus, or Isis and Horus in the "Mysteries."—E.

from the voice of rumor to the equity of the magistrates. They acknowledge, that if any proof can be produced of the crimes which calumny has imputed to them, they are worthy of the most severe punishment. They provoke the punishment, and they challenge the proof. At the same time they urge, with equal truth and propriety, that the charge is not less devoid of probability, than it is destitute of evidence; they ask whether any one can seriously believe that the pure and holy precepts of the gospel, which so frequently restrain the use of the most lawful enjoyments, should inculcate the practice of the most abominable crimes; that a large society should resolve to dishonor itself in the eyes of its own members; and that a great number of persons of either sex, and every age and character, insensible to the fear of death or infamy, should consent to violate those principles which nature and education had imprinted most deeply in their minds.[20] Nothing, it should seem, could weaken the force or destroy the effect of so unanswerable a justification, unless it were the injudicious conduct of the apologists themselves, who betrayed the common cause of religion, to gratify their devout hatred to the domestic enemies of the church. It was sometimes faintly insinuated, and sometimes boldly asserted, that the same bloody sacrifices, and the same incestuous festivals, which were so falsely ascribed to the orthodox believers, were in reality celebrated by the Marcionites, by the Carpocratians, and by several other sects of the Gnostics, who, notwithstanding they might deviate into the paths of heresy, were still actuated by the sentiments of men, and still governed by the precepts of Christianity.[21] Accusations of a similar kind were retorted upon the church by the schismatics who had departed from its communion,[22] and it was confessed on all sides that the most scandalous licentiousness of manners prevailed among great

[20] In the persecution of Lyons, some Gentile slaves were compelled, by the fear of tortures to accuse their Christian master. The church of Lyons, writing to their brethren of Asia, treat the horrid charge with proper indignation and contempt. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* v. i.

[21] See Justin Martyr, *Apolog.* i. 35. *Irenæus adv. Hæres*, i. 24. Clemens *Alexandrin. Stromat.* l. iii. p. 438. *Euseb.* iv. 8. It would be tedious and disgusting to relate all that the succeeding writers have imagined, all that Epiphanius has received, and all that Tillemont has copied. M. de Beausobre (*Hist. du Manichéisme*, l. ix. c. 8, 9), has exposed, with great spirit, the disingenuous arts of Augustin and Pope Leo I.

[22] When Tertullian became a Montanist, he aspersed the morals of the church which he had so resolutely defended. "Sed majoris est Agape, quia per hanc "adoles centes, tui cum sororibus dormiunt, appendices scilicet gulæ lascivia "et luxuria." *De Jejuniis*, c. 17. The 35th canon of the council of Illiberis provides against the scandals which too often polluted the vigils of the church, and disgraced the Christian name in the eyes of unbelievers.

numbers of those who affected the name of Christians. A Pagan magistrate, who possessed neither leisure nor abilities to discern the almost imperceptible line which divides the orthodox faith from heretical depravity, might easily have imagined that their mutual animosity had extorted the discovery of their common guilt. It was fortunate for the repose, or at least for the reputation, of the first Christians, that the magistrates sometimes proceeded with more temper and moderation than is usually consistent with religious zeal, and that they reported, as the impartial result of their judicial inquiry, that the sectaries, who had deserted the established worship, appeared to them sincere in their professions, and blameless in their manners; however they might incur, by their absurd and excessive superstition, the censure of the laws.[23]

Idea of the conduct of the emperors toward the Christians.

History, which undertakes to record the transactions of the past for the instruction of future ages, would ill deserve that honorable office if she condescended to plead the cause of tyrants, or to justify the maxims of persecution. It must, however, be acknowledged that the conduct of the emperors who appeared the least favorable to the primitive church, is by no means so criminal as that of modern sovereigns, who have employed the arm of violence and terror against the religious opinions of any part of their subjects. From their reflections, or even from their own feelings, a Charles V. or a Louis XIV. might have acquired a just knowledge of the rights of conscience, of the obligation of faith, and of the innocence of error. But the princes and magistrates of ancient Rome were strangers to those principles which inspired and authorized the inflexible obstinacy of the Christians in the cause of truth, nor could they themselves discover in their own breasts any motive which would have prompted them to refuse a legal, and as it were a natural, submission to the sacred institutions of their country. The same reason which contributes to alleviate the guilt, must have tended to abate the rigor of their persecutions. As they were actuated, not by the furious zeal of bigots, but by the temperate policy of legislators, contempt must often have relaxed, and humanity must frequently have suspended, the execution of those laws which they enacted against the

[23] Tertullian (*Apolog.* c. 2) expatiates on the fair and honorable testimony of Pliny with much reason, and some declamation.

humble and obscure followers of Christ. From the general view of their character and motives we might naturally conclude: I. That a considerable time elapsed before they considered the new sectaries as an object deserving of the attention of government. II. That in the conviction of any of their subjects who were accused of so very singular a crime, they proceeded with caution and reluctance. III. That they were moderate in the use of punishments; and, IV. That the afflicted church enjoyed many intervals of peace and tranquility. Notwithstanding the careless indifference which the most copious and the most minute of the Pagan writers have shown to the affairs of the Christians,[24] it may still be in our power to confirm each of these probable suppositions by the evidence of authentic facts.

They neglected the Christians as a sect of Jews.

I. By the wise dispensation of Providence, a mysterious veil was cast over the infancy of the church, which, till the faith of the Christians was matured, and their numbers were multiplied, served to protect them not only from the malice but even from the knowledge of the Pagan world. The slow and gradual abolition of the Mosaic ceremonies afforded a safe and innocent disguise to the more early proselytes of the gospel. As they were, by far the greater part, of the race of Abraham, they were distinguished by the peculiar mark of circumcision, offered up their devotions

[24] In the various compilation of the *Augustan History* (a part of which was composed under the reign of Constantine), there are not six lines which relate to the Christians; nor has the diligence of Xiphilin discovered their name in the large history of Dion Cassius.*

* The greater part of the *Augustan History* is dedicated to Diocletian. This may account for the silence of its authors concerning Christianity. The notices that occur are almost all in the *Lives* composed under the reign of Constantine. It may fairly be concluded, from the language which he puts into the mouth of Mæcenas, that Dion was an enemy to all innovations in religion. (See Gibbon, *infra*, note 105.) In fact, when the silence of Pagan historians is noticed, it should be remembered how meagre and mutilated are all the extant histories of the period.—MILMAN.

In the preface to the edition of Gibbon edited by Milman, the latter says he intentionally abstained from directing attention to some objectionable passages by any special protest; but, in this instance, the keen sarcasm of Gibbon has induced him to depart from this safe and politic course. "If reasons were as "plenty as blackberries," says the immortal Falstaff, "I should give no man a "reason upon compulsion;" and the worthy Dean cannot be forced to explain why, in the "compilation of the *Augustan History*, not six lines relate to the "Christians." "A mysterious veil," has indeed been "cast over the infancy of "the church," and the proofs of its divine origin, which should be as clear and unmistakable as the brightness of the noon-day sun, are entirely omitted. Milman says that the authors of the *Augustan History* spoke of Diocletian, which "may "account for their silence concerning Christianity" In other words, they spoke of what *did* occur, not of imaginary events. But their testimony in regard to Diocletian proves nothing whatever in regard to Christ. The silence of contemporary historians does not give us the early history of Christianity. An historical event is not proven by the silence of witnesses.—E.

in the Temple of Jerusalem till its final destruction, and received both the law and the prophets as the genuine inspirations of the Deity. The Gentile converts, who by a spiritual adoption had been associated to the hope of Israel, were likewise confounded under the garb and appearance of Jews,[25] and as the Polytheists paid less regard to articles of faith than to the external worship, the new sect, which carefully concealed, or faintly announced, its future greatness and ambition, was permitted to shelter itself under the general toleration which was granted to an ancient and celebrated people in the Roman empire. It was not long, perhaps, before the Jews themselves, animated with a fiercer zeal and a more jealous faith, perceived the gradual separation of their Nazarene brethren from the doctrine of the synagogue; and they would gladly have extinguished the dangerous heresy in the blood of its adherents. But the decrees of Heaven had already disarmed their malice; and though they might sometimes exert the licentious privilege of sedition, they no longer possessed the administration of criminal justice; nor did they find it easy to infuse into the calm breast of a Roman magistrate the rancor of their own zeal and prejudice. The provincial governors declared themselves ready to listen to any accusation that might affect the public safety; but as soon as they were informed that it was a question not of facts but of words, a dispute relating only to the interpretation of the Jewish laws and prophecies, they deemed it unworthy of the majesty of Rome seriously to discuss the obscure differences which might arise among a barbarous and superstitious people. The innocence of the first Christians was protected by ignorance and contempt; and the tribunal of the Pagan magistrate often proved their most assured refuge against the fury of the synagogue.[26] If, indeed, we were disposed to adopt the traditions of a too credulous antiquity, we might relate the distant peregrinations, the wonderful achievements, and the various deaths of the twelve apostles; but a more accurate inquiry will induce us to doubt, whether any of those persons who had been witnesses to the miracles of Christ were permitted, beyond the limits of Palestine, to

[25] An obscure passage of Suetonius (in *Claud.* c. 25), may seem to offer a proof how strangely the Jews and Christians of Rome were confounded with each other.

[26] See, in the xviiith and xxvth chapters of the *Acts of the Apostles*, the behavior of Gallio, proconsul of Achaia, and of Festus, procurator of Judea.

seal with their blood* the truth of their testimony.[27] From the ordinary term of human life, it may very naturally be presumed that most of them were deceased before the discontent of the Jews broke out into that furious war, which was terminated only by the ruin of Jerusalem. During a long period, from the death of Christ to that memorable rebellion, we cannot discover any traces of Roman intolerance, unless they are to be found in the sudden, the transient, but the cruel persecution, which was exercised by Nero against the Christians of the Capital, thirty-five years after the former, and only two years before the latter, of those great events. The character of the philosophic historian, to whom we are principally indebted for the knowledge of this singular transaction, would alone be sufficient to recommend it to our most attentive consideration.†

The fire of Rome under the reign of Nero.

In the tenth year of the reign of Nero, the capital of the empire was afflicted by a fire which raged beyond the memory or example of former ages.[28] The monuments of Grecian

[27] In the time of Tertullian and Clemens of Alexandria, the glory of martyrdom was confined to St. Peter, St. Paul and St. James. It was gradually bestowed on the rest of the apostles, by the more recent Greeks, who prudently selected for the theatre of their preaching and sufferings some remote country beyond the limits of the Roman empire. See Mosheim, p. 81; and Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclesiastiques*, tom. i. part iii.

[28] *Tacit. Annal.* xv. 38–44. *Sueton. in Neron.* c. 38. *Dion Cassius*, lxii. p. 1014. *Orosius*, vii. 7.

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* This assertion appears to me too positive, inasmuch as Gibbon brings no proof to establish it, although the opposite opinion has strong proof in its favor. The travels of St. Paul, in Pamphylia, in Pisidia, in Macedonia, and to Rome, his death, the journeyings of St. Peter, &c., have been examined with great care by Dr. Benson, in his work, entitled, *A History of the first planting of Christianity*, part ii. See also *Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History*, part i. chap. 8.—G.

† Gibbon has not considered here how the incomes of the priests, and of all who depended upon, or were in any way employed by them, which had never before been affected, were sensibly diminished by the increasing influence of the new faith. Pliny, in his letter to Trajan, says, that "the temples were almost "deserted, and the sacred victims scarcely found any purchasers." This is the only offence, of which he, their magistrate and judge, could find the Christians guilty; and Trajan, in his answer, requires only that they should prove their innocence by offering sacrifice, "supplicando diis nostris." The stream of sacred revenue had thus been cut off; and in such a case, no religion, having the power, has ever yet failed to have recourse to persecution. Members of all the leading families in Rome had employments in the temples, and all were interested in maintaining the perquisites of office. Artists, tradesmen, cultivators of the soil, all derived pecuniary advantage from what they furnished for the celebration of religious rites. These could easily insinuate into the mind of such a sovereign as Nero, that a sect which treated with contempt his title of *Pontifex Maximus*, could have no more respect for that of *Imperator*, and thus make them objects of resentment and suspicion. Calumny is always one of the weapons of persecution, a plea for using sharper, when they can be wielded, and a substitute for them when they are taken away. Tacitus and Suetonius, who had evidently neither inquired nor ascertained the truth, and only wrote from public report, say no more against the Christians of their time, than even now quarrelling sects will say of each other, or apprehensive hierarchies fulminate against envious rivals.—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

art and of Roman virtue, the trophies of the Punic and Gallic wars, the most holy temples, and the most splendid palaces were involved in one common destruction. Of the fourteen regions or quarters into which Rome was divided, four only subsisted entire, three were levelled with the ground, and the remaining seven, which had experienced the fury of the flames, displayed a melancholy prospect of ruin and desolation. The vigilance of government appears not to have neglected any of the precautions which might alleviate the sense of so dreadful a calamity. The imperial gardens were thrown open to the distressed multitude, temporary buildings were erected for their accommodation, and a plentiful supply of corn and provisions was distributed at a very moderate price.[29] The most generous policy seemed to have dictated the edicts which regulated the disposition of the streets and the construction of private houses; and as it usually happens in an age of prosperity, the conflagration of Rome, in the course of a few years, produced a new city, more regular and more beautiful than the former. But all the prudence and humanity affected by Nero on this occasion were insufficient to preserve him from the popular suspicion. Every crime might be imputed to the assassin of his wife and mother, nor could the prince who prostituted his person and dignity on the theatre be deemed incapable of the most extravagant folly. The voice of rumor accused the emperor as the incendiary of his own capital; and, as the most incredible stories are the best adapted to the genius of an enraged people, it was gravely reported, and firmly believed that Nero, enjoying the calamity which he had occasioned, amused himself with singing to his lyre the destruction of ancient Troy.[30] To divert a suspicion, which the power of despotism was unable to suppress, the emperor resolved to substitute in his own place some fictitious criminals. "With "this view," continues Tacitus, "he inflicted the "most exquisite tortures on those men who, "under the vulgar appellation of Christians, were "already branded with deserved infamy. They

Cruel punishment of the Christians, as the incendiaries of the city.

[29] The price of wheat (probably of the *modius*) was reduced as low as *terni nummi;* which would be equivalent to about fifteen shillings the English quarter.

[30] We may observe, that the rumor is mentioned by Tacitus with a very becoming distrust and hesitation, whilst it is greedily transcribed by Suetonius, and solemnly confirmed by Dion.*

* According to Tacitus, Nero was at Antium when the fire began. — ENG. CH.

" derived their name and origin from Christ, who in the " reign of Tiberius had suffered death by the sentence of " the procurator Pontius Pilate.[31] For a while this dire " superstition was checked; but it again burst forth; * and " not only spread itself over Judæa, the first seat of this " mischievous sect, but was even introduced into Rome, " the common asylum which receives and protects whatever " is impure, whatever is atrocious. The confessions of those " who were seized discovered a great multitude of their " accomplices, and they were all convicted, not so much " for the crime of setting fire to the city as for their hatred " of human kind.[32] They died in torments, and their tor- " ments were imbittered by insult and derision. Some were " nailed on crosses; others sewn up in the skins of wild " beasts, and exposed to the fury of dogs; others again, " smeared over with combustible materials, were used as

[31] This testimony is alone sufficient to expose the anachronism of the Jews, who place the birth of Christ near a century sooner. (Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, l. v. c. 14, 15.) We may learn from Josephus (*Antiquitat.* xviii. 3), that the procuratorship of Pilate corresponded with the last ten years of Tiberius, A. D. 27—37. As to the particular time of the death of Christ, a very early tradition fixed it to the 25th of March, A. D. 29, under the consulship of the two Gemini. (*Tertullian adv. Judæos*, c. 8.) This date, which is adopted by Pagi, Cardinal Norris, and Le Clerc, seems at least as probable as the vulgar era, which is placed (I know not from what conjectures) four years later.†

[32] *Odio humani generis convicti.* These words may either signify the hatred of mankind toward the Christians, or the hatred of the Christians toward mankind. I have preferred the latter sense, as the most agreeable to the style of Tacitus, and to the popular error, of which a precept of the gospel (see Luke xiv. 26) had been, perhaps, the innocent occasion. My interpretation is justified by the authority of Lipsius; of the Italian, the French, and the English translators of Tacitus; of Mosheim (p. 102), of Le Clerc (*Historia Ecclesiast.* p. 427), of Dr. Lardner (*Testimonies*, vol. i. p. 345), and of the Bishop of Gloucester (*Divine Legation*, vol. iii. p. 38). But as the word *convicti* does not unite very happily with the rest of the sentence, James Gronovius has preferred the reading of *conjuncti*, which is authorized by the valuable MS. of Florence.

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* This single phrase, Repressa in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, proves that the Christians had already attracted the attention of the government; and that Nero was not the first to persecute them. I am surprised that more stress has not been laid on the confirmation which the Acts of the Apostles derive from these words of Tacitus, Repressa in præsens, and rursus erumpebat. — GUIZOT.

I have been unwilling to suppress this note, but surely the expression of Tacitus refers to the expected extirpation of the religion by the death of its founder, Christ. — MILMAN.

M. Guizot should have pointed out the portions of the Scripture narrative which he considers to be thus corroborated. Instances of judicial proceedings, not very harsh, against individuals, are there recorded; and of the fury of multitudes, stirred up by opposing Jews; but nowhere do we find Christianity "repressed" by any general course of magisterial rigor, and coming forth again from beneath the pressure. Opposition always appears there to be ineffectual, and progress constant. The "repressa" of Tacitus is much more correctly explained by Dean Milman, who refers it to "the expected extirpation of the religion by the death of its founder." — ENG. CHURCHMAN.

† The chronicle of Eusebius (anno 2048) is the authority for the date of A. D. 33. See the discussions of this question by Clinton (F. R. i, p. 12—18), who agrees with Tertullian; and by Turnbull, in the *Transactions of the Chronological Institute* (part i., p. 15—21), who adopts the later or vulgar era. — ENG. CHURCHMAN.

" torches to illuminate the darkness of the night. The " gardens of Nero were destined for the melancholy spec- " tacle, which was accompanied with a horse-race, and " honored with the presence of the emperor, who mingled " with the populace in the dress and attitude of a charioteer. " The guilt of the Christians deserved indeed the most " exemplary punishment, but the public abhorrence was " changed into commiseration, from the opinion that those " unhappy wretches were sacrificed, not so much to the " public welfare as to the cruelty of a jealous tyrant." [33] Those who survey with a curious eye the revolutions of mankind, may observe that the gardens and circus of Nero on the Vatican, which were polluted with the blood of the first Christians, have been rendered still more famous by the triumph and by the abuse of the persecuted religion. On the same spot [34] a temple, which far surpasses the ancient glories of the Capitol, has been since erected by the Christian pontiffs; who, deriving their claim of universal dominion from a humble fisherman of Galilee, have succeeded to the throne of the Cæsars, given laws to the barbarian conquerors of Rome, and extended their spiritual jurisdiction from the coast of the Baltic to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

But it would be improper to dismiss this account of Nero's persecutions till we have made some observations, that may serve to remove the difficulties with which it is perplexed, and to throw some light on the subsequent history of the church.

Remarks on the passage of Tacitus relative to the persecution of the Christians by Nero.

1. The most sceptical criticism is obliged to respect the truth of this extraordinary fact, and the integrity of this celebrated passage of Tacitus. The former is confirmed by the diligent and accurate Suetonius, who mentions the punishment which Nero inflicted on the Christians, a sect of men who had embraced a new and criminal superstition.[35] The latter may be proved by the consent of the most ancient manuscripts; by the inimitable character of the style of Tacitus; by his reputation, which guarded his text from the interpolations of pious fraud; and by the purport of his narration, which accused the first Christians of the most atrocious crimes, without insinuating that they possessed

[33] *Tacit. Annal.* xv. 44.

[34] *Nardini Roma Antica*, p. 487. *Donatus de Roma Antiqua*, l. iii. p. 449.

[35] *Sueton. in Nerone*, c. 16. The epithet of *malefica*, which some sagacious commentators have translated *magical*, is considered by the more rational Mosheim as only synonymous to the *exitiabilis* of Tacitus.

any miraculous or even magical powers above the rest of mankind.[36] 2. Notwithstanding it is probable that Tacitus was born some years before the fire of Rome,[37] he could derive only from reading and conversation the knowledge of an event which happened during his infancy. Before he gave himself to the public, he calmly waited till his genius had attained its full maturity, and he was more than forty years of age when a grateful regard for the memory of the virtuous Agricola extorted from him the most early of those historical compositions which will delight and instruct the most distant posterity. After making a trial of his strength in the life of Agricola and the description of Germany, he conceived, and at length executed, a more arduous work; the history of Rome, in thirty books, from the fall of Nero to the accession of Nerva. The administration of Nerva introduced an age of justice and prosperity, which Tacitus had destined for the occupation of his old age;[38] but when he took a nearer view of his subject, judging, perhaps, that it was a more honorable or a less invidious office to record

[36] The passage concerning Jesus Christ, which was inserted into the text of Josephus, between the time of Origen and that of Eusebius, may furnish an example of no vulgar forgery. The accomplishment of the prophecies, the virtues, miracles, and resurrection of Jesus, are distinctly related. Josephus acknowledges that he was the Messiah, and hesitates whether he should call him a man. If any doubt can still remain concerning this celebrated passage, the reader may examine the pointed objections of Le Fevre (Havercamp. *Joseph.* tom. ii. pp. 267–273), the labored answers of Daubuz (pp. 187–232), and the masterly reply (*Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, tom. vii. pp. 237–288) of an anonymous critic, whom I believe to have been the learned Abbé de Longuerue.*

[37] See the lives of Tacitus by Lipsius and the Abbé de la Bleterie, *Dictionnaire de Bayle à l'article* TACITE, and Fabricius, *Biblioth. Latin.* tom. ii. p. 386, edit. Ernest.

[38] Principatum Divi Nervæ, et imperium Trajani, uberiorem securioremque materiam senectuti seposui. Tacit. *Hist.* i.

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* The modern editor of Eusebius, Heinichen, has adopted, and ably supported, a notion, which had before suggested itself to the editor, that this passage is not altogether a forgery, but interpolated with many additional clauses. Heinichen has endeavored to disengage the original text from the foreign and more recent matter.—MILMAN.

"Words, words, words," says Hamlet. A lame apology for an outrageous fraud. The pious Milman thinks that it is "not altogether a forgery, but interpo-"lated with many additional clauses." What a characteristic argument, and what a fatal admission! True religion or divine revelation should not be founded on forgery or upheld by interpolation. "Thou shalt not attempt," says the Lord Buddha, "either by word or action, to lead others to believe that which is not "true."—E.

Much labor has been lost over this passage of Josephus. Supposing it to be genuine, it would only prove what none deny, that near the close of the first century, there were Christians who held certain opinions, and believed in certain events. Had the writer even avowed his own belief, which is by no means clear, it would have added nothing to the evidence of long antecedent facts.—ENG. CH.

This latter statement is correct. Belief is not evidence, and the avowal of belief adds "nothing to the evidence of long antecedent facts," neither does it subtract anything from the probability of long antecedent fables. But if the passage respecting Christ in the 18th book of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* was of no importance, why was it interpolated?—E.

the vices of past tyrants than to celebrate the virtues of a reigning monarch, he chose rather to relate, under the form of annals, the actions of the four immediate successors of Augustus. To collect, to dispose, and to adorn a series of fourscore years in an immortal work, every sentence of which is pregnant with the deepest observations and the most lively images, was an undertaking sufficient to exercise the genius of Tacitus himself during the greatest part of his life. In the last years of the reign of Trajan, whilst the victorious monarch extended the power of Rome beyond its ancient limits, the historian was describing, in the second and fourth books of his annals, the tyranny of Tiberius;[39] and the emperor Hadrian must have succeeded to the throne before Tacitus, in the regular prosecution of his work, could relate the fire of the capital, and the cruelty of Nero towards the unfortunate Christians. At the distance of sixty years it was the duty of the annalist to adopt the narratives of contemporaries; but it was natural for the philosopher to indulge himself in the description of the origin, the progress, and the character of the new sect, not so much according to the knowledge or prejudices of the age of Nero, as according to those of the time of Hadrian. 3. Tacitus very frequently trusts to the curiosity or reflection of his readers to supply those intermediate circumstances and ideas, which, in his extreme conciseness, he has thought proper to suppress. We may therefore presume to imagine some probable cause which could direct the cruelty of Nero against the Christians of Rome, whose obscurity, as well as innocence, should have shielded them from his indignation, and even from his notice. The Jews, who were numerous in the capital, and oppressed in their own country, were a much fitter object for the suspicions of the emperor and of the people; nor did it seem unlikely that a vanquished nation, who already discovered their abhorrence of the Roman yoke, might have recourse to the most atrocious means of gratifying their implacable revenge. But the Jews possessed very powerful advocates in the palace, and even in the heart of the tyrant; his wife and mistress, the beautiful Poppæa, and a favorite player

[39] See Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 61, iv. 4.*

* The perusal of this passage of Tacitus alone is sufficient, as I have already said, to show that the Christian sect was not so obscure as not already to have been repressed (repressa), and that it did not pass for innocent in the eyes of the Romans.—GUIZOT.

of the race of Abraham, who had already employed their intercession in behalf of the obnoxious people.[40] In their room it was necessary to offer some other victims, and it might easily be suggested that, although the genuine followers of Moses were innocent of the fire of Rome, there had arisen among them a new and pernicious sect of GALILÆANS, which was capable of the most horrid crimes. Under the appellation of GALILÆANS, two distinctions of men were confounded, the most opposite to each other in their manners and principles; the disciples who had embraced the faith of Jesus of Nazareth,[41] and the zealots who had followed the standard of Judas the Gaulonite.[42] The former were the friends, the latter were the enemies, of human kind; and the only resemblance between them consisted in the same inflexible constancy, which, in the defence of their cause, rendered them insensible of death and tortures. The followers of Judas, who impelled their countrymen into rebellion, were soon buried under the ruins of Jerusalem; whilst those of Jesus, known by the more celebrated name of Christians, diffused themselves over the Roman empire. How natural was it for Tacitus, in the time of Hadrian, to appropriate to the Christians the guilt and the sufferings which he might, with far greater truth and justice, have attributed to a sect whose odious memory was almost extinguished! † 4. Whatever opinion may be entertained of this conjecture (for it is no more than a con-

[40] The player's name was Aliturus. Through the same channel, Josephus (de vita sua, c. 2), about two years before, had obtained the pardon and release of some Jewish priests, who were prisoners at Rome.

[41] The learned Dr. Lardner (*Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, vol. ii. pp. 102, 103), has proved that the name of Galilæans was a very ancient, and perhaps the primitive appellation of the Christians.*

[42] Joseph. *Antiquitat.* xviii. 1, 2. Tillemont, *Ruine des Juifs*, p. 742. The sons of Judas were crucified in the time of Claudius. His grandson Eleazar, after Jerusalem was taken, defended a strong fortress with 960 of his most desperate followers. When the battering-ram had made a breach, they turned their swords against their wives, their children, and at length against their own breasts. They died to the last man.

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* The learned Dr. Inman (*Ancient Faiths and Modern*, page 311) says, "There "is scarcely a single article in our current belief, which does not prove, on "examination, to have descended to us from Pagan sources, or to be identical "with heathen beliefs older than the Hebrew."—E.

† This conjecture is entirely devoid, not merely of verisimilitude, but even of possibility. Tacitus could not be deceived in appropriating to the Christians of Rome the guilt and the sufferings which he might have attributed with far greater truth to the followers of Judas the Gaulonite; for the latter never went to Rome. Their revolt, their attempts, their opinions, their wars, their punishment, had no other theatre but Judæa. (Basn. *Hist. des Juifs*, t. i. p. 491.) Moreover, the name of Christians had long been given in Rome to the disciples of Jesus: and Tacitus affirms too positively, refers too distinctly to its etymology, to allow us to suspect any mistake on his part.—GUIZOT.

M. Guizot's expressions are not in the least too strong against this strange

jecture), it is evident that the effect, as well as the cause, of Nero's persecution, were confined to the walls of Rome,[43]* that the religious tenets of the Galilæans, or Christians, were never made a subject of punishment, or even of inquiry; and that, as the idea of their sufferings was for a long time connected with the idea of cruelty and injustice, the moderation of succeeding princes inclined them to spare a sect oppressed by a tyrant whose rage had been usually directed against virtue and innocence.

Oppression of the Jews and Christians by Domitian.

It is somewhat remarkable, that the flames of war consumed, almost at the same time, the temple of Jerusalem and the Capitol of Rome;[44] and it appears no less singular, that the tribute

[43] See Dodwell. *Paucitat. Mart.* l. xiii. The Spanish Inscription in Gruter, p. 238, No. 9, is a manifest and acknowledged forgery, contrived by that noted impostor, Cyriacus of Ancona, to flatter the pride and prejudices of the Spaniards. See Ferreras, *Histoire d'Espagne*, tom. i. p. 192.

[44] The Capitol was burnt during the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, the 19th of December, A. D. 69. On the 10th of August, A. D. 70, the temple of Jerusalem was destroyed by the hands of the Jews themselves, rather than by those of the Romans.

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imagination of Gibbon; it may be doubted whether the followers of Judas were known as a sect under the name of Galilæans.—MILMAN.

It should be remembered that Gibbon owns this to be "*no more than a conjecture.*" It was without doubt too hastily adopted, and on very weak grounds. The Christians were never known by any other name out of Judea, or its immediate neighborhood. When M. Guizot says it had *long* been given to them at Rome, he forgets that it had been itself invented only about twenty years, and was not brought to the imperial city till some time after its first introduction at Antioch. It was therefore still new at the period here treated of. Gibbon was evidently misled less by Dr. Lardner than by the passage, in which Epictetus, who lived in Rome during Nero's reign, applies the term Galilæans to some race, that from madness or habit, had become indifferent to life and its concerns. This would apply to the Jews; but up to that period there had been no opportunity for Christians to exhibit any such general trait of character.—ENG. CH.

* The assertion, that "these persecutions were confined to the walls of Rome," is unsupported by any evidence. Sulpicius Severus speaks of edicts against Christianity, issued by Nero after the fire of Rome. "Post etiam datis legibus "religio vetabatur, palamque edictis propositis Christianum esse non licebat" (lib. 2, c. 37). We have no authority which weakens that of Orosius, who says expressly, that the Christians of the provinces were persecuted by Nero. "Nero "Christianos suppliciis ac mortibus affectit, ac per omnes provincias pari perse-"cutione excruciari imperavit" (lib. 8, c. 5).—GUIZOT.

M. Guizot, on the authority of Sulpicius Severus, ii. 37, and of Orosius, viii. 5, inclines to the opinion of those who extend the persecution to the provinces. Mosheim rather leans to that side on this much disputed question (c. xxxv). Neander takes the view of Gibbon, which is in general that of the most learned writers. There is indeed no evidence, which I can discover, of its reaching the provinces; and the apparent security, at least as regards his life, with which St. Paul pursued his travels during this period, affords at least a strong inference against a rigid and general inquisition against the Christians in other parts of the empire.—MILMAN.

If there had been such persecutions in the provinces, they must have extended to those where the Apostles were then preaching, and where their "Acts" were written. The silence of that record is strong evidence; while on the other hand, the ready granting of Paul's appeal to Rome, proves that the provincial governors had received no such powers to act as is implied by the "excruciari imperavit" of Orosius, who did not write till nearly four hundred years after the time of Nero.—ENG. CH.

which devotion had destined to the former, should have been converted by the power of an assaulting victor to restore and adorn the splendor of the latter.[45] The emperors levied a general capitation tax on the Jewish people; and although the sum assessed on the head of each individual was inconsiderable, the use for which it was designed, and the severity with which it was exacted, were considered as an intolerable grievance.[46] Since the officers of the revenue extended their unjust claim to many persons who were strangers to the blood or religion of the Jews, it was impossible that the Christians, who had so often sheltered themselves under the shade of the synagogue, should now escape this rapacious persecution. Anxious as they were to avoid the slightest infection of idolatry, their conscience forbade them to contribute to the honor of that demon who had assumed the character of the Capitoline Jupiter. As a very numerous though declining party among the Christians still adhered to the law of Moses, their efforts to dissemble their Jewish origin were detected by the decisive test of circumcision;[47] nor were the Roman magistrates at leisure to inquire into the difference of their religious tenets. Among the Christians who were brought before the tribunal of the emperor, or as it seems more probable, before that of the procurator of Judæa, two persons are said to have appeared, distinguished by their extraction, which was more truly noble than that of the greatest monarchs. These were the grandsons of St. Jude the apostle, who himself was the brother of Jesus Christ.[48] Their natural pretensions to the throne of David might

[45] The new Capitol was dedicated by Domitian. Sueton. in *Domitian*, c. 5. Plutarch in *Poplicola*, tom. i. p. 230, edit. Bryant. The gilding alone cost 12,000 talents (above two millions and a half). It was the opinion of Martial (l. ix. Epigram 3), that if the emperor had called in his debts, Jupiter himself, even though he had made a general auction of Olympus, would have been unable to pay two shillings in the pound.

[46] With regard to the tribute, see *Dion Cassius*, l. lxvi. p. 1082, with Reimarus's notes. Spanheim, *de Usu Numismatum*, tom. ii. p. 571; and Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, l. vii. c. 2.

[47] Suetonius (in *Domitian*, c. 12,) had seen an old man of ninety publicly examined before the procurator's tribunal. This is what Martial calls Mentula tributis damnata.

[48] This appellation was at first understood in the most obvious sense, and it was supposed that the brothers of Jesus were the lawful issue of Joseph and Mary. A devout respect for the viginity of the mother of God suggested to the Gnostics, and afterwards to the orthodox Greeks, the expedient of bestowing a second wife on Joseph. The Latins (from the time of Jerome) improved on that hint, asserted the perpetual celibacy of Joseph, and justified by many similar examples the new interpretation, that Jude, as well as Simon and James, who were styled the brothers of Jesus Christ, were only his first cousins. See Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclesiast.* tom. i. part iii.; and Beausobre, *Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, l. ii. c. 2.

perhaps attract the respect of the people, and excite the jealousy of the governor; but the meanness of their garb, and the simplicity of their answers, soon convinced him that they were neither desirous nor capable of disturbing the peace of the Roman empire. They frankly confessed their royal origin, and their near relation to the Messiah; but they disclaimed any temporal views, and professed that his kingdom, which they devoutly expected, was purely of a spiritual and angelic nature. When they were examined concerning their fortune and occupation, they showed their hands, hardened with daily labor, and declared that they derived their whole subsistence from the cultivation of a farm near the village of Cocaba, of the extent of about twenty-four English acres,[49] and of the value of nine thousand drachms, or three hundred pounds sterling. The grandsons of St. Jude were dismissed with compassion and contempt.[50]

Execution of Clemens the consul.

But although the obscurity of the house of David might protect them from the suspicions of a tyrant, the present greatness of his own family alarmed the pusillanimous temper of Domitian, which could only be appeased by the blood of those Romans whom he either feared, or hated, or esteemed. Of the two sons of his uncle Favius Sabinus,[51] the elder was soon convicted of treasonable intentions, and the younger, who bore the name of Flavius Clemens, was indebted for his safety to his want of courage and ability.[52] The emperor, for a long time, distinguished so harmless a kinsman by his favor and protection, bestowed on him his own niece Domitilla, adopted the children of that marriage to the hope of the succession, and invested their father with the honors of the consulship. But he had scarcely finished the term of his annual magistracy, when, on a slight pretence, he was condemned and executed; Domitilla was banished to a desolate island on the coast of Campania;[53]

[49] Thirty-nine πλεθρα, squares of a hundred feet each, which, if strictly computed, would scarcely amount to nine acres. But the probability of circumstances, the practice of other Greek writers, and the authority of M. de Valois, inclines me to believe that the πλεθρα is used to express the Roman jugerum.

[50] *Eusebius*, iii. 20. The story is taken from Hegesippus.

[51] See the death and character of Sabinus in Tacitus. (*Hist.* iii. 74, 75.) Sabinus was the elder brother, and, till the accession of Vespasian, had been considered as the principal support of the Flavian family.

[52] Flavium Clementum patruelem suum *contemtissimæ inertiæ*. . . . ex tenuissima suspicione interemit. Sueton. in *Domitian*, c. 15.

[53] The Isle of Pandataria, according to Dion. Bruttius Præsens (apud *Euseb.*

and sentences either of death or of confiscation were pronounced against a great number of persons who were involved in the same accusation. The guilt imputed to their charge was that of *Atheism* and *Jewish manners;*[54] a singular association of ideas, which cannot with any propriety be applied except to the Christians, as they were obscurely and imperfectly viewed by the magistrates and by the writers of that period. On the strength of so probable an interpretation, and too eagerly admitting the suspicions of a tyrant as an evidence of their honorable crime, the church has placed both Clemens and Domitilla among its first martyrs, and has branded the cruelty of Domitian with the name of the second persecution. But this persecution (if it deserves that epithet) was of no long duration. A few months after the death of Clemens and the banishment of Domitalla, Stephen, a freedman belonging to the latter, who had enjoyed the favor, but who had not surely embraced the faith of his mistress,* assassinated the emperor in his palace.[55] The memory of Domitian was condemned by the senate; his acts were rescinded; his exiles recalled; and, under the gentle administration of Nerva, while the most innocent were restored to their rank and fortunes, even the most guilty either obtained pardon or escaped punishment.[56]

Ignorance of Pliny concerning the Christians.

II. About ten years afterward, under the reign of Trajan, the younger Pliny was intrusted by his friend and master with the government of Bithynia and Pontus. He soon found himself at a loss to determine by what rule of justice or of law he should direct his conduct in the execution of an office the most repugnant to his humanity. Pliny had never assisted at any judicial proceedings against the Christians, with whose name alone he seems to be

iii. 18) banishes her to that of Pontia, which was not far distant from the other. That difference, and a mistake, either of Eusebius or of his transcribers, have given occasion to suppose two Domitillas, the wife and the niece of Clemens. See Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclesiastiques*, tom. ii. p. 224.

[54] Dion. l. lxvii. p. 1112. If the Bruttius Præsens, from whom it is probable that he collected this account, was the correspondent of Pliny (*Epistol.* vii. 3), we may consider him as a contemporary writer.

[55] Sueton. in *Domit.* c. 17. Philostratus in *Vit. Appollon.* l. viii.

[56] *Dion.* l. lxviii. p. 1118. Plin. *Epistol.* iv. 22.

* This is an uncandid sarcasm. There is nothing to connect Stephen with the religion of Domitilla.† He was a knave detected in the malversation of money—interceptarum pecuniarum reus.—MILMAN.

† This statement of Milman, like many of his criticisms, cannot be considered remarkably profound. Gibbon says that Stephen "had not surely embraced the "faith of his mistress." Milman says, "There is nothing to connect Stephen "with the religion of Domitilla." In what do these assertions differ?—E.

acquainted; and he was totally uninformed with regard to the nature of their guilt, the method of their conviction, and the degree of their punishment. In this perplexity, he had recourse to his usual expedient, of submitting to the wisdom of Trajan an impartial, and, in some respects, a favorable account of the new superstition, requesting the emperor that he would condescend to resolve his doubts, and to instruct his ignorance.[57] The life of Pliny had been employed in the acquisition of learning, and in the business of the world. Since the age of nineteen he had pleaded with distinction in the tribunals of Rome,[58] filled a place in the senate, had been invested with the honors of the consulship, and had formed very numerous connections with every order of men, both in Italy and in the provinces. From *his* ignorance, therefore, we may derive some useful information. We may assure ourselves, that when he accepted the government of Bithynia there were no general laws or decrees of the senate in force against the Christians; that neither Trajan nor any of his virtuous predecessors, whose edicts were received into the civil and criminal jurisprudence, had publicly declared their intentions concerning the new sect; and that, whatever proceedings had been carried on against the Christians, there were none of sufficient weight and authority to establish a precedent for the conduct of a Roman magistrate.*

Trajan and his successors establish a legal mode of proceeding against them.

The answer of Trajan, to which the Christians of the succeeding ages have frequently appealed, discovers as much regard for justice and humanity as could be reconciled with his mistaken notions of religious policy.[59] Instead of display-

57 Plin. *Epistol.* x. 97. The learned Mosheim expresses himself (pp. 147, 232) with the highest approbation of Pliny's moderate and candid temper. Notwithstanding Dr. Lardner's suspicions (see *Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, vol. ii. p. 46), I am unable to discover any bigotry in his language or proceedings.†

58 Plin. *Epist.* v. 8. He pleaded his first cause A. D. 81; the year after the famous eruptions of Vesuvius, in which his uncle lost his life.

59 Plin. *Epist.* x. 98. Tertullian (*Apolog.* c. 5) considers this rescript as a relaxation of the ancient penal laws, "quas Trajanus ex parte frustratus est;" and yet Tertullian, in another part of his *Apology*, exposes the inconsistency of prohibiting inquiries, and enjoining punishments.

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* This reasoning of Gibbon appears conclusive. Persecution for religious belief was contrary to the spirit of Paganism. It was reserved for Catholicism to establish the Holy Inquisition, to instigate the massacre of St. Bartholomew, to burn unbelievers and heretics at the stake, and to redden the earth with the blood of the best and the noblest of the human race.—E.

† Yet the humane Pliny put two female attendants, probably deaconesses, to the torture, in order to ascertain the real nature of these suspicious meetings; necessarium credidi, ex duabus ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur, quid esset veri et *per tormenta* quærere.—MILMAN.

ing the implacable zeal of an Inquisitor, anxious to discover the most minute particles of heresy, and exulting in the number of his victims, the emperor expresses much more solicitude to protect the security of the innocent, than to prevent the escape of the guilty. He acknowledges the difficulty of fixing any general plan; but he lays down two salutary rules, which often afforded relief and support to the distressed Christians. Though he directs the magistrates to punish such persons as are legally convicted, he prohibits them, with a very humane inconsistency, from making any inquiries concerning the supposed criminals. Nor was the magistrate allowed to proceed on every kind of information. Anonymous charges the emperor rejects, as too repugnant to the equity of his government; and he strictly requires, for the conviction of those to whom the guilt of Christianity is imputed, the positive evidence of a fair and open accuser. It is likewise probable that the persons who assumed so invidious an office were obliged to declare the grounds of their suspicions, to specify (both in respect to time and place) the secret assemblies which their Christian adversary had frequented, and to disclose a great number of circumstances which were concealed with the most vigilant jealousy from the eye of the profane. If they succeeded in their prosecution, they were exposed to the resentment of a considerable and active party, to the censure of the more liberal portion of mankind, and to the ignominy which, in every age and country, has attended the character of an informer. If, on the contrary, they failed in their proofs, they incurred the severe and perhaps capital penalty, which, according to a law published by the emperor Hadrian, was inflicted on those who falsely attributed to their fellow-citizens the crime of Christianity. The violence of personal or superstitious animosity might sometimes prevail over the most natural apprehensions of disgrace and danger; but it cannot surely be imagined that accusations of so unpromising an appearance were either lightly or frequently undertaken by the Pagan subjects of the Roman empire.[60] *

[60] Eusebius (*Hist. Ecclesiast.* l. iv. c. 9) has preserved the edict of Hadrian. He has likewise (c. 13) given us one still more favorable, under the name of Antoninus; the authenticity of which is not so universally allowed. The second *Apology* of Justin contains some curious particulars relative to the accusations of Christians.

* The enactment of this law affords strong presumption, that accusations of the "crime of Christianity," were by no means so uncommon, nor received with so

Popular clamors.

The expedient which was employed to elude the prudence of the laws, affords a sufficient proof how effectually they disappointed the mischievous designs of private malice or superstitious zeal. In a large and tumultuous assembly, the restraints of fear and shame, so forcible on the minds of individuals, are deprived of the greatest part of their influence. The pious Christian, as he was desirous to obtain, or to escape, the glory of martyrdom, expected, either with impatience or with terror, the stated returns of the public games and festivals. On those occasions, the inhabitants of the great cities of the empire were collected in the circus or in the theatre, where every circumstance of the place, as well as of the ceremony, contributed to kindle their devotion, and to extinguish their humanity. Whilst the numerous spectators, crowned with garlands, perfumed with incense, purified with the blood of victims, and surrounded with the altars and statues of their tutelar deities, resigned themselves to the enjoyment of pleasures, which they considered as an essential part of their religious worship, they recollected that the Christians alone abhorred the gods of mankind, and, by their absence and melancholy on these solemn festivals, seemed to insult or to lament the public felicity. If the empire had been afflicted by any recent calamity, by a plague, a famine, or an unsuccessful war; if the Tiber had, or if the Nile had not, risen beyond its banks; if the earth had shaken, or if the temperate order of the seasons had been interrupted, the superstitious Pagans were convinced that the crimes and the impiety of the Christians, who were spared by the excessive lenity of the government, had at length provoked the divine justice. It was not among a licentious and exasperated populace, that the forms of legal proceedings could be observed; it was not in an amphitheatre, stained with the blood of wild beasts and gladiators, that the voice of compassion could be heard. The impatient clamors of the multitude denounced the Christians as the enemies of gods and men, doomed them to the severest tortures, and, venturing to accuse by name some of the most

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much mistrust and caution by the ruling authorities, as Gibbon would insinuate. —MILMAN.

Professor Hagelmayer has proved the authenticity of the edict of Antoninus, in his *Comm. Hist.-Theol. in Edict. Imp. Antonini.* Tubing. in 4to.—GUIZOT.

Neander doubts its authenticity (vol. i. p. 152). In my opinion, the internal evidence is decisive against it.—MILMAN.

distinguished of the new sectaries, required with irresistible vehemence that they should be instantly apprehended and cast to the lions.[61] The provincial governors and magistrates who presided in the public spectacles were usually inclined to gratify the inclinations, and to appease the rage, of the people, by the sacrifice of a few obnoxious victims. But the wisdom of the emperors protected the church from the danger of these tumultuous clamors and irregular accusations, which they justly censured as repugnant both to the firmness and to the equity of their administration. The edicts of Hadrian and of Antoninus Pius expressly declared, that the voice of the multitude should never be admitted as legal evidence to convict or to punish those unfortunate persons who had embraced the enthusiasm of the Christians.[62]

Trials of the Christians.

III. Punishment was not the inevitable consequence of conviction, and the Christians whose guilt was the most clearly proved by the testimony of witnesses, or even by their voluntary confession, still retained in their own power the alternative of life or death. It was not so much the past offence, as the actual resistance, which excited the indignation of the magistrate. He was persuaded that he offered them an easy pardon, since, if they consented to cast a few grains of incense upon the altar, they were dismissed from the tribunal in safety and with applause. It was esteemed the duty of a humane judge to endeavor to reclaim, rather than to punish, those deluded enthusiasts. Varying his tone according to the age, the sex, or the situation of the prisoners, he frequently condescended to set before their eyes every circumstance which could render life more pleasing,

[61] See Tertullian (*Apolog.* c. 40). The acts of the martyrdom of Polycarp exhibit a lively picture of these tumults, which were usually fomented by the malice of the Jews.*

[62] These regulations are inserted in the above-mentioned edicts of Hadrian and Pius. See the *Apology* of Melito. (apud. *Euseb.* l. iv. c. 26).

*Jews would not have attended festivities in which so much idolatry was mixed up. It is far more likely, that these tumults were excited by the parties referred to in a former note, whose profits or earnings were diminished by the decline of the ancient religion. When the effects of this great social change were beginning to be experienced, and long-protected interests, whose ramifications extended into every part of the empire, foresaw their ruin, we cannot be surprised that intelligent and well-meaning princes, like Trajan, the Antonines and Decius, should have yielded to the importunities of priests and people, demanding stringent and vindictive measures against the authors of the injury. We naturally feel compassion for the suffering martyr, and indignation against his oppressor. But we must not forget, that there was suffering also on the other side. Yet Gibbon was too lenient to the ruling powers, too forbearing toward the atrocities which they permitted, in an age when no ignorance of the rights of conscience can be allowed to palliate such outrages on the feelings of humanity.—ENG. CH.

or death more terrible; and to solicit, nay, to entreat them, that they would show some compassion to themselves, to their families, and to their friends.[63] If threats and persuasions proved ineffectual, he had often recourse to violence; the scourge and the rack were called in to supply the deficiency of argument, and every art of cruelty was employed to subdue such inflexible, and, as it appeared to the Pagans, such criminal obstinacy. The ancient apologists of Christianity have censured, with equal truth and severity, the irregular conduct of their persecutors, who, contrary to every principle of judicial proceeding, admitted the use of torture, in order to obtain, not a confession, but a denial, of the crime which was the object of their inquiry.[64] The monks of succeeding ages, who, in their peaceful solitudes, entertained themselves with diversifying the deaths and sufferings of the primitive martyrs, have frequently invented torments of a much more refined and ingenious nature. In particular, it has pleased them to suppose, that the zeal of the Roman magistrates, disdaining every consideration of moral virtue or public decency, endeavored to seduce those whom they were unable to vanquish, and that by their orders the most brutal violence was offered to those whom they found it impossible to seduce. It is related, that pious females, who were prepared to despise death, were sometimes condemned to a more severe trial,† and called upon to determine whether they set a higher value on their religion or on their chastity. The youths to whose licentious embraces they were abandoned received a solemn exhortation from the judge to exert their most strenuous efforts to

63 See the rescript of Trajan, and the conduct of Pliny. The most authentic *Acts of the Martyrs* abound in these exhortations.*

64 In particular, see Tertullian (*Apolog.* c. 2, 3), and Lactantius (*Institut. Divin.* v. 9). Their reasonings are almost the same; but we may discover, that one of those apologists had been a lawyer, and the other a rhetorician.

65 See two instances of this kind of torture in the *Acta Sincera Martyrum*, published by Ruinart, pp. 160, 399. Jerome, in his *Legend of Paul the Hermit*, tells a strange story of a young man, who was chained naked on a bed of flowers, and assaulted by a beautiful and wanton courtesan. He quelled the rising temptation by biting off his tongue.

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* Pliny's test was the worship of the gods, offerings to the statue of the emperor, and blaspheming Christ—præterea maledicerent Christo.—MILMAN.

† The more ancient as well as authentic memorials of the church, relate many examples of the fact (of these *severe trials*) which there is nothing to contradict. Tertullian, among others, says, Nam proximè ad lenonem damnando Christianam, potius quam ad leonem, confessi estis labem pudicitiæ apud nos atrociorem omni pœna et omni morte reputari, *Apol.* capult. Eusebius likewise says, "Other "virgins, dragged to brothels, have lost their life rather than defile their virtue." *Euseb. Hist. Ecc.* viii. 14.—GUIZOT.

The miraculous interpositions were the offspring of the coarse imaginations of the monks.—MILMAN.

maintain the honor of Venus against the impious virgin who refused to burn incense on her altars. Their violence, however, was commonly disappointed, and the seasonable interposition of some miraculous power preserved the chaste spouses of Christ from the dishonor even of an involuntary defeat. We should not, indeed, neglect to remark that the more ancient as well as authentic memorials of the church are seldom polluted with these extravagant and indecent fictions.

Humanity of the Roman magistrates.

The total disregard of truth and probability in the representation of these primitive martyrdoms was occasioned by a very natural mistake. The ecclesiastical writers of the fourth or fifth centuries ascribed to the magistrates of Rome the same degree of implacable and unrelenting zeal which filled their own breasts against the heretics or the idolators of their own times. It is not improbable that some of those persons who were raised to the dignities of the empire might have imbibed the prejudices of the populace, and that the cruel disposition of others might occasionally be stimulated by motives of avarice or of personal resentment.[66] But it is certain, and we may appeal to the grateful confessions of the first Christians, that the greatest part of those magistrates who exercised in the provinces the authority of the emperor, or of the senate, and to whose hands alone the jurisdiction of life and death was intrusted, behaved like men of polished manners and liberal education, who respected the rules of justice, and who were conversant with the precepts of philosophy. They frequently declined the odious task of persecution, dismissed the charge with contempt, or suggested to the accused Christian some legal evasion, by which he might elude the severity of the laws,[67] Whenever they were invested with a discretionary power,[68] they used it much less for the oppression, than for the relief and benefit, of the afflicted church. They were far from condemning all the Christians who were accused before

[66] The conversion of his wife provoked Claudius Herminianus, governor of Cappadocia, to treat the Christians with uncommon severity. *Tertullian ad Scapulam*, c. 3.

[67] Tertullian, in his epistle to the governor of Africa, mentions several remarkable instances of lenity and forbearance, which had happened within his knowledge.

[68] Neque enim in universum aliquid quod quasi certam formam habeat, constitui potest; an expression of Trajan, which gave a very great latitude to the governors of provinces.*

* Gibbon altogether forgets that Trajan fully approved of the course pursued by Pliny. That course was, to order all who persevered in their faith to be led to execution: perseverantes duci jussi.—MILMAN.

their tribunal, and very far from punishing with death all those who were convicted of an obstinate adherence to the new superstition. Contenting themselves for the most part, with the milder chastisements of imprisonment, exile, or slavery in the mines,[69] they left the unhappy victims of their justice some reason to hope that a prosperous event, the accession, the marriage, or the triumph of an emperor, might speedily restore them, by a general pardon, to their former state. The martyrs, devoted to immediate execution by the Roman magistrates, appear to have been selected from the most opposite extremes. They were either bishops and presbyters, the persons the most distinguished among the Christians by their rank and influence, and whose example might strike terror into the whole sect;[70] or else they were the meanest and most abject among them, particularly those of the servile condition, whose lives were esteemed of little value, and whose sufferings were viewed by the ancients with too careless an indifference.[71] The learned Origen, who, from his experience as well as reading, was intimately acquainted with the history of the Christians, declares, in the most express terms, that the number of martyrs was very inconsiderable.[72] His authority would alone be suffi-

Inconsiderable number of martyrs.

69 In metalla damnamur, in insulas relegamur. .Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 12. The mines of Numidia contained nine bishops, with a proportionable number of their clergy and people, to whom Cyprian addressed a pious epistle of praise and comfort. See Cyprian. *Epistol.* 76, 77.

70 Though we cannot receive with entire confidence, either the epistles or the acts of Ignatius (they may be found in the 2d volume of the *Apostolic Fathers*), yet we may quote that bishop of Antioch as one of these *exemplary* martyrs. He was sent in chains to Rome as a public spectacle; and when he arrived at Troas, he received the pleasing intelligence, that the persecution of Antioch was already at an end.*

71 Among the martyrs of Lyons (*Euseb.* l. v. c. 1), the slave Blandina was distinguished by more exquisite tortures. Of the five martyrs so much celebrated in the acts of Felicitas and Perpetua, two were of a servile, and two others of a very mean, condition.

72 *Origen. advers. Celsum*, l. iii. p. 116. His words deserve to to be transcribed Ὀλιγοὶ κατὰ καιρούς, καὶ σφόδρα εὐαρίθμητοι ὑπερ τῆς Χριστιανῶν Θεοσεβείας τεθνήκασι.†

* The acts of Ignatius are generally received as authentic, as are seven of his letters. Eusebius and St. Jerome mention them; there are two editions: in one, the letters are longer, and many passages appear to have been interpolated: the other edition is that which contains the real letters of St. Ignatius; such at least is the opinion of the wisest and most enlightened critics. (See Lardner, *Cred. of Gosp. Hist.*) Less, *über die Religion*, v. i. p. 529. Usser. *Diss. de Ign. Epist.* Pearson, *Vindic. Ignatianæ*. It should be remarked, that it was under the reign of Trajan that the bishop Ignatius was carried from Antioch to Rome, to be exposed to the lions in the amphitheatre, the year of J. C. 107, according to some; of 116, according to others.—Guizot.

In the preceding chapter Gibbon did not hesitate to refer to the epistles of Ignatius as genuine.—Eng. Ch.

† "Those who have suffered death for the Christian religion are few, and easily "numbered."—Guizot.

The words that follow should be quoted: "God not permitting that all this

cient to annihilate that formidable array of martyrs, whose relics, drawn for the most part from the catacombs of Rome, have replenished so many churches,[73] and whose marvelous achievements have been the subject of so many volumes of holy romance.[74] But the general assertion of Origen may be explained and confirmed by the particular testimony of his friend Dionysius, who, in the immense city of Alexandria, and under the rigorous persecution of Decius, reckons only ten men and seven women who suffered for the profession of the Christian name.[75]

Example of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage.

During the same period of persecution, the zealous, the eloquent, the ambitious Cyprian governed the church, not only of Carthage, but even of Africa. He possessed every quality which could engage the reverence of the faithful, or pro-

[73] If we recollect that all the Plebeans of Rome were not Christians, and that all the Christians were not saints and martyrs, we may judge with how much safety religious honors can be ascribed to bones or urns, indiscriminately taken from the public burial-place. After ten centuries of a very free and open trade, some suspicions have arisen among the more learned Catholics. They now require, as a proof of sanctity and martyrdom, the letters B. M., a vial full of red liquor, supposed to be blood, or the figure of a palm-tree. But the two former signs are of little weight, and with regard to the last, it is observed by the critics, 1. That the figure, as it is called, of a palm, is perhaps a cypress, and perhaps only a stop, the flourish of a comma used in the monumental inscriptions. 2. That the palm was the symbol of victory among the Pagans. 3. That among the Christians it served as the emblem, not only of martyrdom, but in general of a joyful resurrection See the epistle of P. Mabillon, on the worship of unknown saints, and *Muratori sopra le Antichita Italiane*, *Dissertat.* lviii.

[74] As a specimen of these legends, we may be satisfied with 10,000 Christian soldiers crucified in one day, either by Trajan or Hadrian, on Mount Ararat. See *Baronius ad Martyrologium Romanum;* Tillemont, *Mém. Eccleasiast.* tom. ii. part ii. p. 438; and *Geddes's Miscellanies*, vol. ii. p. 203. The abbreviation of Mil., which may signify either *soldiers* or *thousands*, is said to have occasioned some extraordinary mistakes.

[75] *Dionysius ap. Euseb.* l. vi. c. 41. One of the seventeen was likewise accused of robbery.*

"class of men should be exterminated;" which appears to indicate that Origen thought the number put to death inconsiderable only when compared to the numbers who had survived. Besides this, he is speaking of the state of the religion under Caracalla, Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, and Philip, who had not persecuted the Christians. It was during the reign of the latter that Origen wrote his books against Celsus.—Guizot.

* Gibbon ought to have said, was falsely accused of robbery, for so it is in the Greek text. This Christian, named Nemesion, falsely accused of robbery before the centurion, was acquitted of a crime altogether foreign to his character, (ἀλλοτριωτάτην), but he was led before the governor as guilty of being a Christian, and the governor inflicted upon him a double torture. *Euseb.* (loc. cit.) It must be added, that Saint Dionysius only makes particular mention of the principal martyrs [this is very doubtful,—Milman], and that he says, in general, that the fury of the Pagans against the Christians gave to Alexandria the appearance of a city taken by storm. [This refers to plunder and ill usage, not to actual slaughter.—Milman.] Finally, it should be observed that Origen wrote before the persecution of the emperor Decius.—Guizot.

This is copied from Mr. Davis's *Examination*, p. 62. Gibbon, in his *Vindication*, (1st edit. p. 42) says, that Nemesion, though deemed innocent by his bishop, Dionysius, was treated by the civil magistrate as guilty, which Mr. Davis (*Reply*, p. 80) unsuccessfully endeavors to disprove.—Eng. Ch.

See *Vindication*, at close of this volume.—E.

voke the suspicions and resentment of the Pagan magistrates. His character, as well as his station, seemed to mark out that holy prelate as the most distinguished object of envy and of danger.[76] The experience, however, of the life of Cyprian is sufficient to prove that our fancy has exaggerated the perilous situation of a Christian bishop;* and that the dangers to which he was exposed were less imminent than those which temporal ambition is always prepared to encounter in the pursuit of honors. Four Roman emperors, with their families, their favorites, and their adherents, perished by the sword in the space of ten years, during which the bishop of Carthage guided by his authority and eloquence the councils of the African church. It was only in the third year of his administration that he had reason, during a few months, to apprehend the severe edicts of Decius, the vigilance of the magistrate, and the clamors of the multitude, who loudly demanded that Cyprian, the leader of the Christians, should be thrown to the lions. Prudence suggested the necessity of a temporary retreat, and the voice of prudence was obeyed. He withdrew himself into an obscure solitude, from whence he could maintain a constant correspondence with the clergy and people of Carthage; and, concealing himself till the tempest was past, he preserved his life, without relinquishing either his power or his reputation. His extreme caution did not, however, escape the censure of the more rigid Christians, who lamented, or the reproaches of his personal enemies, who insulted, a conduct which they considered as a pusillanimous and criminal desertion of the most sacred duty.[77] The propriety of reserving himself for the future exigencies of the church, the

His danger and flight.

[76] The letters of Cyprian exhibit a very curious and original picture both of the *man* and of the *times*. See likewise the two lives of Cyprian, composed with equal accuracy, though with very different views; the one by Le Clerc (*Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. xii. pp. 208–378), the other by Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclesiastiques*, tom. iv. part i. pp. 76–459.

[77] See the polite but severe epistle of the clergy of Rome to the bishop of Carthage. (Cyprian. *Epist.* 8, 9.) Pontius labors with the greatest care and diligence to justify his master against the general censure.

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* Our fancy has not "exaggerated the perilous situation of a Christian bishop," for in a former note, Gibbon himself has said, that the mines of Numidia contained "nine bishops, with a proportionable number of their clergy and people," for which he refers to the authority of Cyprian. *Epist.* 76, 77.—GUIZOT.

This is by no means a contradiction of Gibbon's observation, that in those days of persecution, the Christian who attained the highest spiritual honors, did not expose himself to as much danger as the Pagan who sought or held the highest temporal dignity.—ENG. CH.

example of several holy bishops,[78] and the divine admonitions which, as he declares himself, he frequently received in visions and ecstasies, were the reasons alleged in his justification.[79] But his best apology may be found in the cheerful resolution, with which, about eight years afterward, he suffered death in the cause of religion. The authentic history of his martyrdom has been recorded with unusual candor and impartiality. A short abstract, therefore, of its most important circumstances, will convey the clearest information of the spirit, and of the forms, of the Roman persecutions.[80]

A. D. 257. His banishment.

When Valerian was consul for the third, and Gallienus for the fourth time, Paternus, proconsul of Africa, summoned Cyprian to appear in his private council-chamber. He there acquainted him with the imperial mandate which he had just received,[81] that those who had abandoned the Roman religion should immediately return to the practice of the ceremonies of their ancestors. Cyprian replied, without hesitation, that he was a Christian and a bishop, devoted to the worship of the true and only Deity, to whom he offered up his daily supplications for the safety and prosperity of the two emperors, his lawful sovereigns. With modest confidence he pleaded the privilege of a citizen, in refusing to give any answer to some invidious and indeed illegal questions which the proconsul had proposed. A sentence of banishment was pronounced as the penalty of Cyprian's disobedience; and he was conducted without delay to Curubis, a free and maritime city of Zeugitania, in a pleasant situation, a fertile territory, and at the distance of about forty miles from Carthage.[82] The exiled bishop enjoyed the

[78] In particular those of Dionysius of Alexandria, and Gregory Thaumaturgus, of Neo-Cæsarea. See Euseb. *Hist. Ecclesiast.* l. vi. c. 40; and *Mémoires de Tillemont*, tom. iv. part ii. p. 685.

[79] See Cyprian, *Epist.* 16, and his life by Pontius.

[80] We have an original life of Cyprian by the deacon Pontius, the companion of his exile, and the spectator of his death; and we likewise possess the ancient proconsular acts of his martyrdom. These two relations are consistent with each other, and with probability; and what is somewhat remarkable, they are both unsullied by any miraculous circumstances.

[81] It should seem that these were circular orders, sent at the same time to all the governors. Dionysius (ap. *Euseb.* l. vii. c. 11) relates the history of his own banishment from Alexandria almost in the same manner. But as he escaped and survived the persecution, we must account him either more or less fortunate than Cyprian.

[82] See Plin. *Hist. Natur.* v. 3. Cellarius, *Geograph. Antiq.* part iii, p. 96. *Shaw's Travel's*, p. 90; and for the adjacent country (which is terminated by Cape Bona, or the promontory of Mercury), *l'Afrique de Mormol.* tom. ii. p. 494. There are the remains of an aqueduct near Curubis, or Curbis, at present altered into Gurbes; and Dr. Shaw read an inscription, which styles that city *Colonia*

conveniences of life and the consciousness of virtue. His reputation was diffused over Africa and Italy; an account of his behavior was published for the edification of the Christian world;[83] and his solitude was frequently interrupted by the letters, the visits, and the congratulations of the faithful. On the arrival of a new proconsul in the province, the fortune of Cyprian appeared for some time to wear a still more favorable aspect. He was recalled from banishment; and, though not yet permitted to return to Carthage, his own gardens in the neighborhood of the capital were assigned for the place of his residence.[84]

His condemnation.

At length, exactly one year[85] after Cyprian was first apprehended, Galerius Maximus, proconsul of Africa, received the Imperial warrant for the execution of the Christian teachers. The bishop of Carthage was sensible that he should be singled out for one of the first victims; and the frailty of nature tempted him to withdraw himself, by a secret flight, from the danger and the honor of martyrdom;* but, soon recovering that fortitude which his character required, he returned to his gardens, and patiently expected the ministers of death. Two officers of rank, who were intrusted with that commission, placed Cyprian between them in a chariot; and, as the proconsul was not then at leisure, they conducted him, not to a prison, but to a private house in Carthage, which belonged to one of them. An elegant supper was provided for the entertainment of the bishop, and his Christian friends were permitted, for the last time, to enjoy

Fulvia. The deacon Pontius (in *Vit. Cyprian.* c. 12) calls it "Apricum et com-" petentem locum, hospitium pro voluntate secretum, et quicquid apponi eis ante " promissum est, qui regnum et justitiam Dei quærunt." †

83 See Cyprian, *Epistol.* 77, edit. Fell.

84 Upon his conversion, he had sold those gardens for the benefit of the poor. The indulgence of God (most probably the liberality of some Christian friend) restored them to Cyprian. See *Pontius*, c. 15.

85 When Cyprian, a twelvemonth before, was sent into exile, he dreamt that he should be put to death the next day. The event made it necessary to explain that word as signifying a year. *Pontius*, c. 12.

* This was not, as it appears, the motive which induced St. Cyprian to conceal himself for a short time; he was threatened to be carried to Utica; he preferred remaining at Carthage in order to suffer martyrdom in the midst of his flock, and in order that his death might conduce to the edification of those whom he had guided during life. Such, at least, is his own explanation of his conduct in one of his letters: Cum perlatum ad nos fuisset, fratres carissimi, frumentarios esse missos qui me Uticam perducerent, consilioque carissimorum persuasum est, ut de hortis nostris interem secederemus, justà interveniente causa, consensi; eo quod congruat episcopum in ea civitate, in qua Ecclesiæ dominicæ præest, illic Dominum confiteri et plebem universam præpositi præsentis confessione clarificari. *Ep.* 83.—GUIZOT.

† Cape Bon was the "Fair Promontory" of Polybius.—ENG. CH.

distinct ideas from the vague though eloquent declamations of the fathers, or to ascertain the degree of immortal glory and happiness which they confidently promised to those who were so fortunate as to shed their blood in the cause of religion.[90] They inculcated, with becoming diligence, that the fire of martyrdom supplied every defect and expiated every sin; that, while the souls of ordinary Christians were obliged to pass through a slow and painful purification, the triumphant sufferers entered into the immediate fruition of eternal bliss, where, in the society of the patriarchs, the apostles, and the prophets, they reigned with Christ, and acted as his assessors in the universal judgment of mankind. The assurance of a lasting reputation upon earth, a motive so congenial to the vanity of human nature, often served to animate the courage of the martyrs. The honors which Rome or Athens bestowed on those citizens who had fallen in the cause of their country, were cold and unmeaning demonstrations of respect, when compared with the ardent gratitude and devotion which the primitive church expressed towards the victorious champions of the faith. The annual commemoration of their virtues and sufferings was observed as a sacred ceremony, and at length terminated in religious worship. Among the Christians who had publicly confessed their religious principles, those who (as it very frequently happened) had been dismissed from the tribunal or the prisons of the Pagan magistrates, obtained such honors as were justly due to their imperfect martyrdom and their generous resolution. The most pious females courted the permission of imprinting kisses on the fetters which they had worn, and on the wounds which they had received. Their persons were esteemed holy, their decisions were admitted with deference, and they too often abused, by their spiritual pride and licentious manners, the pre-eminence which their zeal and intrepidity had acquired.[91]

[90] See in particular the treatise of *Cyprian de Lapsis*, pp. 87–98, edit. Fell. The learning of Dodwell (*Dissertat. Cyprianic.* xii. xiii.), and the ingenuity of Middleton, (*Free Inquiry*, p. 162, &c.), have left scarcely anything to add concerning the merit, the honors, and the motives of the martyrs.

[91] Cyprian. *Epistol.* 5, 6, 7, 22, 24;* and *de Unitat. Ecclessiæ.* The number of pretended martyrs has been very much multiplied by the custom which was introduced of bestowing that honorable name on confessors.

* The letters of Cyprian, to which Gibbon refers, do not prove what he says of "the spiritual pride and licentious manners" of the confessors. In his fifth letter, written during his retirement, he exhorts the deacons and priests to fill his vacant place, not to allow the confessors or poor to want for anything, and to visit the former in their prisons. In the sixth, addressed to Sergius, Rogatianus, and other confessors, he exhorts them to suffer martyrdom, and complains of not

Distinctions like these, whilst they display the exalted merit, betray the inconsiderable number of those who suffered and of those who died, for the profession of Christianity.

Ardor of the first Christians.

The sober discretion of the present age will more readily censure than admire, but can more easily admire than imitate, the fervor of the first Christians, who, according to the lively expression of Sulpicius Severus, desired martyrdom with more eagerness than his own contemporaries solicited a bishopric.[92] The epistles which Ignatius composed as he was carried in chains through the cities of Asia breathe senti-

[92] Certatim gloriosa in certamina ruebatur; multoque avidius tum martyria gloriosis mortibus quærebantur, quam nunc Episcopatus pravis ambitionibus appetuntur. *Sulpicius Severus*, l. ii. He might have omitted the word *nunc*.

being with them, to kiss their pure hands, and the lips which had glorified God. He bids them despise all the sufferings of this life, in the hope of eternal glory. The seventh is addressed to his deacons and presbyters, desiring them in a few words to relieve the poor. The twenty-second is from Lucian to Celerinus, most modestly written, disclaiming the praises of his friend, and condoling with him on the death of his sisters, the victims of persecution. The twenty-fourth is from Caldonius to Cyprian and the presbyters of Carthage, consulting them on the re-admission of penitent apostates into the church. It is only in the treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, that any confessors are reproved.—GUIZOT.

M. Guizot denies that the letters of Cyprian, to which he refers, bear out the statement in the text. I cannot scruple to admit the accuracy of Gibbon's quotation. To take only the fifth letter,-we find this passage: Doleo enim quando audio quosdam improbè et insolenter discurrere, et ad ineptias vel ad discordias vacare, Christi membra et jam Christum confessa per concubitus illicitos inquinari, nec a diaconis aut presbyteris regi posse, sed id agere ut per paucorum pravos et malos mores, multorum et bonorum confessorum gloria honeta maculeter. Gibbon's misrepresentation lies in the ambiguous expression, "too often." Were the epistles arranged in a different manner in the edition consulted by M. Guizot?—MILMAN.

In these notes, the attacks on Gibbon are unfair. He does not say that the presbyters and deacons attended the execution of Cyprian "in their official "character." With regard to Cyprian's letters, see also his *Vindication*, p. 156. His edition of Cyprian's works was that of Amsterdam, 1700; while M. Guizot used that of Oxford, 1682, or one in which the epistles stand in the same order, and in which Nos. 11, 13, and 14 correspond with Nos. 5, 6, and 7 in the former. M. Guizot should have looked into this before he committed himself by the publication of such a note as the above. There is no character which is so differently judged as is that of Cyprian, by the holders of opposite opinions. To Gibbon, early accustomed to think for himself, all control over thought was repugnant; and his short acquaintance with it, as it is exercised in the Roman Catholic church, probably conduced to his early abjuration of his adopted faith, as well as to the view afterward taken by him, of the ground on which the prerogative is asserted. By this rule, he estimated the character of the prelate, who first invested the Christian teachers with those stern attributes of command, which have since been more fully developed in such strict systems of ecclesiastical discipline. Where religion first assumed this form, it trained a supine race, that fell an easy prey to each successive invader; and in the land of Tertullian, Cyprian, Athanasius, and Cyril, industry, learning, talent, civilization, and even Christianity itself, were for the most part soon extinguished, and remain so to the present day.—ENG. CH.

In the historical novel called *Hypatia*, by Charles Kingsley, F. S. A., F. L. S., a vivid picture is given of life at Alexandria, in the fifth century, when Christianity, under the leadership of the patriarch Cyril, was struggling for ascendancy over Paganism. This gifted author, who, loyal to his title of "Rev.," has not forgotten to call Gibbon a "shallow sneerer," puts in the mouth of the pious Arsenius, the tutor of Arcadius the emperor, a realistic description of the state of society which arose from the contentions between the fanatical Christian monks on the one hand, and

ments the most repugnant to the ordinary feelings of human nature. He earnestly beseeches the Romans that, when he should be exposed in the amphitheatre, they would not, by their kind but unseasonable intercession, deprive him of the crown of glory; and he declares his resolution to provoke and irritate the wild beasts which might be employed as the instruments of his death.[93] Some stories are related of the courage of martyrs who actually performed what Ignatius had intended, who exasperated the fury of the lions, pressed the executioner to hasten his office, cheerfully leaped into the fires which were kindled to consume them, and discovered a sensation of joy and pleasure in the midst of the most exquisite tortures. Several examples have been preserved of a zeal impatient of those restraints which the emperors had provided for the security of the church. The Christians sometimes supplied by their voluntary declara-

[93] See *Epist. ad Roman.* c. 4, 5, ap. *Patres Apostol.* tom. ii. p. 27. It suited the purpose of Bishop Pearson (see *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, part ii, c. 9) to justify, by a profusion of examples and authorities, the sentiments of Ignatius.

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the ancient Pagan priests—the worshipers of the immortal gods—on the other: "What saw I?" says Arsenius. "Eunuchs the tyrants of their own sovereigns. "Bishops kissing the feet of parricides and harlots. Saints tearing saints in pieces "for a word, while sinners cheer them on to the unnatural fight. Liars thanked "for lying, hypocrites rejoicing in their hypocrisy. The many sold and butchered "for the malice, the caprice, the vanity of the few. The plunderers of the poor "plundered in their turn, by worse devourers than themselves. Every attempt at "reform the parent of worse scandals; every mercy begetting fresh cruelties; "every persecutor silenced, only to enable others to persecute him in their turn; "every devil who is exorcised returning with seven others worse than himself; "falsehood and selfishness, spite and lust, confusion seven times confounded, Satan "casting out Satan everywhere—from the emperor who wantons on his throne "to the slave who blasphemes beneath his fetters."

One of the triumphs of Christianity is shown when the beautiful Hypatia, the eloquent teacher and advocate of Paganism, is torn from her carriage by a rabble of "parabolani and monks, and dragged to the Cæsareum, the church of God himself. "Yes! On into the church itself! Into the cool, dim shadow, with its fretted "pillars, and lowering domes, and candles, and incense, and blazing altar, and "great pictures—looking from the walls athwart the gorgeous gloom; and right "in front, above the altar, the colossal Christ, watching unmoved from off the "wall, his right hand raised to give a blessing—or a curse? With one hand she "clasped her golden locks around her; the other arm was stretched upward "toward the great still Christ, appealing—and who dare say in vain?—from man "to God. Her lips were open to speak; but the words that should have come "from them reached God's ear alone; for in an instant Peter [the Christian monk] "struck her down, the dark mass closed over her again . . . and then wail "on wail, long, wild, ear-piercing, ringing along the vaulted roofs, and thrilled "like the trumpet of avenging angels."

This religious strife and contention continued with increasing bitterness until the advent of Mahomet, when Alexandria, the foremost city of civilization and learning, was conquered by the ruthless Saracens,—when the cross was supplanted by the crescent, and both Christians and Pagans succumbed before the prowess of the "true believers," the faithful, inspired soldiers of Allah,—and that great and irreparable loss occurred to the world of science, of art, and of letters—the destruction of the Alexandrian Library. Had we but those lost records, those treasures of former wisdom and culture, the History of Christianity could be easily and clearly written; and there would be but little use for the carping criticism of the Christian Guizot, or the puerile fault-finding of the protestant Milman.—E.

tion the want of an accuser, rudely disturbed the public service of Paganism,[94] and, rushing in crowds round the tribunal of the magistrates, called upon them to pronounce and to inflict the sentence of the law. The behavior of the Christians was too remarkable to escape the notice of the ancient philosophers; but they seem to have considered it with much less admiration than astonishment.* Incapable of conceiving the motives which sometimes transported the fortitude of believers beyond the bounds of prudence or reason, they treated such an eagerness to die as the strange result of obstinate despair, of stupid insensibility, or of superstitious frenzy.[95] "Unhappy men!" exclaimed the proconsul Antoninus to the Christians of Asia; "unhappy "men! if you are thus weary of your lives, is it so difficult "for you to find ropes and precipices?"[96] He was ex-

[94] The story of Polyeuctes, on which Corneille has founded a very beautiful tragedy, is one of the most celebrated, though not perhaps the most authentic, instances of this excessive zeal. We should observe, that the 60th canon of the council of Illiberis refuses the title of martyrs to those who exposed themselves to death, by publicly destroying the idols.

[95] See *Epictetus*, l. iv. c. 7 (though there is some doubt whether he alludes to the Christians). *Marcus Antoninus de Rebus suis*, l. xi. c. 3. *Lucian in Peregrin.* †

[96] *Tertullian ad Scapul.* c. 5. The learned are divided between three persons of the same name, who were all proconsuls of Asia. I am inclined to ascribe this story to Antoninus Pius, who was afterwards emperor; and who may have governed Asia under the reign of Trajan.‡

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*"It is a great question," says Voltaire, in the *Philosophical Dictionary*, article Martyr, "why the Roman empire always tolerated in its bosom the Jewish sect, "even after the two horrible wars of Titus and Adrian, why it tolerated the wor- "ship of Isis at several times; and why it frequently persecuted Christianity. " * * * It is evident that the Jews occupied with the trade of brokers and "usury, did not preach against the ancient religion of the empire, and that "the Christians, who were all busy in controversy, preached against the public "worship, sought to destroy it, often burned the temples and broke the conse- "crated statues, as St. Theodosius did at Amasia, and St. Polyeuctes in Mitylene. "The orthodox Christians, sure that their religion was the only true one, did not "tolerate any other. In consequence they themselves were hardly tolerated. Some "of them were punished and died for the faith—and these were the martyrs."

After enumerating many improbable tales found in the martyrologies, and recounting several absurd popish legends, this gifted author continues: "Do "you want good well-authenticated barbarities—good and well-attested massa- "cres, rivers of blood which have actually flowed—fathers, mothers, husbands, "wives, infants at the breasts, who have in reality had their throats cut and "been heaped on one another? Persecuting monsters! Seek these truths only "in your own annals: you will find them in the crusades against the Albigenses, "in the massacres of Merindol and Cabrière, in the frightful day of St. Bartholo- "mew, in the massacres of Ireland, in the valleys of the Pays de Vaud. It "becomes you well, barbarians as you are, to impute extravagant cruelties to the "best of emperors; you who have deluged Europe with blood, and covered "it with corpses, in order to prove that the same body can be in a thousand "places at once, and that the pope can sell indulgences! Cease to calumniate "the Romans, your law-givers, and ask pardon of God for the abominations "of your forefathers!"—E.

† This is the passage referred to at p. 108 (Note), where it is suggested that Epictetus, by the term Galilæans, more probably meant the whole Jewish nation, than Christians.—ENG. CH.

‡ Antoninus was proconsul of Asia in the time of the younger Pliny. *Ep.* 4, 3.—ENG. CH.

tremely cautious (as it is observed by a learned and pious historian) of punishing men who had found no accusers but themselves, the imperial laws not having made any provision for so unexpected a case: condemning therefore a few, as a warning to their brethren, he dismissed the multitude with indignation and contempt.[97] Notwithstanding this real or affected disdain, the intrepid constancy of the faithful was productive of more salutary effects on those minds which nature or grace had disposed for the easy reception of religious truth. On these melancholy occasions there were many among the Gentiles who pitied, who admired, and who were converted. The generous enthusiasm was communicated from the sufferer to the spectators; and the blood of martyrs, according to a well-known observation, became the seed of the church.

Gradual relaxation.

But although devotion had raised, and eloquence continued to inflame, this fever of the mind, it insensibly gave way to the more natural hopes and fears of the human heart, to the love of life, the apprehension of pain, and the horror of dissolution. The more prudent rulers of the church found themselves obliged to restrain the indiscreet ardor of their followers, and to distrust a constancy which too often abandoned them in the hour of trial.[98] As the lives of the faithful became less mortified and austere, they were every day less ambitious of the honors of martyrdom; and the soldiers of Christ, instead of distinguishing themselves by voluntary deeds of heroism, frequently deserted their post, and fled in confusion before the enemy whom it was their duty to resist. There were three methods, however, of escaping the flames of persecution, which were not attended with an equal degree of guilt; the first, indeed, was generally allowed to be innocent; the second was of a doubtful, or at least of a venial, nature; but the third implied a direct and criminal apostasy from the Christian faith.

Three methods of escaping martyrdom.

I. A modern inquisitor would hear with surprise that, whenever an information was given to a Roman magistrate, of any person within his

[97] Mosheim, *de Rebus Christ. ante Constantin.* p. 235.
[98] See the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna, ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* l. iv. c. 15.*

* The 15th chapter of the 10th book of the *Eccles. History* of Eusebius treats principally of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, and mentions some other martyrs. A single example of weakness is related; it is that of a Phyrgian named Quintus, who, appalled at the sight of the wild beasts and the tortures, renounced his faith.

jurisdiction who had embraced the sect of the Christians, the charge was communicated to the party accused, and that a convenient time was allowed him to settle his domestic concerns, and to prepare an answer to the crime which was imputed to him.[99] If he entertained any doubt of his own constancy, such a delay afforded him an opportunity of preserving his life and honor by flight, of withdrawing himself into some obscure retirement or some distant province, and of patiently expecting the return of peace and security. A measure so consonant to reason was soon authorized by the advice and example of the most holy prelates, and seems to have been censured by few, except by the Montanists, who deviated into heresy by their strict and obstinate adherence to the rigor of ancient discipline.[100]

II. The provincial governors, whose zeal was less prevalent than their avarice, had countenanced the practice of selling

[99] In the second apology of Justin, there is a particular and very curious instance of this legal delay. The same indulgence was granted to accused Christians, in the persecution of Decius: and Cyprian (de Lapsis) expressly mentions the "Dies negantibus præstitutus." *

[100] Tertullian considers flight from persecution as an imperfect, but very criminal apostasy, as an impious attempt to elude the will of God, &c., &c. He has written a treatise on this subject (see pp. 536—544, edit. Rigalt.), which is filled with the wildest fanaticism and the most incoherent declamation. It is, however, somewhat remarkable that Tertullian did not suffer martyrdom himself.

This example proves little against the mass of Christians, and this chapter of Eusebius furnished much stronger evidence of their courage than of their timidity. —GUIZOT.

This Quintus had, however, rashly and of his own accord appeared before the tribunal; and the church of Smyrna condemned "*his indiscreet ardor*," coupled as it was with weakness in the hour of trial.—MILMAN.

* The examples drawn by the historian from Justin Martyr and Cyprian relate altogether to particular cases, and prove nothing as to the general practice adopted toward the accused; it is evident, on the contrary, from the same apology of St. Justin, that they hardly ever obtained delay. "A man named "Lucius, himself a Christian, present at an unjust sentence passed against a "Christian by the judge Urbicus, asked him why he thus punished a man who "was neither adulterer nor robber, nor guilty of any other crime but that of "avowing himself a Christian." Urbicus answered only in these words: "Thou "also hast the appearance of being a Christian." "Yes, without doubt," replied Lucius. The judge ordered that he should be put to death on the instant. A third, who came up, was condemned to be beaten with rods. Here, then, are three examples where no delay was granted. [Surely these acts of a single passionate and irritated judge prove the general practice as little as those quoted by Gibbon.—MILMAN.] There exist a multitude of others, such as those of Ptolemy, Marcellus, &c. Justin expressly charges the judges with ordering the accused to be executed without hearing the cause. The words of St. Cyprian are as particular, and simply say, that he had appointed a day by which the Christians must have renounced their faith; those who had not done it by that time were condemned.—GUIZOT. [This confirms the statement in the text.—MILMAN.]

A charge made by Mr. Davis (p. 71) is here repeated, without any notice of the answer to it. See Gibbon's *Vind.* p. 48–54, 1st ed.,† where he showed that his accuser had suppressed the passage in Cyprian; that the impugned statement was confirmed by Mosheim (*De Rebus*), p. 480), and that Justin Martyr had admitted the delay, in the case of the woman who had been converted by Ptolemæus. Mr. Davis, in his reply, did not deny his error, and still maintained that the charge was in substance just.—ENG. CH.

† This *Vindication* is printed at the end of this volume. — E.

certificates, (or libels, as they were called), which attested that the persons therein mentioned had complied with the laws, and sacrificed to the Roman deities. By producing these false declarations, the opulent and timid Christians were enabled to silence the malice of an informer, and to reconcile in some measure their safety with their religion. A slight penance atoned for this profane dissimulation.[101]

III. In every persecution there were great numbers of unworthy Christians who publicly disowned or renounced the faith which they had professed; and who confirmed the sincerity of their abjuration by the legal acts of burning incense or of offering sacrifices. Some of these apostates had yielded on the first menace or exhortation of the magistrate; whilst the patience of others had been subdued by the length and repetition of tortures. The affrighted countenances of some betrayed their inward remorse, whilst others advanced with confidence and alacrity to the altars of the gods.[102] But the disguise, which fear had imposed, subsisted no longer than the present danger. As soon as the severity of the persecution was abated, the doors of the churches were assailed by the returning multitude of penitents, who detested their idolatrous submission, and who solicited with equal ardor, but with various success, their readmission into the society of Christians.[103]

101 The *libellatici*, who are chiefly known by the writings of Cyprian, are described with the utmost precision in the copious commentary of Mosheim, pp. 483–489.*

102 Plin. *Epistol.* x. 97. *Dionysius Alexandrin. ap. Euseb.* l. vi. c. 41. Ad prima statim verba minantis inimici maximus fratrum numerus fidem suam prodidit: nec prostratus est persecutionis impetu, sed voluntario lapsu seipsum prostravit. Cyprian. *Opera*, p. 89. Among these deserters were many priests and even bishops.†

103 It was on this occasion that Cyprian wrote his treatise *De Lapsis*, and many of his epistles. The controversy concerning the treatment of penitent apostates does not occur among the Christians of the preceding century. Shall we ascribe this to the superiority of their faith and courage, or to our less intimate knowledge of their history?

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* The penance was not so slight, for it was exactly the same with that of apostates who had sacrificed to idols; it lasted several years. See Fleury, *Hist. Ecc.* v. ii. p. 171.—GUIZOT.

† Pliny says, that the greater part of the Christians persisted in avowing themselves to be so; the reason for his consulting Trajan was the periclitantium numerus. Eusebius (l. vi. c. 41) does not permit us to doubt that the number of those who renounced their faith was infinitely below the number of those who boldly confessed it. The prefect, he says, and his assessors present at the council, were alarmed at seeing the crowd of Christians: the judges themselves trembled. Lastly, St. Cyprian informs us that the greater part of those who had appeared weak br thren in the persecution of Decius, signalized their courage in that of Gallus. Steterunt fortes, et ipso dolore pœnitentiæ facti ad prælium fortiores. *Epist.* lx. p. 142.—GUIZOT.

This alleged "misrepresentation of Pliny" was first adduced by Mr. Davis (p. 87). Gibbon, in his *Vindication*, urged that historians must blend together dispersed materials to form a consistent narrative; and concluded by stating, that "neither Pliny, Dionysius, nor Cyprian, mentions *all* the circumstances and

Alternatives of severity and toleration.

IV. Notwithstanding the general rules established for the conviction and punishment of the Christians, the fate of those sectaries, in an extensive and arbitrary government, must still, in a great measure, have depended on their own behavior, the circumstances of the times, and the temper of their supreme as well as subordinate rulers. Zeal might sometimes provoke, and prudence might sometimes avert or assuage, the superstitious fury of the Pagans. A variety of motives might dispose the provincial governors either to enforce or to relax the execution of the laws; and of these motives the most forcible was their regard not only for the public edicts, but for the secret intentions of the emperor, a glance from whose eye was sufficient to kindle or to extinguish the flames of persecution. As often as any occasional severities were exercised in the different parts of the empire, the primitive Christians lamented and perhaps magnified their own sufferings; but the celebrated number of *ten* persecutions has been determined by the ecclesiastical writers of the fifth century, who possessed a more distinct view of the prosperous or adverse fortunes of the church from the age of Nero to that of Diocletian. The ingenious parallels of the *ten* plagues of Egypt, and of the *ten* horns of the Apocalypse, first suggested this calculation to their minds; and in their application of the faith of prophecy to the truth of history, they were careful to select those reigns which were indeed the most hostile to the Christian cause.[104] But these transient persecutions served only to revive the zeal and to restore the discipline of the faithful, and the moments of extraordinary rigor were compensated by much longer intervals of peace and security. The indifference of some princes, and the indulgence of others, permitted the Christians to enjoy, though not perhaps a legal, yet an actual and public, toleration of their religion.

The ten persecutions.

Supposed edicts of Tiberius and Marcus Antoninus.

The *Apology* of Tertullian contains two very ancient, very singular, but at the same time very suspicious, instances of imperial clemency; the

[104] See Moshem, p. 97. Sulpicius Severus was the first author of this computation; though he seemed desirous of reserving the tenth and greater persecution for the coming of the Antichrist.

"*distinctions* of the conduct of the Christian apostates; but if one of them was "withdrawn, the account which I have given would, in some instance, be "defective." Mr. Davis (*Reply*, p. 49) met this defence by ridicule, without argument.—ENG. CH.

edicts published by Tiberius, and by Marcus Antoninus, and designed not only to protect the innocence of the Christians, but even to proclaim those stupendous miracles which had attested the truth of their doctrine. The first of these examples is attended with some difficulties which might perplex a skeptical mind.[105] We are required to believe *that* Pontius Pilate informed the emperor of the unjust sentence of death which he had pronounced against an innocent, and, as it appeared, a divine, person; and that, without acquiring the merit, he exposed himself to the danger, of martyrdom; *that* Tiberius, who avowed his contempt for all religion, immediately conceived the design of placing the Jewish Messiah among the gods of Rome; *that* his servile senate ventured to disobey the commands of their master; *that* Tiberius, instead of resenting their refusal, contented himself with protecting the Christians from the severity of the laws, many years before such laws were enacted, or before the church had assumed any distinct name or existence; and, lastly, *that* the memory of this extraordinary transaction was preserved in the most public and authentic records, which escaped the knowledge of the historians of Greece and Rome, and were only visible to the eyes of an African Christian, who composed his *Apology* one hundred and sixty years after the death of Tiberius. The edict of Marcus Antoninus is supposed to have been the effect of his devotion and gratitude for the miraculous deliverance which he had obtained in the Marcomannic war. The distress of the legions, the seasonable tempest of rain and hail, of thunder and of lightning, and the dismay and defeat of the Barbarians, have been celebrated by the eloquence of several Pagan writers. If there were any Christians in that army, it was natural that they should ascribe some merit to the fervent prayers which, in the moment of danger, they had offered up for their own and the public safety. But we are still assured by monuments of brass and marble, by the imperial medals, and by the Antonine column, that neither the prince nor the people entertained any sense of this signal obligation, since they unanimously attribute their deliverance to the

105 The testimony given by Pontius Pilate is first mentioned by Justin. The successive improvements which the story has acquired (as it passed through the hands of Tertullian, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Orosius, Gregory of Tours, and the authors of the several editions of the acts of Pilate) are very fairly stated by Dom Calmet, *Dissertat. sur l'Ecriture*, tom. iii. p. 651, &c. *

* It is most probable that Pliny's letter to Trajan inspired, in some overzealous believer, the idea of fabricating one from Pontius Pilate to Tiberius.—E. C.

providence of Jupiter, and to the interposition of Mercury. During the whole course of his reign, Marcus despised the Christians as a philosopher, and punished them as a sovereign.[106]

State of the Christians in the reigns of Commodus and Severus. A. D. 180.

By a singular fatality, the hardships which they had endured under the goverment of a virtuous prince, immediately ceased on the accession of a tyrant; and as none except themselves had experienced the injustice of Marcus, so they alone were protected by the lenity of Commodus. The celebrated Marcia, the most favored of his concubines, and who at length contrived the murder of her imperial lover, entertained a singular affection for the oppressed church; and though it was impossible that she should reconcile the practice of vice with the precepts of the gospel, she might hope to atone for the frailties of her sex and profession by declaring herself the patroness of the Christians.[107] Under the gracious protection of Marcia,

106 On this miracle, as it is commonly called, of the thundering legion, see the admirable criticism of Mr. Moyle, in his Works, vol. ii. p. 81–300. *

107 Dion Cassius, or rather his abbreviator *Xiphilin*, l. lxxii. p. 1206. Mr. Moyle (p. 266) has explained the condition of the church under the reign of Commodus.

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* Gibbon, with this phrase, and that below, which admits the injustice of Marcus, has dexterously glossed over one of the most remarkable facts in the early Christian history, that the reign of the wisest and most humane of the heathen emperors was the most fatal to the Christians. Most writers have ascribed the persecutions under Marcus to the latent bigotry of his character; Mosheim, to the influence of the philosophic party: but the fact is admitted by all. A late writer (Mr. Waddington, *Hist. of Church*, p. 47) has not scrupled to assert, that "this prince polluted every year of a long reign with innocent "blood;" but the causes as well as the date of the persecutions authorized or permitted by Marcus are equally uncertain.

Of the Asiatic edict recorded by Melito, the date is unknown, nor is it quite clear that it was an Imperial edict. If it was the act under which Polycarp suffered, his martyrdom is placed by Ruinart in the sixth, by Moshein in the ninth, year of the reign of Marcus. The martyrs of Vienne and Lyons are assigned by Dodwell to the seventh, by most writers to the seventeenth. In fact, the commencement of the persecutions of the Christians appears to synchronize exactly with the period of the breaking out of the Marcomannic war, which seems to have alarmed the whole empire, and the emperor himself, into a paroxysm of returning piety to their gods, of which the Christians were the victims. See Jul. *Capit. Script. Hist. August.* p. 181, edit. 1661. It is remarkable that Tertullian (*Apologet.* c. v.) distinctly asserts that Verus (M. Aurelius) issued no edicts against the Christians, and almost positively exempts him from the charge of persecution.—M.

Milman asserts that all the writers admit the persecutions of Marcus Aurelius—"that the reign of the wisest and most humane of the heathen emperors was the "most fatal to the Christians." He then tells us that "the causes as well as the "date of the persecutions authorized or permitted by Marcus, are equally un-"certain." He then quotes Tertullian, who "distinctly asserts that Marcus "Aurelius issued no edicts against the Christians, and almost positively exempts "him from the charge of persecution" The worthy Dean undoubtedly means well, but is not always consistent or coherent in his remarks. What shall we think of a writer who quotes authorities to prove the reverse of his assertions?—E.

"The rescript in favor of the Christians is given to Pius by some." (Clint. F. R. ii, 25.) It appears to have followed Justin Martyr's *Apology*. The philosophy of Marcus Aurelius was that of the Stoics, which had always been the least

they passed in safety the thirteen years of a cruel tyranny; and when the empire was established in the house of Severus, they formed a domestic but more honorable connection with the new court.* The emperor was persuaded, that, in a dangerous sickness, he had derived some benefit, either spiritual or physical, from the holy oil with which one of his slaves had anointed him. He always treated with peculiar distinction several persons of both sexes who

favorable to Christianity. It was by them and the Epicureans, that Paul was cited before the Areopagus at Athens. [But St. Paul was not persecuted by the Stoics or Epicureans. They only laughed at his discourse, and called him a "babbler."—E.] It is not, however, to be supposed that an emperor with a mind so temperate and generally equitable, should be influenced by the jealousies of the Greek schools, and prejudiced against a rival "philosophy," as the new religion was then termed, for which so many Platonists wrote apologies and defences. His treatment of the Christians can in no way be accounted for, but by the motive to which it has been attributed in a preceding note, p. 220. This alone places in its true light, what Gibbon has somewhat equivocally characterized, and affords a satisfactory solution of the doubts which pervade Dean Milman's commentary on the passage. If the Marcomannic war had any connection with the rigorous proceedings which commenced at the same time, it is to be found in the necessity, which it created, for appeasing the discontented Pagans.—ENG. CH.

* The assistance which the frail Marcia rendered the Christian church was no doubt most commendable, but could hardly atone for the murder of her paramour, the emperor Commodus.

An almost parallel case, showing the great assistance often rendered to the church by courtezans and harlots, is found in the life of Theodora, the pious and fascinating empress of the East, and the wife of the emperor Justinian. "This "prostitute," says Gibbon, chapter XL., *Decline and Fall*, "who, in the presence "of innumerable spectators, had polluted the theatre of Constantinople, was "adored as a queen in the same city, by grave magistrates, orthodox bishops, "victorious generals, and captive monarchs. The Eastern world fell prostrate "before her genius and fortune. An oath of allegiance was imposed on the "governors of provinces in the joint names of Justinian and Theodora. I swear "by the Father, &c., by the Virgin Mary, by the four Gospels, quæ in manibus "teneo, and by the holy archangels, Michael and Gabriel, puram conscientiam "germanumque servitium me servaturum, sacratissimis DDNN. Justiniano et "Theodoræ conjugi ejus. (*Novell.* viii. tit. 3.)

"The beauty of Theodora was the subject of more flattering praise, and the "source of more exquisite delight; and either love or adulation might proclaim, "that painting and poetry were incapable of delineating the matchless excellence "of her form. But this form was degraded by the facility with which it was "exposed to the public eye, and prostituted to licentious desire.

"The prudence of Theodora is celebrated by Justinian himself, and his laws "are attributed to the sage councils of his most reverend wife, whom he had "received as a gift of the Deity.

"If she employed her influence," continues Gibbon, "to assuage the intolerant "fury of the emperor, the present age will allow some merit to her religion."

The fearful excesses and depravity of her early life, her rapacious avarice, inexorable cruelty, implacable vengeance, and a few minor indiscretions, such as the supposed murder of her illegitimate son, who was never seen alive after entering her palace, cannot be counted against the merits of her great services to the cause of true religion, and the unquestioned influence she exerted, from her position as empress, and her power over the mind of Justinian, in formulating and establishing, in concert with her favorite eunuchs and certain holy bishops, those creeds and dogmas which were then under discussion, which have since "been cemented with the blood of martyrs," and which orthodox bigots now claim great merit for blindly believing with unquestioning faith, or bitterly opposing with holy Christian zeal, according to the respective catechisms they have been taught to revere.

"Two years after her death, *St. Theodora* is celebrated by Paulus Silentiarius "(in *Proem.* 5, 58–62.)"

"Let us wonder and adore," says M. de Voltaire, "when confronted with "Christian mysteries, at which reason revolts and decency shudders."—E.

had embraced the new religion. The nurse as well as the preceptor of Caracalla were Christians;* and if that young prince ever betrayed a sentiment of humanity, it was occasioned by an incident which, however trifling, bore some relation to the cause of Christianity.[108] Under the reign of Severus, the fury of the populace was checked; the rigor of ancient laws was for some time suspended; and the provincial governors were satisfied with receiving an annual present from the churches within their jurisdiction, as the price, or as the reward of their moderation.[109] The controversy concerning the precise time of the celebration of Easter, armed the bishops of Asia and Italy against each other, and was considered as the most important business of this period of leisure and tranquillity.[110] Nor was the peace of the church interrupted, till A. D. 198. the increasing numbers of proselytes seem at length to have attracted the attention and to have alienated the mind of Severus. With the design of restraining the progress of Christianity, he published an edict, which, though it was designed to affect only the new converts, could not be carried into strict execution without exposing to danger and punishment the most zealous of their teachers and missionaries. In this mitigated persecution we may still discover the indulgent spirit of Rome and of Polytheism, which so readily admitted every excuse in favor of those who practiced the religious ceremonies of their fathers.[111]

But the laws which Severus had enacted soon expired with the authority of that emperor; and the Christians, after this accidental tempest, enjoyed a calm of thirty-eight years.[112] Till this period they had usually held their assemblies in private houses and sequestered places. They were

Of the successors of Severus. A. D. 211–249.

[108] Compare the life of Caracalla in the *Augustan History*, with the epistle of Tertullian to Scapula. Dr. Jortin (*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 5, &c.) considers the cure of Severus, by the means of holy oil, with a strong desire to convert it into a miracle.

[109] *Tertullian de Fuga*, c. 13. The present was made during the feast of the Saturnalia; and it is a matter of serious concern to Tertullian, that the faithful should be confounded with the most infamous professions which purchased the connivance of the government.

[110] Euseb. l. v. c. 23, 24. Mosheim, pp. 435–447.

[111] Judæos fieri sub gravi pœna vetuit. Idem etiam de Christianis sanxit. *Hist. August.* p. 70.

[112] *Sulpicius Severus*, l. ii. p. 384. This computation (allowing for a single exception) is confirmed by the history of Eusebius, and by the writings of Cyprian.

* The Jews and Christians contest the honor of having furnished a nurse to the fratricide son of Severus, Caracalla., *Hist. of Jews* iii. 158.—MILMAN.

now permitted to erect and consecrate convenient edifices for the purpose of religious worship;[113] to purchase lands, even at Rome itself, for the use of the community; and to conduct the elections of their ecclesiastical ministers in so public, but, at the same time, in so exemplary a manner, as to deserve the respectful attention of the Gentiles.[114] This long repose of the church was accompanied with dignity. The reigns of those princes who derived their extraction from the Asiatic provinces proved the most favorable to the Christians; the eminent persons of the sect, instead of being reduced to implore the protection of a slave or concubine, were admitted into the palace in the honorable characters of priests and philosophers; and their mysterious doctrines, which were already diffused among the people, insensibly attracted the curiosity of their sovereign. When the empress Mammæa passed through Antioch, she expressed a desire of conversing with the celebrated Origen, the fame of whose piety and learning was spread over the East. Origen obeyed so flattering an invitation, and though he could not expect to succeed in the conversion of an artful and ambitious woman, she listened with pleasure to his eloquent exhortations, and honorably dismissed him to his retirement in Palestine.[115] The sentiments of Mammæa were adopted by her son Alexander, and the philosophical devotion of that emperor was marked by a singular, but injudicious, regard for the Christian religion. In his domestic chapel he placed the statues of Abraham, of Orpheus, of Apollonius, and of Christ,* as an honor justly due to those respectable sages who had instructed mankind in the various modes of addressing their homage to the supreme and universal Deity.[116] A purer faith, as well as worship, was openly

113 The antiquity of Christian churches is discussed by Tillemont (*Mémoires Ecclesiastiques*, tom. iii. part ii. pp. 68–72), and by Mr. Moyle (vol. i. pp. 378–398). The former refers the first construction of them to the peace of Alexander Severus; the later, to the peace of Gallienus.

114 See the *Aug. Hist.*, p. 130. The emperor Alexander adopted their method of publicly proposing the names of those persons who were candidates for ordination. It is true, that the honor of this practice is likewise attributed to the Jews.

115 Euseb. *Hist. Ecclesiast.* l. vi. c. 21. Hieronym. *de Script. Eccles.* c. 54. Mammæa was styled a holy and pious woman, both by the Christians and the Pagans. From the former, therefore, it was impossible that she should deserve that honorable epithet.

116 See the *Augustan History*, p. 123. Mosheim (p. 465) seems to refine too much on the domestic religion of Alexander. His design of building a public temple to Christ (*Hist. August.* p. 129), and the object which was suggested either to him, or in similar circumstances to Hadrian, appear to have no other foundation than an improbable report, invented by the Christians, and credulously adopted by an historian of the age of Constantine.

* Such broad and noble toleration deserves special commendation; and such impartial and unprejudiced philosophers confer honor on the human race.—E.

professed and practiced among his household. Bishops, perhaps for the first time, were seen at court; and, after the death of Alexander, when the A. D. 235. inhuman Maximin discharged his fury on the favorites and servants of his unfortunate benefactor, a great number of Christians of every rank, and of both sexes, were involved in the promiscuous massacre, which, on their account, has properly received the name of persecution.[117] †

Notwithstanding the cruel disposition of Maximin, the effects of his resentment against the Christians were of a very local and temporary nature, and the pious Origen, who had been proscribed as a devoted victim, was still reserved to convey the truths of the gospel to the ear of monarchs.[118] He addressed several edifying letters to the emperor Philip, to his wife, and to his mother; and as A. D. 244. soon as that prince, who was born in the neighborhood of Palestine, had usurped the imperial sceptre, the Christians acquired a friend and a protector. The public and even partial favor of Philip towards the sectaries of the new religion, and his constant reverence for the ministers of the church, gave some color to the suspicion, which prevailed in his own times, that the emperor himself was become a convert to the faith;[119] and afforded some grounds for a

Of Maximin, Philip, and Decius.

[117] *Euseb.* l. vi. c. 28. It may be presumed that the success of the Christians had exasperated the increasing bigotry of the Pagans. Dion Cassius, who composed his history under the former reign, had most probably intended for the use of his master those counsels of persecution, which he ascribes to a better age, and to the favorite of Augustus. Concerning this oration of Mæcenas, or rather of Dion,* I may refer to my own unbiassed opinion (vol. i. c. 1, note), and to the Abbé de la Bleterie *Mémoires de l'Académie*, tom. xxiv. p. 303, tom. xxv. p. 432).

[118] *Orosius*, l. vii. c. 19, mentions Origen as the object of Maximin's resentment; and Firmilianus, a Cappadocian bishop of that age, gives a just and confined idea of this persecution (apud Cyprian. *Epist.* 75).

[119] The mention of those princes who were publicly supposed to be Christians, as we find it in an epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria (ap. *Euseb.* l. vii. c. 10), evidently alludes to Philip and his family, and forms a contemporary evidence, that such a report had prevailed; but the Egyptian bishop, who lived at an humble distance from the court of Rome, expresses himself with a becoming diffidence concerning the truth of the fact. The epistles of Origen (which were extant in the time of Eusebius, see l. vi. c. 36) would most probably decide this curious, rather than important, question.

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* If this be the case, Dion Cassius must have known the Christians; they must have been the subject of his particular attention, since the author supposes that he wished his master to profit by these "councils of persecution." How are we to reconcile this necessary consequence with what Gibbon has said of the ignorance of Dion Cassius even of the name of the Christians? (c. xvi. n. 24.) [Gibbon speaks of Dion's *silence*, not of his *ignorance*.—M.] The supposition in this note is supported by no proof; it is probable that Dion Cassius has often designated the Christians by the name of Jews. See *Dion Cassius*, l. lxvii. c. 14, lxviii. 1.—G. On this point I should adopt the view of Gibbon rather than that of Guizot.—M.

† It is with good reason that this massacre has been called a persecution, for it lasted during the whole reign of Maximin, as may be seen in *Eusebius* (l. vi. c. 28).

fable which was afterwards invented, that he had been purified by confession and penance from the guilt contracted by the murder of his innocent predecessor.[120] The fall of Philip introduced, with the change of masters,

A. D. 249. a new system of government, so oppressive to the Christians, that their former condition, ever since the time of Domitian, was represented as a state of perfect freedom and security if compared with the rigorous treatment which they experienced under the short reign of Decius.[121] The virtues of that prince will scarcely allow us to suspect that he was actuated by a mean resentment against the favorites of his predecessor; and it is more reasonable to believe that, in the prosecution of his general design to restore the purity of the Roman manners, he was desirous of delivering the empire from what he condemned as a recent and criminal superstition. The bishops of the most considerable cities were removed by exile or death; the vigilance of the magistrates prevented the clergy of Rome, during sixteen months, from proceeding to a new election; and it was the opinion of the Christians that the emperor would more patiently endure a competitor for the purple than a bishop in the capital.[122] Were it possible to suppose that the penetration of Decius had discovered

120 *Euseb.* l. vi. c. 34. The story, as is usual, has been embellished by succeeding (writers, and is confuted, with much superfluous learning, by Frederick Spanheim. *Opera Varia*, tom. ii. p. 400, &c.)

121 Lactantius, *de Mortibus Persecutorum*, c. 3, 4. After celebrating the felicity and increase of the church, under a long succession of good princes, he adds, "Extitit post annos plurimos, execrabile animal, Decius, qui vexarat ecclesiam."

122 *Euseb.* l. vi. c. 39. Cyprian. *Epistol.* 55. The see of Rome remained vacant from the martyrdom of Fabianus, the 20th of January, A. D. 250, till the election of Cornelius, the 4th of June, A. D. 251. Decius had probably left Rome, since he was killed before the end of that year.

Rufinus expressly confirms it: Tribus annis a Maximino persecutione commota, in quibus finem et persecutionis fecit et vitæ. *Hist.* l. vi. c. 19.—GUIZOT.

It is scarcely possible that, in the third century, the Christians should have been unknown to such a writer as Dion Cassius, whose character, as an historian, is illustrated with so much ability and learning by M. Niebuhr, in the introduction to his *Lectures on Roman History* (p. 61). Nor did Gibbon impute such "ignorance" to him; he only said, that through "careless indifference," he had neglected them, and that Xiphilin could not find their name in his work. M. Guizot has here adopted Mr. Davis's impeachment (p. 82), and overlooked Gibbon's *Vindication* (p. 59-63) so triumphant as to make his accuser confess, in his *Reply*, (p. 26), that he "could not be peremptory in this charge." It matters little whether an emperor persecuted more or less, and whether the Christians were known or not to a particular historian. We have before us the broad, undeniable fact, that they multiplied in number and increased in power, till they suppressed polytheism, and converted the whole Roman empire. The two questions, which this suggests, are, What were the causes of the change, and what its effects? From these our attention should not be drawn off to trifling points.—ENG. CH.

This argument of the English Churchman seems conclusive. That the Christians rapidly increased in power and influence, notwithstanding their alleged persecution, is shown from the fact that they soon overthrew the Roman empire, and "erected the triumphant banner of the cross on the ruins of the capitol."—E.

pride under the disguise of humility, or that he could foresee the temporal dominion which might insensibly arise from the claims of spiritual authority, we might be less surprised that he should consider the successors of St. Peter as the most formidable rivals to those of Augustus.

Of Valerian, Gallienus, and his successors. A. D. 253–260.

The administration of Valerian was distinguished by a levity and inconstancy, ill suited to the gravity of the *Roman censor*. In the first part of his reign, he surpassed in clemency those princes who had been suspected of an attachment to the Christian faith. In the last three years and a half, listening to the insinuations of a minister addicted to the superstitions of Egypt, he adopted the maxims, and imitated the severity, of his predecessor Decius.[123] The accession of Gallienus, which increased the calamities of the empire, restored peace to the church; and the Christians obtained the free exercise of their religion by an edict addressed to the bishops, and conceived in such terms as seemed to acknowledge their office and public character.[124] The ancient laws, without being formally repealed, were suffered to sink into oblivion; and (excepting only some hostile intentions which are attributed to the emperor Aurelian[125]) the disciples of Christ passed above forty years in a state of prosperity far more dangerous to their virtue than the severest trials of persecution.

Paul of Samosata, his manners. A. D. 260.

The story of Paul of Samosata, who filled the metropolitan see of Antioch, while the East was in the hands of Odenathus and Zenobia, may serve to illustrate the condition and character

[123] *Euseb.* l. vii. c. 10. Mosheim (p. 548) has very clearly shown, that the præfect Macrianus, and the Egyptian *Magus* are one and the same person.

[124] *Eusebius* (l. vii. c. 13) gives us a Greek version of this Latin edict, which seems to have been very concise. By another edict, he directed that the *Cœmeteria* should be restored to the Christians.

[125] *Euseb.* l. vii. c. 30. Lactantius *de M. P.* c. 6. Hieronym. in *Chron.* p. 177. *Orosius*, l. vii. c. 23. Their language is in general so ambiguous and incorrect, that we are at a loss to determine how far Aurelian had carried his intentions before he was assassinated. Most of the moderns (except Dodwell, *Dissertat. Cyprian.* xi. 64) have seized the occasion of gaining a few extraordinary martyrs.*

* Dr. Lardner has detailed, with his usual impartiality, all that has come down to us relating to the persecution of Aurelian, and concludes by saying, "Upon "more carefully examining the words of Eusebius, and observing the accounts "of other authors, learned men have generally, and, as I think, very judiciously, "determined, that Aurelian not only intended, but did actually persecute: but his "persecution was short, he having died soon after the publication of his edicts." *Heathen Test.* c. xxxvi.—Basnage positively pronounces the same opinion: Non intentatum modo, sed executum quoque brevissimo tempore mandatum, nobis infixum est in animis. Basn. *Ann.* 275, No. 2, and compare Pagi *Ann.* 272, Nos. 4, 12, 273.—Guizot.

of the times. The wealth of that prelate was a sufficient evidence of his guilt, since it was neither derived from the inheritance of his fathers, nor acquired by the arts of honest industry. But Paul considered the service of the church as a very lucrative profession.[126] His ecclesiastical jurisdiction was venal and rapacious; he extorted frequent contributions from the most opulent of the faithful, and converted to his own use a considerable part of the public revenue. By his pride and luxury, the Christian religion was rendered odious in the eyes of the Gentiles. His council-chamber and his throne, the splendor with which he appeared in public, the suppliant crowd who solicited his attention, the multitude of letters and petitions to which he dictated his answers, and the perpetual hurry of business in which he was involved, were circumstances much better suited to the state of a civil magistrate,[127] than to the humility of a primitive bishop. When he harangued his people from the pulpit, Paul affected the figurative style and the theatrical gestures of an Asiatic sophist, while the cathedral resounded with the loudest and most extravagant acclamations in praise of his divine eloquence. Against those who resisted his power, or refused to flatter his vanity, the prelate of Antioch was arrogant, rigid, and inexorable; but he relaxed the discipline, and lavished the treasures of the church on his dependent clergy, who were permitted to imitate their master in the gratification of every sensual appetite; for Paul indulged himself very freely in the pleasures of the table, and he had received into the episcopal palace two young and beautiful women, as the constant companions of his leisure moments.[128]

He is degraded from the see of Antioch. A. D. 270.

Notwithstanding these scandalous vices, if Paul of Samosata had preserved the purity of the orthodox faith, his reign over the capital of Syria would have ended only with his life; and

126 Paul was better pleased with the title of *Ducenarius*, than with that of bishop. The *Ducenarius* was an imperial procurator, so called from his salary of two hundred *Sestertia*, or 1600*l.* a year. (See Salmasius ad *Hist. August.* p. 124.) Some critics suppose that the bishop of Antioch had actually obtained such an office from Zenobia, while others consider it only as a figurative expression of his pomp and insolence.

127 Simony was not unknown in those times; and the clergy sometimes bought what they intended to sell. It appears that the bishopric of Carthage was purchased by a wealthy matron, named Lucilla, for her servant Majorinus. The price was 400 *folles*. (*Monument. Antiq. ad calcem Optati*, p. 263.) Every *follis* contained 125 pieces of silver, and the whole sum may be computed at about 2400*l.*

128 If we are desirous of extenuating the vices of Paul, we must suspect the assembled bishops of the East of publishing the most malicious calumnies in circular epistles addressed to all the churches of the empire (ap. *Euseb.* l. vii. c. 30).

had a seasonable persecution intervened, an effort of courage might perhaps have placed him in the rank of saints and martyrs.* Some nice and subtle errors, which he imprudently adopted and obstinately maintained, concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, excited the zeal and indignation of the Eastern churches.[129] From Egypt to the Euxine Sea, the bishops were in arms and in motion. Several councils were held, confutations were published, excommunications were pronounced, ambiguous explanations were by turns accepted and refused, treaties were concluded and violated, and at length Paul of Samosata was degraded from his episcopal character by the sentence of seventy or eighty bishops, who assembled for that purpose at Antioch, and who, without consulting the rights of the clergy or people, appointed a successor by their own authority. The manifest irregularity of this proceeding increased the numbers of the discontented faction; and as Paul, who was no stranger to the arts of courts, had insinuated himself into the favor of Zenobia, he maintained above four years the possession of the episcopal house and office.† The victory of Aurelian changed the face of the East, and the two contending parties, who applied to each other the epithets of schism and heresy, were either commanded or permitted to plead their cause before the tribunal of the conqueror. This public and very singular trial affords a convincing proof that the existence, the property, the privileges, and the internal policy of the Christians, were acknowledged, if not by the laws, at least by the magistrates, of the empire. As a Pagan and as a soldier, it could scarcely be expected that Aurelian should enter into the

129 His heresy (like those of Noetus and Sabellius, in the same century) tended to confound the mysterious distinction of the divine persons. See *Mosheim*, p. 702, &c.

* It appears, nevertheless, that the vices and immoralities of Paul of Samosata had much weight in the sentence pronounced against him by the bishops. The object of the letter, addressed by the synod to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria, was to inform them of the change in the faith of Paul, the altercations and discussions to which it had given rise, as well as of his morals and the whole of his conduct. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* l. vii. c. xxx.—GUIZOT.

† "Her favorite (Zenobia's), Paul of Samosata, seems to have entertained some "views of attempting a union between Judaism and Christianity; both parties "rejected the unnatural alliance." *Hist. of Jews*, iii. 175, and *Geschichte der Israeliter*, iv. 167. The protection of the severe Zenobia is the only circumstance which may raise a doubt of the notorious immorality of Paul.—MILMAN.

As this gifted orator, and ornament of the Christian church, received into the episcopal palace but "*two* young and beautiful women, as the companions of "his leisure moments," perhaps the term "notorious immorality" is rather too severe, when applied to a holy prelate whose "divine eloquence" elicited from his hearers "the loudest and most extravagant acclamations." We, therefore, agree with the worthy Dean Milman, that it is best to "raise a doubt."—E.

discussion whether the sentiments of Paul or those of his adversaries were most agreeable to the true standard of the orthodox faith. His determination, however, was founded on the general principles of equity and reason. He considered the bishops of Italy as the most impartial and respectable judges among the Christians, and, as soon as he was informed that they had unanimously approved the sentence of the council, he acquiesced in their opinion, and immediately gave orders that Paul should be compelled to relinquish the temporal possessions belonging to an office, of which, in the judgment of his brethren, he had been regularly deprived. But while we applaud the justice, we should not overlook the policy, of Aurelian; who was desirous of restoring and cementing the dependence of the provinces on the capital, by every means which could bind the interest or prejudices of any part of his subjects.[130]

The sentence is executed by Aurelian. A. D. 274.

Amidst the frequent revolutions of the empire, the Christians still flourished in peace and prosperity; and notwithstanding a celebrated era of martyrs has been deduced from the accession of Diocletian,[131] the new system of policy, introduced and maintained by the wisdom of that prince, continued, during more than eighteen years, to breathe the mildest and most liberal spirit of religious toleration. The mind of Diocletian himself was less adapted indeed to speculative inquiries than to the active labors of war and government. His prudence rendered him averse to any great innovation, and though his temper was not very susceptible of zeal or enthusiasm, he always maintained an habitual regard for the ancient deities of the empire. But the leisure of the two empresses, of his wife Prisca, and of Valeria, his daughter, permitted them to listen with more attention and respect to the truths of Christianity, which, in every age, has acknowledged its important obligations to female devotion.[132] The principal eunuchs Lucian and

Peace and prosperity of the church under Diocletian. A. D. 284–303.

130 Euseb. *Hist. Ecclesiast.* l. vii. c. 30. We are entirely indebted to him for the curious story of Paul of Samosata.

131 The era of Martyrs, which is still in use among the Copts and the Abyssinians, must be reckoned from the 29th of August, A. D. 284; as the beginning of the Egyptian year was nineteen days earlier than the real accession of Diocletian. See *Dissertation Préliminaire à l'Art vérifier les Dates.**

132 The expression of Lactantius (de *M. P.* c. 15), "sacrificio pollui coegit," implies their antecedent conversion to the faith, but does not seem to justify the assertion of Mosheim (p. 912), that they had been privately baptized.

* On the era of martyrs, see the very curious dissertations of Mons. Letronne on some recently discovered inscriptions in Egypt and Nubia, p. 102, &c.—M.

Dorotheus,[133] Gorgonius and Andrew, who attended the person, possessed the favor, and governed the household of Diocletian, protected by their powerful influence the faith which they had embraced. Their example was imitated by many of the most considerable officers of the palace, who, in their respective stations, had the care of the imperial ornaments, of the robes, of the furniture, of the jewels, and even of the private treasury; and, though it might sometimes be incumbent on them to accompany the emperor when he sacrificed in the temple,[134] they enjoyed with their wives, their children, and their slaves, the free exercise of the Christian religion. Diocletian and his colleagues frequently conferred the most important offices on those persons who avowed their abhorrence for the worship of the gods, but who had displayed abilities proper for the service of the state. The bishops held an honorable rank in their respective provinces, and were treated with distinction and respect, not only by the people, but by the magistrates themselves. Almost in every city, the ancient churches were found insufficient to contain the increasing multitude of proselytes; and, in their place, more stately and capacious edifices were erected for the public worship of the faithful. The corruption of manners and principles, so forcibly lamented by Eusebius,[135] may be considered, not only as a consequence, but as a proof, of the liberty which the Christians enjoyed and abused under the reign of Diocletain. Prosperity had relaxed the nerves of discipline. Fraud, envy, and malice prevailed in every congregation. The presbyters aspired to the episcopal office, which every day became an object more worthy of their ambition. The bishops, who contended with each other for ecclesiastical pre-eminence, appeared by their conduct to claim a secular and tyrannical power in the church; and the lively faith which still distinguished the Christians from the Gentiles, was shown much less in their lives than in their controversial writings.

Progress of zeal and superstition among the Pagans.

Notwithstanding this seeming security, an attentive observer might discern some symptoms that threatened the church with a more violent

133 M. de Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. v. part i. pp. 11, 12) has quoted from the *Spicilegium* of Dom Luc d'Acheri a very curious instruction which Bishop Theonas composed for the use of Lucian.

134 Lactantius, de *M. P.* c. 10.

135 Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* l. viii. c. 1. The reader who consults the original will not accuse me of heightening the picture. Eusebius was about sixteen years of age at the accession of the emperor Diocletian.

persecution than any which she had yet endured. The zeal and rapid progress of the Christians awakened the Polytheists from their supine indifference in the cause of those deities, whom custom and education had taught them to revere. The mutual provocations of a religious war, which had already continued above two hundred years, exasperated the animosity of the contending parties. The Pagans were incensed at the rashness of a recent and obscure sect, which presumed to accuse their countrymen of error, and to devote their ancestors to eternal misery. The habits of justifying the popular mythology against the invectives of an implacable enemy, produced in their minds some sentiments of faith and reverence for a system which they had been accustomed to consider with the most careless levity. The supernatural powers assumed by the church inspired at the same time terror and emulation. The followers of the established religion intrenched themselves behind a similar fortification of prodigies; invented new modes of sacrifice, of expiation, and of initiation;[136] attempted to revive the credit of their expiring oracles;[137] and listened with eager credulity to every impostor, who flattered their prejudices by a tale of wonders.[138] Both parties seemed to acknowledge the truth of those miracles which were claimed by their adversaries; and while they were contented with ascribing them to the arts of magic, and to the power of demons, they mutually concurred in restoring and establishing the reign of superstition.[139] Philosophy, her most dangerous enemy, was now

[136] We might quote, among a great number of instances, the mysterious worship of Mithras, and the Taurobolia; the latter of which became fashionable in the time of the Antonines (see a Dissertation of M. de Boze, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. ii. p. 443.) The romance of *Apuleius* is as full of devotion as of satire.

[137] The impostor Alexander very strongly recommended the oracle of Trophonius at Mallos, and those of Apollo at Claros and Miletus (*Lucian*, tom. ii. p. 236, edit. Reitz). The last of these, whose singular history would furnish a very curious episode, was consulted by Diocletian before he published his edicts of persecution. (Lactantius, de *M. P.* c. 11).

[138] Besides the ancient stories of Pythagoras and Aristeas the cures performed at the shrine of Æsculapius and the fables related of Apollonius of Tyana were frequently opposed to the miracles of Christ; though I agree with Dr. Lardner (see *Testimonies*, vol. iii. pp. 253, 352), that when Philostratus composed the *Life of Apollonius*, he had no such intention. *

[139] It is seriously to be lamented, that the Christian fathers, by acknowledging the supernatural, or, as they deem it, the infernal part of Paganism, destroy with their own hands the great advantage which we might otherwise derive from the liberal concessions of our adversaries.

*See *A Sketch of the Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, by Daniel M. Tredwell, (New York, 1886.) This learned author has ably opposed, like Philostratus, the miraculous "fables" with the fabulous "miracles."—E.

converted into her most useful ally. The groves of the Academy, the gardens of Epicurus, and even the Portico of the Stoics, were almost deserted, as so many different schools of skepticism or impiety:[140] and many among the Romans were desirous that the writings of Cicero should be condemned and suppressed by the authority of the senate.[141] The prevailing sect of the new Platonicians judged it prudent to connect themselves with the priests, whom perhaps they despised, against the Christians, whom they had reason to fear. These fashionable philosophers prosecuted the design of extracting allegorical wisdom from the fictions of the Greek poets; instituted mysterious rites of devotion for the use of their chosen disciples; recommended the worship of the ancient gods as the emblems or ministers of the Supreme Deity, and composed against the faith of the gospel many elaborate treatises,[142] which have since been committed to the flames by the prudence of orthodox emperors.[143]

Maximian and Galerius punish a few Christian soldiers.

Although the policy of Diocletian and the humanity of Constantius inclined them to preserve inviolate the maxims of toleration, it was soon discovered that their two associates, Maximian and Galerius, entertained the most implacable aversion for the name and religion of the Christians. The minds of those princes had never been enlightened

140 Julian (p. 301, edit. Spanheim) expresses a pious joy, that the providence of the gods had extinguished the impious sects, and for the most part destroyed the books of the Pyrrhonians and Epicureans, which had been very numerous, since Epicurus himself composed no less than 300 volumes. See *Diogenes Laertius*, l. x. c. 26.

141 Cumque alios audiam mussitare indignanter, et dicere oportere statui per Senatum, aboleantur ut hæc scripta, quibus Christiana religio comprobetur, et vetustatis opprimatur auctoritas. *Arnobius adversus Gentes*. l. iii. pp. 103, 104. He adds very properly, Erroris convincite Ciceronem * * * nam intercipere scripta, et publicatam velle submergere lectionem, non est Deum defendere sed veritatis testificationem timere.

142 Lactantius (*Divin. Institut.* l. v. c. 2, 3) gives a very clear and spirited account of two of these philosophic adversaries of the faith. The large treatise of Porphyry against the Christians consisted of thirty books, and was composed in Sicily about the year 270. *

143 See Socrates, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* l. i. c. 9, and *Codex Justinian.* l. i. tit. i. l. 3.

* Philosophy cannot have been, as Gibbon admits, "the most dangerous enemy" of polytheism, without having been at the same time and in an equal degree the friend of Christianity. By its aid, the latter was nurtured into such vigor,† that about the middle of the third century, its adversaries conceived the idea of reviving heathenism by similar means. To this end, Celsus, Plotinus, Porphyry, and Iamblichus directed their useless efforts, and for this the extravagant portion of the New Platonists were encouraged in the fantastic doctrines which they invented.—ENG. CH.

† If Christianity was nurtured into vigor by philosophy, as is here asserted, gratitude for past favors should now induce Christians to restrain their zeal, and prevent them from persecuting their benefactors.—E.

by science; education had never softened their temper, They owed their greatness to their swords, and in their most elevated fortunes they still retained their superstitious prejudices of soldiers and peasants. In the general administration of the provinces they obeyed the laws which their benefactor had established; but they frequently found occasions of exercising within their camp and palaces a secret persecution,[144] for which the imprudent zeal of the Christians sometimes offered the most specious pretences. A sentence of death was executed upon Maximilianus, an African youth, who had been produced by his own father * before the magistrate as a sufficient and legal recruit, but who obstinately persisted in declaring that his conscience would not permit him to embrace the profession of a soldier.[145] It could scarcely be expected that any

144 *Eusebius*, l. viii. c. 4, c. 17. He limits the number of military martyrs, by a remarkable expression (*σπανίως τούτων εἷς που καὶ δευτερός*), of which neither his Latin nor French translator have rendered the energy. Notwithstanding the authority of Eusebius, and the silence of Lactantius, Ambrose, Sulpicius, Orosius, &c., it has long been believed, that the Thebæan legion, consisting of 6000 Christians, suffered martyrdom by the order of Maximian, in the valley of the Peninne Alps. The story was first published about the middle of the 5th century, by Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, who received it from certain persons, who received it from Isaac, bishop of Geneva, who is said to have reeeived it from Theodore, bishop of Octodurum. The abbey of St. Maurice still subsists, a rich monument of the credulity of Sigismund, king of Burgundy. See an excellent Dissertation in the xxxvith volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, pp. 427–454.

145 See the *Acta Sincera*, 299. The accounts of his martyrdom, and of that of Marcellus, bear every mark of truth and authenticity.

* This anecdote, when fully related, places the young man before us in a different point of view. Maximilian was the son of Victor, a Numidian soldier and a Christian. He was not "produced by his own father before the magistrate, as a "sufficient and legal recruit." The sons of soldiers were obliged to enter the army, when twenty-one years of age, and as such Maximilian was enrolled. He refused obstinately, on account of the Pagan ceremonies, in which he could not join, and not because "his conscience would not permit him to embrace the pro-"fession of a soldier." The father, when called upon by the magistrate to reprimand his son, replied: "He has his reasons, and knows what he is doing." (Habet concilium suum, quid illi expediat.) Maximilian, having been condemned to death, Victor went his way, returning thanks to heaven, that had given him such a son.—GUIZOT.

M. Guizot criticizes Gibbon's account of the incident. He supposes that Maximilian was not "produced by his father as a recruit," but was obliged to appear by the law, which compelled the sons of soldiers to serve at 21 years old. Was not this a law of Constantine? Neither does this circumstance appear in the acts. His father had clearly expected him to serve, as he had bought him a new dress for the occasion; yet he refused to force the conscience of his son, and when Maximilian was condemned to death, the father returned home in joy, blessing God for having bestowed upon him such a son.—MILMAN.

M. Guizot's version does not differ materially from Gibbon's, except in one point, and in that Dean Milman questions his accuracy, and asks: "Was not "the law which compelled the sons of soldiers to serve at twenty-one years old, "*a law of Constantine?*" A more correct opinion of this transaction may be formed, by looking to what is stated by Gibbon in the next chapter, under the head of "Difficulty of levies," and by Niebuhr in vol. iii. of his *Lectures*, p. 152. We may there see, that the lands bestowed on veterans had from some unknown period been subject to the condition, that their sons should devote themselves to the profession of arms, as soon as they attained the age of manhood.—ENG. CH.

government should suffer the action of Marcellus the centurion to pass with impunity. On the day of a public festival, that officer threw away his belt, his arms, and the ensigns of his office, and exclaimed with a loud voice that he would obey none but Jesus Christ, the eternal King, and that he renounced forever the use of carnal weapons, and the service of an idolatrous master. The soldiers, as soon as they recovered from their astonishment, secured the person of Marcellus. He was examined in the city of Tingi by the president of that part of Mauritania; and as he was convicted by his own confession, he was condemned and beheaded for the crime of desertion.[146] Examples of such a nature savor much less of religious persecution than of martial or even civil law; but they served to alienate the mind of the emperors, to justify the severity of Galerius, who dismissed a great number of Christian officers from their employments; and to authorize the opinion that a sect of enthusiasts, which avowed principles so repugnant to the public safety, must either remain useless, or would soon become dangerous, subjects of the empire.

Galerius prevails upon Diocletian to begin a general persecution.

After the success of the Persian war had raised the hopes and the reputation of Galerius, he passed a winter with Diocletian in the palace of Nicomedia; and the fate of Christianity became the object of their secret consultations.[147] The experienced emperor was still inclined to pursue

146 *Acta Sincera*, p. 302.*

147 *De M. P.* c. 11. Lactantius (or whoever was the author of this little treatise) was, at that time, an inhabitant of Nicomedia; but it seems difficult to conceive how he could acquire so accurate a knowledge of what passed in the imperial cabinet.†

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* The case of Marcellus was like that of Maximilian. On public festivals, those who were present sacrificed to the gods. He refused to join in this, saying: "If it be the fate of a soldier to sacrifice to the gods and the emperors, I "renounce my oath (vitem): I take off my belt: I abandon my ensigns, and "refuse to serve." So it is related by Ruinart, in the *Acta Sincera*, as referred to. It is evident that Marcellus withdrew from the service for no other reason, than that he was compelled to sacrifice to false gods.—GUIZOT.

M. Guizot here justly observes, that it was the necessity of sacrificing to the gods, which induced Marcellus to act in this manner.—MILMAN.

In this note, M. Guizot has followed Dr. Chelsum (p. 114–117) and disregarded Gibbon's reply (p. 120–126). The facts are substantially the same in the two statements; but Gibbon adds to his, that military law treated such conduct as "the "crime of desertion" This cannot surely be denied. Even in these days, would not the articles of war punish a soldier so acting, as a mutineer or deserter? So long as there are armies, insubordination must be a crime.—ENG. CH.

† Lactantius, who was subsequently chosen by Constantine to educate Crispus, might easily have learned these details from Constantine himself, already of sufficient age to interest himself in the affairs of the government, and in a position to obtain the best information.—GUIZOT.

This assumes the doubtful point of the authorship of the Treatise.—MILMAN.

measures of lenity; and though he readily consented to exclude the Christians from holding any employments in the household or the army, he urged in the strongest terms the danger as well as cruelty of shedding the blood of those deluded fanatics. Galerius at length extorted * from him the permission of summoning a council, composed of a few persons the most distinguished in the civil and military departments of the state. The important question was agitated in their presence, and those ambitious courtiers easily discerned that it was incumbent on them to second, by their eloquence, the importunate violence of the Cæsar. It may be presumed, that they insisted on every topic which might interest the pride, the piety, or the fears, of their sovereign in the destruction of Christianity. Perhaps they represented that the glorious work of the deliverance of the empire was left imperfect, so long as an independent people was permitted to subsist and multiply in the heart of the provinces. The Christians (it might speciously be alleged), renouncing the gods and the institutions of Rome, had constituted a distinct republic, which might yet be suppressed before it had acquired any military force; but which was already governed by its own laws and magistrates, was possessed of a public treasure, and was intimately connected in all its parts by the frequent assemblies of the bishops, to whose decrees their numerous and opulent congregations yielded an implicit obedience.† Arguments like these may seem to have determined the reluctant mind of Diocletian to embrace a new system of persecution; but though we may suspect, it is not in our power to relate, the secret intrigues of the palace, the private views

* This permision was not extorted from Diocletian; he took the step of his own accord. Lactantius says, in truth, Nec tamen deflectere notuit (Dioclet ianus) præcipitis hominis insaniam: placuit ergo amicorum sententiam experiri. (*De Mort. Pers.* c. 11.) But this measure was in accordance with the artificial character of Diocletian, who wished to have the appearance of doing good by his own impulse, and evil by the impulse of others. Nam erat hujus malitæ, cum bonum quid facere decrevisset, sine consilio faciebat, ut ipse laudaretur. Cum autem malum, quoniam id reprehendendum sciebat, in consilium multos advocabat, ut aliorum culpæ adscriberetur quicquid ipse deliquerat. Lact. *ib.* Eutropius says likewise, Miratus callidæ fuit, sagax præterea et admodum subtilis ingenio, et qui severitatem suam aliena invidia vellet explere. *Eutrop.* ix. c. 26.—GUIZOT.

The manner in which the coarse and unfriendly pencil of the author of the *Treatise de Mort. Pers.* has drawn the character of Diocletian, seems inconsistent with this profound subtility. Many readers will perhaps agree with Gibbon.—M.

† Persecution for religious opinion was foreign to the instincts and the traditions of the Roman people, and these half-hearted and spasmodic efforts of repression, by consolidating the church and intensifying religious zeal, ultimately proved of great benefit to Christianity. The "successors of the apostles" and the followers of Islam were more successful as persecutors, because their fanaticism was uncontaminated with the faintest spark of reason, and their bigotry was undiluted with even a suggestion of mercy.—E.

and resentments, the jealousy of women or eunuchs, and all those trifling but decisive causes which so often influence the fate of empires and the councils of the wisest monarchs.[148]

The pleasure of the emperors was at length signified to the Christians, who, during the course of this melancholy winter, had expected, with anxiety, the result of so many secret consultations. The twenty-third of February, which coincided with the Roman festival of the Terminalia,[149] was appointed (whether from accident or design) to set bounds to the progress of Christianity. At the earliest dawn of day, the Prætorian præfect,[150] accompanied by several generals, tribunes, and officers of the revenue, repaired to the principal church of Nicomedia, which was situated on an eminence in the most populous and beautiful part of the city. The doors were instantly broken open; they rushed into the sanctuary; and as they searched in vain for some visible object of worship, they were obliged to content themselves with committing to the flames the volumes of Holy Scripture. The ministers of Diocletian were followed by a numerous body of guards and pioneers, who marched in order of battle, and were provided with all the instruments used in the destruction of fortified cities. By their incessant labor, a sacred edifice, which towered above the imperial palace, and had long excited the indignation and envy of the Gentiles, was in a few hours leveled with the ground.[151]

Demolition of the church of Nicomedia. A. D. 303. 23rd Feb.

148 The only circumstance which we can discover is the devotion and jealousy of the mother of Galerius. She is described by Lactantius, as Deorum montium cultrix; mulier admodum superstitiosa, She had a great influence over her son, and was offended by the disregard of some of her Christian servants.*

149 The worship and festival of the god Terminus are elegantly illustrated by M. de Boze, *Mém. de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, tom. i. p. 50.†

150 In our only MS. of Lactantius, we read *profectus;* but reason, and the authority of all the critics, allow us, instead of that word, which destroys the sense of the passage, to substitute *præfectus.*

151 Lactantius, *de M. P.*, c. 12 gives a very lively picture of the destruction of the church.

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* This disregard consisted in the Christians fasting and praying instead of participating in the banquets and sacrifices which she celebrated with the Pagans, Dapibus sacrificabat pœne quotidiè, ac vicariis suis epulis exhibebat. Christiani abstinebant, et illa cum gentibus epulante, jejuniis hi et orationibus insistebant; hinc concepit odium adversus eos. Lact. *de Hist. Pers.* c. 11.—Guizot.

If the mistress of a household now always found her servants "fasting and "praying," when they ought to be performing the work for which they were engaged, she would dismiss them; and even conceive a dislike for the principles, however pious and commendable, by which they were so unfitted for the business of life.—Eng. Ch.

† The statue of the Roman god *Terminus* was usually employed to mark the boundaries of fields. Numa first introduced this usage, and ordained a festival,—the *Terminalia*, which was celebrated in February.—E.

The first edict against the Christians, 24th of February.

The next day, the general edict of persecution was published;[152] and though Diocletian, still averse to the effusion of blood, had moderated the fury of Galerius, who proposed that every one refusing to offer sacrifice should immediately be burnt alive, the penalties inflicted on the obstinacy of the Christians might be deemed sufficiently rigorous and effectual. It was enacted that their churches, in all the provinces of the empire, should be demolished to their foundations; and the punishment of death was denounced against all who should presume to hold any secret assemblies for the purpose of religious worship. The philosophers, who now assumed the unworthy office of directing the blind zeal of persecution, had diligently studied the nature and genius of the Christian religion; and as they were not ignorant that the speculative doctrines of the faith were supposed to be contained in the writings of the prophets, of the evangelists, and of the apostles, they most probably suggested the order, that the bishops and presbyters should deliver all their sacred books into the hands of the magistrates; who were commanded, under the severest penalties, to burn them in a public and solemn manner. By the same edict, the property of the church was at once confiscated; and the several parts of which it might consist were either sold to the highest bidder, united to the imperial domain, bestowed on the cities and corporations, or granted to the solicitations of rapacious courtiers. After taking such effectual measures to abolish the worship, and to dissolve the government of the Christians, it was thought necessary to subject to the most intolerable hardships the condition of those perverse individuals who should still reject the religion of nature, of Rome, and of their ancestors. Persons of a liberal birth were declared incapable of holding any honors or employments; slaves were forever deprived of the hopes of freedom, and the whole body of the people were put out of the protection of the law. The judges were authorized to hear and to determine every action that was brought against a Christian. But the Christians were not permitted to complain of any injury which they themselves had suffered; and thus those unfortunate sectaries were exposed to the severity, while they were excluded from the

[152] Mosheim (pp. 922–926), from many scattered passages of Lactantius and Eusebius, has collected a very just and accurate notion of this edict; though he sometimes deviates into conjecture and refinement.

benefits, of public justice. This new species of martyrdom, so painful and lingering, so obscure and ignominious, was, perhaps, the most proper to weary the constancy of the faithful; nor can it be doubted, that the passions and interest of mankind were disposed on this occasion to second the design of the emperors. But the policy of a well-ordered government must sometimes have interposed in behalf of the oppressed Christians; * nor was it possible for the Roman princes entirely to remove the apprehension of punishment, or to connive at every act of fraud and violence, without exposing their own authority and the rest of their subjects to the most alarming dangers.[153]

Zeal and punishment of a Christian.

This edict was scarcely exhibited to the public view, in the most conspicuous place of Nicomedia, before it was torn down by the hands of a Christian, who expressed, at the same time, by the bitterest invectives, his contempt as well as abhorrence for such impious and tyrannical governors. His offence, according to the mildest laws, amounted to treason, and deserved death. And if it be true that he was a person of rank and education, those circumstances could serve only to aggravate his guilt. He was burnt, or rather roasted, by a slow fire; and his executioners, zealous to revenge the personal insult which had been offered to the emperors, exhausted every refinement of cruelty, without being able subdue his patience, or to alter the steady and insulting smile which, in his dying agonies, he still preserved in his countenance. The Christians, though they confessed that his conduct had not been strictly conformable to the laws of prudence, admired the divine fervor of his zeal; and the excessive commendations which they lavished on the memory of their hero and martyr, contributed to fix a deep impression of terror and hatred in the mind of Diocletian.[154]

Fire of the palace of Nicomedia imputed to the Christians.

His fears were soon alarmed by the view of a danger from which he very narrowly escaped. Within fifteen days the palace of Nicomedia, and even the bedchamber of Diocletian, were twice in flames; and though both times they

153 Many ages afterwards, Edward I. practiced, with great success, the same mode of persecution against the clergy of England. See Hume's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 300, 4to edition.

154 Lactantius only calls him quidam, etsi non recte, magno tamen animo, &c., c. 12. Eusebius (l. viii. c. 5) adorns him with secular honors. Neither have condescended to mention his name; but the Greeks celebrate his memory under that of John. See Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclesiastiques*, tom. v. part ii. p. 320.

* This wants proof. The edict of Diocletian was executed in all its rigor during the rest of his reign. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* l. viii c. 13.—GUIZOT.

were extinguished without any material damage, the singular repetition of the fire was justly considered as an evident proof that it had not been the effect of chance or negligence. The suspicion naturally fell upon the Christians; and it was suggested, with some degree of probability, that those desperate fanatics, provoked by their present sufferings, and apprehensive of impending calamities, had entered into a conspiracy with their faithful brethren, the eunuchs of the palace, against the lives of two emperors, whom they detested as the irreconcilable enemies of the church of God. Jealousy and resentment prevailed in every breast, and especially in that of Diocletian. A great number of persons, distinguished either by the offices which they had filled, or by the favor which they had enjoyed, were thrown into prison. Every mode of torture was put into practice, and the court, as well as city, was polluted with many bloody executions.[155] But as it was found impossible to extort any discovery of this mysterious transaction, it seems incumbent on us either to presume the innocence, or to admire the resolution, of the sufferers. A few days afterwards Galerius hastily withdrew himself from Nicomedia, declaring, that if he delayed his departure from that devoted palace, he should fall a sacrifice to the rage of the Christians. The ecclesiastical historians, from whom alone we derive a partial and imperfect knowledge of this persecution, are at a loss how to account for the fears and dangers of the emperors. Two of these writers, a prince and a rhetorician, were eye-witnesses of the fire of Nicomedia. The one ascribes it to lightning, and the divine wrath; the other affirms, that it was kindled by the malice of Galerius himself.[156]

155 Lactantius *de M. P.* c. 13, 14. Potentissimi quondam Eunuchi necati, per quos Palatium et ipse constabat. Eusebius (l. viii. c. 6) mentions the cruel executions of the eunuchs, Gorgonius and Dorotheus, and of Anthemius, bishop of Nicomedia; and both these writers describe, in a vague but tragical manner, the horrid scenes which were enacted even in the imperial presence.

156 See Lactantius, Eusebius, and Constantine, *ad Cœtum Sanctorum*, c. xxv. Eusebius confesses his ignorance of the cause of the fire.*

* As the history of these times affords us no example of any attempts made by the Christians against their persecutors, we have no reason, not the slightest probability, to attribute to them the fire in the palace; and the authority of Constantine and Lactantius remains to explain it. M. de Tillemont has shown how they can be reconciled. *Hist. des Empereurs Vie de Diocletian*, xix.—GUIZOT.

Had it been done by a Christian, it would probably have been a fanatic, who would have avowed and gloried in it. Tillemont's supposition that the fire was first caused by lightning, and fed and increased by the malice of Galerius, seems singularly improbable.—MILMAN.

Execution of the first edict.

As the edict against the Christians was designed for a general law of the whole empire, and as Diocletian and Galerius, though they might not wait for the consent, were assured of the concurrence, of the western princes, it would appear more consonant to our ideas of policy, that the governors of all the provinces should have received secret instructions to publish, on one and the same day, this declaration of war within their respective departments. It was at least to be expected, that the convenience of the public highways and established posts would have enabled the emperors to transmit their orders with the utmost despatch from the palace of Nicomedia to the extremities of the Roman world; and that they would not have suffered fifty days to elapse, before the edict was published in Syria, and near four months before it was signified to the cities of Africa.[157] This delay may perhaps be imputed to the cautious temper of Diocletian, who had yielded a reluctant consent to the measures of persecution, and who was desirious of trying the experiment under his most immediate eye, before he gave way to the disorders and discontent which it must inevitably occasion in the distant provinces. At first, indeed, the magistrates were restrained from the effusion of blood; but the use of every other severity was permitted, and even recommended, to their zeal; nor could the Christians, though they cheerfully resigned the ornaments of their churches, resolve to interrupt their religious assemblies, or to deliver their sacred books to the flames. The pious obstinacy of Felix, an African bishop, appears to have embarrassed the subordinate ministers of the government. The curator of his city sent him in chains to the proconsul. The proconsul transmitted him to the prætorian præfect of Italy; and Felix, who disdained even to give an evasive answer, was at length beheaded at Venusia, in Lucania, a place on which the birth of Horace has conferred fame.[158] This precedent, and perhaps some imperial rescript, which was issued in consequence of it, appeared to authorize the governors of provinces, in punishing with death the refusal of the Christians to deliver up their sacred books. There were undoubtedly many persons who em-

157 Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclesiast.* tom. v. part i. p. 43.

158 See the *Acta Sincera* of Ruinart. p. 353; those of Felix of Thibara or Tibiur, appear much less corrupted than in the other editions, which afford a lively specimen of legendary license.

braced this opportunity of obtaining the crown of martyrdom; but there were likewise too many who purchased an ignominous life, by discovering and betraying the holy scripture into the hands of infidels. A great number even of bishops and presbyters acquired, by this criminal compliance, the opprobrious epithet of *Traditors;* and their offence was productive of much present scandal, and of much future discord, in the African church.[159]

Demolition of the churches.

The copies, as well as the versions, of scripture, were already so multiplied in the empire, that the most severe inquisition could no longer be attended with any fatal consequences; and even the sacrifice of those volumes, which, in every congregation, were preserved for public use, required the consent of some treacherous and unworthy Christians. But the ruin of the churches was easily effected by the authority of the government, and by the labor of the Pagans. In some provinces, however, the magistrates contended themselves with shutting up the places of religious worship. In others, they more literally complied with the terms of the edict; and after taking away the doors, the benches, and the pulpit, which they burnt, as it were in a funeral pile, they completely demolished the remainder of the edifice.[160] It is perhaps to this melancholy occasion, that we should apply a very remarkable story, which is related with so many circumstances of variety and improbability, that it serves rather to excite than to satisfy our curiosity. In a small town in Phrygia, of whose name as well as situation we are left ignorant, it should seem that the magistrates and the body of the people had embraced the Christian faith; and as some resistance might be apprehended to the execution of the edict, the governor of the province was supported by a numerous detachment of legionaries. On their approach the citizens threw themselves into the church, with the resolution either of defending by arms that sacred edifice, or of perishing in its ruins. They indignantly rejected the notice and permission which was given to them to re-

159 See the first book of Optatus of Milevis against the Donatists at Paris, 1700, edit. Dupin. He lived under the reign of Valens.

160 The ancient monuments, published at the end of *Optatus*, p. 261, &c., describe, in a very circumstantial manner, the proceedings of the governors in the destruction of churches. They made a minute inventory of the plate, &c., which they found in them. That of the church of Cirta, in Numidia, is still extant. It consisted of two chalices of gold, and six of silver; six urns, one kettle, seven lamps, all likewise of silver; besides a large quantity of brass utensils, and wearing apparel.

tire, till the soldiers, provoked by their obstinate refusal, set fire to the building on all sides, and consumed, by this extraordinary kind of matyrdom, a great number of Phrygians, with their wives and children.[161]

Subsequent edicts.

Some slight disturbances, though they were suppressed almost as soon as excited, in Syria and the frontiers of Armenia, afforded the enemies of the church a very plausible occasion to insinuate that those troubles had been secretly fomented by the intrigues of the bishops, who had already forgotten their ostentatious professions of passive and unlimited obedience.[162] The resentment, or the fears of Diocletian, at length transported him beyond the bounds of moderation, which he had hitherto preserved, and he declared, in a series of cruel edicts, † his intention of abolishing the Christian name. By the first of these edicts the governors of the provinces were directed to apprehend all persons of the ecclesiastical order; and the prisons destined for the vilest criminals were soon filled with a multitude of bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers, and exorcists. By a second edict, the magistrates were commanded to employ every method of severity which might reclaim them from their odious superstition, and oblige them to return to the established worship of the gods. This rigorous order was extended, by a subse-

161 Lactantius (*Institut Divin.* v. 11) confines the calamity to the *conventiculum* with its congregation. Eusebius (viii. 11) extends it to a whole city,* and introduces something very like a regular siege. His ancient Latin translator, Rufinus, adds the important circumstance of the permission given to the inhabitants of retiring from thence. As Phrygia reached to the confines of Isauria, it is possible that the restless temper of those independent barbarians may have contributed to this misfortune.

162 *Eusebius*, l. vii. c. 6. M. de Valois (with some probability) thinks that he has discovered the Syrian rebellion in an oration of Libanius; and that it was a rash attempt of the tribune Eugenius, who, with only five hundred men, seized Antioch, and might perhaps allure the Christians by the promise of religious toleration. From Eusebius (l. ix. c. 8), as well as from Moses of Chorene (*Hist. Armen.* l. ii. 77, &c.), it may be inferred that Christianity was already introduced into Armenia.

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* *All the inhabitants* were burned, according to Eusebius, not merely a "*great* "*number.*" Lactantius confirms this, for he says "universum populum."—G.

Gibbon's "great number of Phrygians," applies to the people of a province, not to the inhabitants of a town.—ENG. CH.

† He had already passed them in his first edict. It does not appear that resentment or fear had any share in the new persecutions: perhaps they originated in superstition, and a specious apparent respect for its ministers. The oracle of Apollo, consulted by Diocletian, gave no answer; and said that just men hindered it from speaking. Constantine, who assisted at the ceremony, affirms, with an oath, that when questioned about these men, the high priest named the Christians. "The emperor eagerly seized on this witness; and drew against the innocent a "sword, destined only to punish the guilty: he instantly issued edicts, written, "if I may use the expression, with a poniard; and ordered the judges to employ "all their skill to invent new modes of punishment. *Euseb. Vit. Constant.* l. ii. "c. 54."—GUIZOT.

quent edict, to the whole body of Christians, who were exposed to a violent and general persecution.[163] Instead of those salutary restraints which had required the direct and solemn testimony of an accuser, it became the duty as well as the interest of the Imperial officers to discover, to pursue, and to torment the most obnoxious among the faithful. Heavy penalties were denounced against all who should presume to save a proscribed sectary from the just indignation of the gods, and of the emperors. Yet, notwithstanding the severity of this law, the virtuous courage of many of the Pagans, in concealing their friends or relations, affords an honorable proof that the rage of superstition had not extinguished in their minds the sentiments of nature and humanity.[164]

General idea of the persecution.

Diocletian had no sooner published his edicts against the Christians, than, as if he had been desirous of committing to other hands the work of persecution, he divested himself of the imperial purple. The character and situation of his colleagues and successors sometimes urged them to enforce, and sometimes inclined them to suspend, the execution of these rigorous laws; nor can we acquire a just and distinct idea of this important period of ecclesiastical history, unless we separately consider the state of Christianity, in the different parts of the empire, during the space of ten years, which elapsed between the first edicts of Diocletian and the final peace of the church.

Persecution in the western provinces under Constantius and Constantine.

The mild and humane temper of Constantius was averse to the oppression of any part of his subjects. The principal offices of his palace were exercised by Christians. He loved their persons, esteemed their fidelity, and entertained not any dislike to their religious principles. But as long as Constantius remained in the subordinate station of Cæsar, it was not in his power openly to reject the edicts of Diocletian, or to disobey the commands of Maximian. His authority contributed, however, to alleviate the sufferings which he pitied and abhorred. He consented, with reluctance, to the ruin of the churches; but he ventured to protect the Christians themselves from the fury of the

[163] See *Mosheim*, p. 938; the text of *Eusebius* very plainly shows that the governors, whose powers were enlarged, not restrained, by the new laws, could punish with death the most obstinate Christians, as an example to their brethren.

[164] *Athanasius*, p. 833, ap. Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclesiast.* tom. v. part i. 90.

populace, and from the rigor of the laws. The provinces of Gaul (under which we may probably include those of Britain) were indebted for the singular tranquillity which they enjoyed to the gentle interposition of their sovereign.[165] But Datianus, the president or governor of Spain, actuated either by zeal or policy, chose rather to execute the public edicts of the emperors, than to understand the secret intentions of Constantius; and it can scarcely be doubted, that his provincial administration was stained with the blood of a few martyrs.[166] The elevation of Constantius to the supreme and independent dignity of Augustus gave a free scope to the exercise of his virtues, and the shortness of his reign did not prevent him from establishing a system of toleration, of which he left the precept and the example to his son Constantine. His fortunate son, from the first moment of his accession, declaring himself the protector of the church, at length deserved the appellation of the first emperor who publicly professed and established the Christian religion. The motives of his conversion, as they may variously be deduced from benevolence, from policy, from conviction, or from remorse, and the progress of the revolution, which, under his powerful influence and that of his sons, rendered Christianity the reigning religion of the Roman empire, will form a very interesting and important chapter of this history. At present it may be sufficient to observe that every victory of Constantine was productive of some relief or benefit to the church.

Persecution in Italy and Africa, under Maximian and Severus.

The provinces of Italy and Africa experienced a short but violent persecution. The rigorous edicts of Diocletian were strictly and cheerfully executed by his associate Maximian, who had long hated the Christians, and who delighted in acts of blood and violence. In the autumn of the first year of the persecution, the two emperors met at Rome to celebrate their triumph; several oppressive laws appear to

165 *Eusebius*, l. viii. c. 13. *Lactantius de M. P.* c. 15. Dodwell (*Dissertat. Cyprian.* xi. 75) represents them as inconsistent with each other. But the former evidently speaks of Constantius in the station of Cæsar, and the latter of the same prince in the rank of Augustus.

166 Datianus is mentioned, in Gruter's *Inscriptions*, as having determined the limits between the territories of Pax Julia, and those of Ebora, both cities in the southern part of Lusitania. If we recollect the neighborhood of those places to Cape St. Vincent, we may suspect that the celebrated deacon and martyr of that name has been inaccurately assigned by Prudentius, &c., to Saragossa, or Valentia. See the pompous history of his sufferings, in the *Mémoires de Tillemont*, tom. v. part ii. pp. 58–85. Some critics are of opinion that the department of Constantius, as Cæsar, did not include Spain, which still continued under the immediate jurisdiction of Maximian.

have issued from their secret consultations, and the diligence of the magistrates was animated by the presence of their sovereigns. After Diocletian had divested himself of the purple, Italy and Africa were administered under the name of Severus, and were exposed, without defence, to the implacable resentment of his master Galerius. Among the martyrs of Rome, Adauctus deserves the notice of posterity. He was of a noble family in Italy, and had raised himself, through the successive honors of the palace, to the important office of treasurer of the private demesnes. Adauctus is the more remarkable for being the only person of rank and distinction who appears to have suffered death during the whole course of this general persecution.[167]

Persecution under Maxentius.

The revolt of Maxentius immediately restored peace to the churches of Italy and Africa; and the same tyrant who oppressed every other class of his subjects, showed himself just, humane, and even partial, towards the afflicted Christians.† He depended

167 *Eusebius*, l. viii. c. 11. Gruter, *Inscrip.* p. 1171, No. 18. Rufinus has mistaken the office of Adauctus, as well as the place of his martyrdom.*

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* M. Guizot suggests the powerful eunuchs of the palace, Dorotheus, Gorgonius, and Andrew, admitted by Gibbon himself to have been put to death, p. 644.—M.

To the sufferers should be added the principal eunuchs of the palace, Dorotheus, Gorgonius, and Andrew, who, attending on the person of Diocletian, enjoyed his favor and governed the imperial household. In a preceding page, Gibbon himself speaks of them. Lactantius relates their death: "Potentissimi "eunuchi necati per quos palatium et ipse ante constabat." (*De Mort. Pers.* c. 15.) Eusebius also removes all doubt on the subject by naming Dorotheus and the other keepers of the imperial apartments, who, although invested by the emperor with the most honorable privileges, and cherished as his sons, endured insults, misfortunes, and even the most cruel death, rather than preserve for themselves the glory and pleasures of the world, by forsaking their religion. (*Hist. Eccl.* l. viii. c. 6.)—Guizot.

It was not necessary for Gibbon to repeat here, what he had just before said respecting these martyrs, referring to the very passages in *Eusebius* and *Lactantius*, which M. Guizot has cited, and even quoting the same words from the last. When speaking, too, of the persecution in Italy under Severus, there would have been a double irrelevancy in repeating what had been done some time before by Diocletian at Nicomedia.—Eng. Ch.

† Nothing can be less true than this, as may be proved by the very passage in *Eusebius*, to which the reader is referred. It is there said: "Maxentius, who "had seized on the government in Italy, as first pretended (καθυπεκρίνατο) "to be a Christian, in order to ingratiate himself with the Roman people. By his "orders, his ministers put a stop to the persecution of the Christians, and he affected "an hypocritical piety that he might appear to be milder than his predecessors. "But his actions, in the sequel, proved him to be very different to what was at "first hoped." (*Hist. Ecc.* l. viii. c. 14.) The same writer then adds, that Maxentius was the ally of Maximin, who persecuted the Christians; and he calls them "brothers in wickedness," (ἀδελφοὶ τὴν κακίαν). He attributes the evils that afflicted the people during the reign of these two emperors, to the persecution which they excited against the Christians; and the very title of his chapter, "Concerning the conduct of the enemies of religion," (περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῶν τῆς ἐυσεβέιας ἐχθρῶν), indicates clearly what Maxentius was.—Guizot.

This note is taken from Mr. Davis, who, in his *Reply to Gibbon's Vindication*, confesses (p. 44) that his original charge was made through his having "*unfor-*

on their gratitude and affection, and very naturally presumed, that the injuries which they had suffered, and the dangers which they still apprehended from his most inveterate enemy, would secure the fidelity of a party already considerable by their numbers and opulence.[168] Even the conduct of Maxentius toward the bishops of Rome and Carthage, may be considered as the proof of his toleration. since it is probable that the most orthodox princes would adopt the same measures with regard to their established clergy. Marcellus, the former of those prelates, had thrown the capital into confusion, by the severe penance which he imposed on a great number of Christians, who, during the late persecution, had renounced or dissembled their religion. The rage of faction broke out in frequent and violent seditions; the blood of the faithful was shed by each other's hands, and the exile of Marcellus, whose prudence seems to have been less eminent than his zeal, was found to be the only measure capable of restoring peace to the distracted church of Rome.[169] The behavior of Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, appears to have been still more reprehensible.

168 *Eusebius*, l. viii. c. 14. But as Maxentius was vanquished by Constantine, it suited the purpose of Lactantius to place his death among those of the persecutors.*

169 The epitaph of Marcellus is to be found in Gruter, *Inscrip.* p. 1172, No. 3, and it contains all that we know of his history. Marcellinus and Marcellus, whose names follow in the list of popes, are supposed by many critics to be different persons; but the learned Abbe de Longuerue was convinced that they were one and the same.

Veridicus rector lapsis quia crimina flere
Prædixit miseris, fuit omnibus hostis amarus.
Hinc furor, hinc odium; sequitur discordia, lites,
Seditio, cædes; solvuntur fœdera pacis.
Crimen ob alterius, Christum qui in pace negavit
Finibus expulsus patriæ est feritate Tyranni.
Hæc breviter Damasus voluit comperta referre:
Marcelli populus meritum cognoscere posset.

We may observe that Damasus was made Bishop of Rome, A. D. 366.

"*tunately mistaken Eusebius and attributed to Maxentius what is spoken of* "*Maximin.*" A charge, so abandoned by its author, ought not to have been dragged forth again out of the oblivion into which it had sunk.—ENG. CH.

Gibbon added a postscript to the first edition of his *Vindication*, in answer to an anonymous pamphlet, entitled, *A Few Remarks*, which appeared while his work was in press. This postscript was incorporated in the *Vindication*, where it properly belongs, in Lord Sheffield's edition of Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works*. We have followed the latter method, and the reader will bear this in mind when referring to the quotations of the English Churchman.—E.

* M. Guizot directly contradicts this statement of Gibbon, and appeals to Eusebius. Maxentius, who assumed the power in Italy, pretended at first to be a Christian (*καθυπεκρίνατο*), to gain the favor of the Roman people; he ordered his ministers to cease to persecute the Christians, affecting a hypocritical piety, in order to appear more mild than his predecessors; but his actions soon proved that he was very different from what they had at first hoped. The actions of Maxentius were those of a lascivious and cruel tyrant, but not those of a persecutor: the Christians, like the rest of his subjects, suffered from his vices, but they were not oppressed as a sect. Christian females were exposed to his lusts, as well as to the brutal violence of his colleague Maximian, but they were not selected as Christians.—MILMAN.

A deacon of that city had published a libel against the emperor. The offender took refuge in the episcopal palace; and though it was somewhat early to advance any claims of ecclesiastical immunities, the bishop refused to deliver him up to the officers of justice. For this treasonable resistance, Mensurius was summoned to court, and instead of receiving a legal sentence of death, or banishment, he was permitted after a short examination, to return to his diocese.[170] Such was the happy condition of the Christian subjects of Maxentius, that whenever they were desirous of procuring for their own use any bodies of martyrs, they were obliged to purchase them from the most distant provinces of the East.† A story is related of Aglae, a Roman lady, descended from a consular family, and possessed of so ample an estate, that it required the management of seventy-three stewards. Among these, Boniface was the favorite of his mistress; and as Aglae mixed love with devotion, it is reported that he was admitted to share her bed. Her fortune enabled her to gratify the pious desire of obtaining some sacred relics from the East. She intrusted Boniface with a considerable sum of gold, and a large quantity of aromatics; and her lover, attended by twelve horsemen and three covered chariots, undertook a remote pilgrimage, as far as Tarsus in Cilicia.[171]

Persecution in Illyricum and the East, under Galerius and Maximian.

The sanguinary temper of Galerius, the first and principal author of the persecution, was formidable to those Christians, whom their misfortunes had placed within the limits of his dominions; and it may fairly be presumed, that many persons of a middle rank, who were not

[170] *Optatus contr. Donatist.* l. i. c. 17, 18.*

[171] *The Acts of the Passion of St. Boniface*, which abound in miracles and declamation, are published by Ruinart (pp. 283–291), both in Greek and Latin, from the authority of very ancient manuscripts.‡

* The words of Optatus are, Profectus (Romam) causam dixit; jussus est reverti Carthaginem; perhaps, in pleading his cause, he exculpated himself, since he received an order to return to Carthage.—Guizot.

† This was so because the home-made article is seldom considered equal to the imported: "a prophet being always without honor in his own country," where he is well-known and his character understood. It is a curious fact in the history of superstition, that the supply of sacred relics has never been exhausted, and always equals the demand: the wood of the "true cross" being still in the market, and the stock of bones of saints and martyrs will last "till the crack of doom."—E.

‡ We are ignorant whether Aglae and Boniface were Christians at the time of their unlawful connection. See Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* Note on the Persecution of Domitian, tom. v. note 82. M. de Tillemont proves also that the history is doubtful.—Guizot.

Sir D. Dalrymple (Lord Hailes) calls the story of Aglae and Boniface as of equal authority with our *popular* histories of Whittington and Hickathrift, *Christian Antiquities*, ii. 64.—Milman.

confined by the chains either of wealth or of poverty, very frequently deserted their native country, and sought a refuge in the milder climate of the West.* As long as he commanded only the armies and provinces of Illyricum, he could with difficulty either find out or make a considerable number of martyrs, in a warlike country, which had entertained the missionaries of the gospel with more coldness and reluctance than any other part of the empire.[172] But when Galerius had obtained the supreme power and the government of the East, he indulged in the fullest extent his zeal and cruelty, not only in the provinces of Thrace and Asia, which acknowledged his immediate jurisdiction, but in those of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, where Maximin gratified his own inclination by yielding a rigorous obedience to the stern commands of his benefactor.[173] The frequent disapointments of his ambitious views, the experience of six years of persecution, and the salutary reflections which a lingering and painful distemper suggested to the mind of Galerius, at length convinced him that the most violent efforts of a despotism are insufficient to extirpate a whole people, or to subdue their religious prejudices. Desirous of repairing the mischief that he had occasioned, he published in his own name, and in those of Licinius and Constantine, a general edict, which, after a pompous recital of the imperial titles, proceeded in the following manner:

172 During the four first centuries, there exist few traces of either bishops or bishoprics in the western Illyricum. It has been thought probable that the primate of Milman extended his jurisdiction over Sirmium, the capital of that great province. See the *Geographia Sacra of Charles de St. Paul*, pp. 68–76, with the observations of Lucas Holstenius.†

173 The eighth book of *Eusebius*, as well as the supplement concerning the martyrs of Palestine, principally relate to the persecution of Galerius and Maximin. The general lamentations with which Lactantius opens the fifth book of his *Divine Institutions*, allude to their cruelty.

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* A little after this, Christianity was propagated to the north of the Roman provinces, among the tribes of Germany: a multitude of Christians, forced by the persecutions of the emperors to take refuge among the barbarians, were received with kindness. *Euseb. de Vit. Constant.* ii. 53. Semler, *Select. cap. H. E.* p. 115. The Goths owed their first knowledge of Christianity to a young girl, a prisoner of war; she continued in the midst of them her exercises of piety; she fasted, prayed, and praised God day and night. When she was asked what good could come of so much painful trouble, she answered, "It is thus that "Christ, the Son of God, is to be honored." *Sozomen*, ii. c. 6.—GUIZOT.

† The Franks, who, as we have seen, were borderers on the frontiers of the Roman empire, did not become Christians till the conversion of Clovis, two centuries after the time of Diocletian; they do not appear to have been more advanced in their knowledge of the faith than the remoter Saxons, to whom, after their establishment in Kent, the mission of Augustin took place at nearly the same period. There are no traces of a Gothic church before the time of Ulphilas, toward the end of the fourth century.—ENG. CH.

Galerius publishes an edict of toleration.

"Among the important cares which have "occupied our minds for the utility and pre- "servation of the empire, it was our intention "to correct and re-establish all things according "to the ancient laws and public discipline of the Romans. "We were partially desirous of reclaiming into the way of "reason and nature the deluded Christians who had re- "nounced the religion and ceremonies instituted by their "fathers; and, presumptuously despising the practice of "antiquity, had invented extravagant laws and opinions "according to the dictates of their fancy, and had collected "a various society from the different provinces of our em- "pire. The edicts which we have published to enforce the "worship of the gods having exposed many of the Chris- "tians to danger and distress, many having suffered death, "and many more, who still persist in their impious folly, "being left destitute of any public exercise of religion, we "are disposed to extend to those unhappy men the effects "of our wonted clemency. We permit them therefore freely "to profess their private opinions, and to assemble in their "conventicles without fear or molestation, provided always "that they preserve a due respect to the established laws "and government. By another rescript we shall signify "our intentions to the judges and magistrates; and we "hope that our indulgence will engage the Christians to "offer up their prayers to the Deity whom they adore, for "our safety and prosperity, for their own, and for that of "the republic."[174] It is not usually in the language of edicts and manifestos, that we should search for the real character or the secret motives of princes; but as these were the words of a dying emperor, his situation, perhaps, may be admitted as a pledge of his sincerity.

Peace of the church.

When Galerius subscribed this edict of toleration, he was well assured that Licinius would readily comply with the inclinations of his friend and benefactor, and that any measures in favor of the Christians would obtain the approbation of Constantine. But the emperor would not venture to insert in the

[174] *Eusebius* (l. viii. c. 17) has given us a Greek version, and Lactantius (*de M. P.* c. 34) the Latin original of this memorable edict. Neither of these writers seems to recollect how directly it contradicts whatever they have just affirmed of the remorse and repentance of Galerius.*

* But Gibbon has answered this by his just observation, that it is not in the language of edicts and manifestos that we should search * * * for the secret motives of princes.—MILMAN.

preamble the name of Maximin, whose consent was of the greatest importance, and who succeeded in a few days afterward to the provinces of Asia. In the first six months, however, of his new reign, Maximin affected to adopt the prudent councils of his predecessor; and though he never condescended to secure the tranquillity of the church by a public edict, Sabinus, his pretorian prefect, addressed a circular letter to all the governors and magistrates of the provinces, expatiating on the imperial clemency, acknowledging the invincible obstinacy of the Christians, and directing the officers of justice to cease their ineffectual prosecutions, and to connive at the secret assemblies of those enthusiasts. In consequence of these orders, great numbers of Christians were released from prison, or delivered from the mines. The confessors, singing hymns of triumph, returned into their own countries; and those who had yielded to the violence of the tempest, solicited with tears of repentance their readmission into the bosom of the church.[175]

Maximin prepares to renew the persecution.

But this treacherous calm was of short duration; nor could the Christians of the East place any confidence in the character of their sovereign. Cruelty and superstition were the ruling passions of the soul of Maximin. The former suggested the means, the latter pointed out the objects, of persecution. The emperor was devoted to the worship of the gods, to the study of magic, and to the belief of oracles. The prophets or philosophers, whom he revered as the favorites of heaven, were frequently raised to the government of provinces, and admitted into his most secret councils. They easily convinced him, that the Christians had been indebted for their victories to their regular discipline, and that the weakness of polytheism had principally flowed from a want of union and subordination among the ministers of religion. A system of government was therefore instituted, which was evidently copied from the policy of the church. In all the great cities of the empire, the temples were repaired and beautified by the order of Maximin; and the officiating priests of the various deities were subjected to the authority of a superior pontiff destined to oppose the bishop, and to promote the cause of Paganism. These pontiffs acknowledged, in their turn, the supreme jurisdiction of the

175 *Eusebius*, l. ix. c. 1. He inserts the epistle of the præfect.

metropolitans or high priests of the province, who acted as the immediate vicegerents of the emperor himself. A white robe was the ensign of their dignity; and these new prelates were carefully selected from the most noble and opulent families. By the influence of the magistrates, and of the sacerdotal order, a great number of dutiful addresses were obtained, particularly from the cities of Nicomedia, Antioch, and Tyre, which artfully represented the well-known intentions of the court as the general sense of the people; solicited the emperor to consult the laws of justice rather than the dictates of his clemency; expressed their abhorrence of the Christians, and humbly prayed that those impious sectaries might at least be excluded from the limits of their respective territories. The answer of Maximin to the address which he obtained from the citizens of Tyre is still extant. He praises their zeal and devotion in terms of the highest satisfaction, descants on the obstinate impiety of the Christians, and betrays by the readiness with which he consents to their banishment, that he considered himself as receiving, rather than as conferring, an obligation. The priests as well as the magistrates were empowered to enforce the execution of his edicts, which were engraved on tables of brass; and though it was recommended to them to avoid the effusion of blood, the most cruel and ignominious punishments were inflicted on the refractory Christians.[176]

[176] See *Eusebius*, l. viii. c. 14, l. ix. c. 2–8. *Lactantius de M. P.* c. 36. These writers agree in representing the arts of Maximin; but the former relates the execution of several martyrs, while the latter expressly affirms, occidi servos Dei vetuit.*

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* It is easy to reconcile them; it is sufficient to quote the entire text of Lactantius: Nam cum clementiam specie tenus profiteretur, occidi servos Dei vetuit, debilitari jussit. Itaque confessoribus effodiebantur oculi, amputabantur manus, nares vel auriculæ desecabantur. Hæc ille moliens Constantini litteris deterretur. Dissimulavit ergo, et tamen, si quis inciderit, mari occultè mergebatur. This detail of torments inflicted on the Christians easily reconciles *Lactantius* and *Eusebius*. Those who died in consequence of their tortures, those who were plunged into the sea, might well pass for martyrs. The mutilation of the words of *Lactantius* has alone given rise to the apparent contradiction.—GUIZOT.

Here again M. Guizot has followed Mr. Davis, and with somewhat better success. By quoting only four words from *Lactantius*, Gibbon certainly appears to keep out of view the next sentence, in which barbarities are related, worse even than death itself. But this was not done, to distort any historical fact or palliate the acts of Maximin. Very doubtful, however, is it, whether any of these horrid mutilations were actually perpetrated, for in the succeeding sentence, which Mr. Davis suppressed, *Lactantius* says, that the monster, when preparing them (*moliens*) was deterred (*deterretur*), by the letters of Constantine, from carrying them into effect. This justifies Gibbon's assertion, that the edicts of his colleagues "obliged Maximin to suspend the prosecution of his designs."—E. C.

Eusebius, ch. vi., relates the public martyrdom of the aged bishop of Emesa, with two others, who were thrown to the wild beasts, the beheading of Peter, bishop of Alexandria, with several others, and the death of Lucian, presbyter of

End of the persecution.

The Asiatic Christians had every thing to dread from the severity of a bigoted monarch who prepared his measures of violence with such deliberate policy. But a few months had scarcely elapsed, before the edicts published by the two western emperors obliged Maximin to suspend the prosecution of his designs: the civil war which he so rashly undertook against Licinius employed all his attention; and the defeat and death of Maximin soon delivered the church from the last and most implacable of her enemies.[177]

Probable account of the sufferings of the martyrs and confessors.

In this general view of the persecution, which was first authorized by the edicts of Diocletian, I have purposely refrained from describing the particular sufferings and deaths of the Christian martyrs. It would have been an easy task, from the history of Eusebius, from the declamations of Lactantius, and from the most ancient acts, to collect a long series of horrid and disgustful pictures, and to fill many pages with racks and scourges, with iron hooks and red-hot beds, and with all the variety of tortures which fire and steel, savage beasts, and more savage executioners, could inflict upon the human body. These melancholy scenes might be enlivened by a crowd of visions and miracles, destined either to delay the death, to celebrate the triumph, or to discover the relics of those canonized saints who suffered for the name of Christ. But I cannot determine what I ought to transcribe, till I am satisfied how much I ought to believe.* The gravest of the ecclesi-

[177] A few days before his death, he published a very ample edict of toleration, in which he imputes all the severities which the Christians suffered to the judges and governors, who had misunderstood his intentions. See the edict in *Eusebius*, l. ix. c. 10.

Antioch, who was carried to Numidia, and put to death in prison. The contradiction is direct and undeniable, for although Eusebius may have misplaced the former martyrdoms, it may be doubted whether the authority of Maximin extended to Nicomedia till after the death of Galerius. The last edict of toleration issued by Maximin, and published by Eusebius himself, *Eccl. Hist.* ix. 9, confirms the statement of Lactantius.—MILMAN.

* Historical criticism does not consist in rejecting indiscriminately all the facts which do not agree with a particular system, as Gibbon does in this chapter, in which, except at the last extremity, he will not consent to believe a martyrdom. Authorities are to be weighed, not excluded from examination. Now, the Pagan historians justify in many places the details which have been transmitted to us by the historians of the church, concerning the tortures endured by the Christians. Celsus reproaches the Christians with holding their assemblies in secret, on account of the fear inspired by their sufferings, "for when you are arrested," he says, "you are dragged to punishment; and, before you are put to death, you "have to suffer all kinds of tortures." *Origen cont. Cels.* l. i. ii. vi. viii. passim. Libanius, the panegyrist of Julian, says, while speaking of the Christians, "Those "who followed a corrupt religion were in continual apprehensions; they feared "lest Julian should invent tortures still more refined than those to which they

astical historians, Eusebius himself, indirectly confesses that he has related whatever might redound to the glory, and that he has suppressed all that could tend to the disgrace, of religion.[178] * Such an acknowledgment will naturally excite a suspicion that a writer who has so openly violated one of the fundamental laws of history has not paid a very strict regard to the observance of the other; and the suspicion will derive additional credit from the character of Eusebius,† which was less tinctured with credulity, and more practiced in the arts of courts, than that of almost any of his contemporaries. On some particular occasions, when the magistrates were exasperated by some personal motives of interest or resentment, when the zeal of the martyrs urged them to forget the rules of prudence, and

[178] Such is the *fair* deduction from two remarkable passages in *Eusebius*, l. viii. c. 2, and *de Martyr. Palestin.* c. 12. The prudence of the historian has exposed his own character to censure and suspicion. It is well known that he himself had been thrown into prison; and it was suggested that he had purchased his deliverance by some dishonorable compliance. The reproach was urged in his lifetime, and even in his presence, at the council of Tyre. See Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclesiastiques*, tom. vii. part i. p. 67.

"had been exposed before, as mutilation, burning alive, &c.; for the emperors "had inflicted upon them all these barbarities." *Lib. Parent. in Julian. ap. Fab. Bib. Græc.* No. 9, No. 58, p. 283.—Guizot.

Gibbon's defence of the course taken by him in this chapter (*Vind.* p. 122–145, 1st Edit.) would be weakened by abridgment. He considered it to be his duty as "an impartial judge," to be counsel for the accused, who had no witnesses, and to "examine with distrust and suspicion, the interested evidence of the accuser." Niebuhr also (*Lect. on Rom. Hist.* iii. p. 297) states, that the persecution by Diocletian "was not so frightful as we are wont to believe." The sudden hostility to the Christians, then manifested, was the work of Galerius, jealous of the new hierarchy, who were establishing a dominion more undisputed and feared, than that of the emperor himself. By inconsiderately yielding to the intemperate advice of his junior, Diocletian brought himself into a dilemma, which was the real cause of his so soon resigning the purple and retiring into private life.—Eng. Ch.

* This misrepresentation of Eusebius was at that time considered strictly orthodox, and was fully justified by the teaching of certain Pagans, and by the reasoning and example of St. Paul. "For if the truth of God," says this great apostle of the Gentiles, "hath more abounded through my lie unto his glory; "why yet am I also judged as a sinner?" *Romans*, iii.; 7. "Being crafty," continues this worthy saint, "I caught you with guile." *II. Cor.*, xii.; 16. *Euripides* (quoted in the pseudo-Plutarchean treatise, de placitis philos. B. l. ch. 7) maintained "that in the early state of society, some wise men insisted on "the necessity of darkening truth with falsehood, and of persuading men that "there is an immortal deity, who hears and sees and understands our actions, "whatever we may think of that matter ourselves." *Strabo* says, "It is not "possible for a philosopher to conduct by reasoning a multitude of women, and "of the low vulgar, and thus to invite them to piety, holiness and faith; but the "philosopher must also make use of superstition, and not omit the invention of "fables, and the performance of wonders." *Varro* says "there are many truths "which it is useless for the vulgar to know, and many falsities which it is fit that "the people should not know are falsities." *August. de Civ. Dei.* B. 4.—E.

† This sentence of Gibbon has given rise to several learned dissertations: Möller, *de Fide Eusebii Cæsar, &c.*, Havniæ, 1813. Danzius, *de Eusebio Cæs. Hist. Eccl. Scriptore, ejusque fide historica rectè æstimanda, &c.*, Jenæ, 1815. Kestner, *Commentatio de Eusebii Hist. Eccles. conditoris auctoritate et fide, &c.* See also Reuterdahl, *de Fontibus Historiæ Eccles. Eusebianæ*, Lond Goth. 1826. Gibbon's inference may appear stronger than the text will warrant, yet it is difficult, after reading the passage, to dismiss all suspicion of partiality from the mind.—M.

perhaps of decency, to overturn the altars, to pour out imprecations against the emperors, or to strike the judge as he sat on his tribunal, it may be presumed that every mode of torture which cruelty could invent, or constancy could endure, was exhausted on those devoted victims.[179] Two circumstances, however, have been unwarily mentioned, which insinuate that the general treatment of the Christians, who had been apprehended by the officers of justice, was less intolerable than it is usually imagined to have been, 1. The confessors, who were condemned to work in the mines, were permitted, by the humanity or the

[179] The ancient, and perhaps authentic, account of the sufferings of Tarachus * and his companions (*Acta Sincera*, Ruinart, pp. 419–448), is filled with strong expressions of resentment and contempt, which could not fail of irritating the magistrate. The behavior of Ædesius to Hierocles, præfect of Egypt, was still more extraordinary, λογοῖς τε καὶ ἔργοις τον δικαστὴν * * * περιβάλλων. *Euseb. de Martyr. Palestin.* c. 5.

* M. Guizot states, that the acts of Tarachus and his companion contain nothing that appears dictated by violent feelings (sentiment outré). Nothing can be more painful than the constant attempt of Gibbon, throughout this discussion, to find some flaw in the virtue and heroism of the martyrs, some extenuation for the cruelty of the persecutors. But truth must not be sacrificed even to well-grounded moral indignation. Though the language of these martyrs is in great part that of calm defiance, of noble firmness, yet there are many expressions which betray "resentment and contempt." "Children of Satan, worshipers of Devils," is their common appellation of the heathen. One of them calls the judge, ἀναιδέστατε; another, θηρίων ἀναιδέστατε τύραννε: one curses, and declares that he will curse the emperors, ὑβρίσα, καὶ ὑβρσίω λοιμοὺς ὄντας καὶ αἱμοπότας, as pestilential and blood-thirsty tyrants, whom God will soon visit in his wrath. On the other hand, though at first they speak the milder language of persuasion, the cold barbarity of the judges and officers might surely have called forth one sentence of abhorrence from Gibbon. On the first unsatisfactory answer, "Break "his jaw," is the order of the judge. They direct and witness the most excruciating tortures; the people, as M. Guizot observes, were so much revolted by the cruelty of Maximus, that when the martyrs appeared in the amphitheatre, fear seized on all hearts, and general murmurs against the unjust judge ran through the assembly. It is singular, at least, that Gibbon should have quoted "as probably authentic," acts so much embellished with miracle as these of Tarachus are, particularly towards the end.—MILMAN.

There is nothing in the acts of Tarachus and his companions, which can be considered as "filled with expressions of resentment and contempt." It is the fault of the persecutors, if they put such a construction on the firmness of the persecuted. "What is your name?" said the presiding officer, Maximus, to Tarachus. "I am a Christian." "Break his jaw-bone," was the order instantly given. (*Ruinart*, p. 469.) His companion, when led forward, replied to the same question, "I am a Christian, and my name is Probus." He was told to offer sacrifice, whereby he might gain the favor of his prince and the friendship of Maximus. "At such a price," he answered, "I desire neither the favor of a "prince nor your friendship." After suffering the most cruel torments, he was loaded with chains, and the judge forbade any care to be bestowed on his wounds; "sanguine tuo impleta est terra." (*Ruinart*, p. 462.) The third was Andronicus, who, with equal fortitude, resisted the command to offer sacrifice. To deceive him, the judge said, that his brothers had complied. "Unhappy man!" he exclaimed; "why would you beguile me by such falsehoods?" At last, they were exposed to the wild beasts. Comparing the conduct of the judge with that of the martyrs, are the answers of the latter unbecoming or violent? The very people, who were present, manifested less gentleness and were less respectful. The injustice of Maximus was so revolting to them, that when the unfortunate victims appeared in the amphitheatre, the spectators were filled with terror, and murmured, saying: "Unjust is the judge who has done this!" Many left the scene; and as they retired, spoke of Maximus with contempt. (*Ruinat.* p. 488.)—G.

negligence of their keepers, to build chapels, and freely to profess their religion, in the midst of those dreary habitations.[180] 2. The bishops were obliged to check and to censure the forward zeal of the Christians, who voluntarily threw themselves into the hands of the magistrates. Some of these were persons oppressed by poverty and debts, who blindly sought to terminate a miserable existence by a glorious death. Others were allured by the hope, that a short confinement would expiate the sins of a whole life; and others again were actuated by the less honorable motive of deriving a plentiful subsistence, and perhaps a considerable profit, from the alms which the charity of the faithful bestowed on the prisoners.[181] After the church had triumphed over all her enemies, the interest as well as vanity of the captives prompted them to magnify the merit of their respective sufferings. A convenient distance of time or place gave an ample scope to the progress of fiction; and the frequent instances which might be alleged of holy martyrs, whose wounds had been instantly healed, whose strength had been renewed, and whose lost members had miraculously been restored, were extremely convenient for the purpose of removing every difficulty, and of silencing every objection. The most extravagant legends, as they conduced to the honor of the church, were applauded by the credulous multitude, countenanced by the power of the clergy, and attested by the suspicious evidence of ecclesiastical history.

Number of martyrs.

The vague descriptions of exile and imprisonment, of pain and torture, are so easily exaggerated † or softened by the pencil of an

180 *Euseb. de Martyr. Palestin.* c. 13.*

181 *Augustin. Coll. Carthagin. Dei*, iii. c. 13, ap. Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclesiastiques*, tom. v. part i. p. 46. The controversy with the Donatists has reflected some, though perhaps a partial, light on the history of the African church.

* Scarcely were the authorities informed of this, than the president of the province, a man, says Eusebius harsh and cruel, banished the confessors, some to Cyprus, others to different parts of Palestine, and ordered them to be tormented by being set to the most painful labors. Four of them, whom he required to abjure their faith, and refused, were burnt alive. *Euseb. de Mart. Palest.* c. xiii.—Guizot.

Two of these were bishops; a fifth, Silvanus, bishop of Gaza, was the last martyr; another, named John, was blinded, but used to officiate and recite from memory long passages of the sacred writings.—Milman.

† Perhaps there never was an instance of an author committing so deliberately the fault which he reprobates so strongly in others. What is the dexterous management of the more inartificial historians of Christianity, in exaggerating the numbers of the martyrs, compared to the unfair address with which Gibbon here quietly dismisses from the account all the horrible and excruciating tortures which fell short of death? The reader may refer to the xiith chapter (book viii.) of *Eusebius* for the description and for the scene of these tortures.—Milman.

artful orator, that we are naturally induced to inquire into a fact of a more distinct and stubborn kind; the number of persons who suffered death in consequence of the edicts published by Diocletian, his associates, and his successors. The recent legendaries record whole armies and cities, which were at once swept away by the undistinguishing rage of persecution. The more ancient writers content themselves with pouring out a liberal effusion of loose and tragical invectives, without condescending to ascertain the precise number of those persons who were permitted to seal with their blood their belief of the gospel. From the history of Eusebius, it may however be collected, that only nine bishops were punished with death; and we are assured, by his particular enumeration of the martyrs of Palestine, that no more than ninety-two Christians were entitled to that honorable appellation.[182] † As we are un-

182 *Eusebius de Martyr. Palestin.* c. 13. He closes his narration by assuring us that these were the martyrdoms inflicted in Palestine, during the *whole* course of the persecution. The 5th chapter of his eighth book, which relates to the province of Thebais in Egypt, may seem to contradict our moderate computation; but it will only lead us to admire the artful management of the historian. Choosing for the scene of the most exquisite cruelty the most remote and sequestered country of the Roman empire, he relates, that in Thebais from ten to one hundred persons had frequently suffered martyrdom in the same day. But when he proceeds to mention his own journey into Egypt, his language insensibly becomes more cautious and moderate. Instead of a large, but definite number, he speaks of many Christians (πλείους), and most artfully selects two ambiguous words (ἱστορήσαμεν and ὑπομείναντας),* which may signify either what he had seen, or what he had heard; either the expectation, or the execution of the punishment. Having thus provided a secure evasion, he commits the equivocal passage to his readers and translators; justly conceiving that their piety would induce them to prefer the most favorable sense. There was perhaps some malice in the remark of Theodorus Metochita, that all who, like Eusebius, had been conversant with the Egyptians, delighted in an obscure and intricate style. (See *Valesius ad loc.*)

* Those who will take the trouble to consult the text will see that if the word ὑπομείναντας could be taken for the expectation of punishment, the passage could have no sense, and become absurd.—GUIZOT.

The many (πλείους) he speaks of as suffering together in one day; ἀθροως κατα μιαν ἑμεραν. The fact seems to be, that religious persecution always raged in Egypt with greater violence than elsewhere.—MILMAN.

Does not the word properly denote *awaiting* the execution of sentences passed on them?—ENG. CH.

† This calculation is made from the martyrs, of whom Eusebius speaks by name; but he recognizes a much greater number. Thus the ninth and tenth chapters of his work are entitled, "Of Antoninus, Zebinus, Germanus, and other "martyrs; of Peter the monk, of Asclepius the Marcionite, and other martyrs." [Are these vague contents of chapters very good authority?——MILMAN.] Speaking of those who suffered under Diocletian, he says, "I will only relate the death "of one of these, from which the reader may divine what befell the rest." *Hist. Eccl.* viii. 6. [This relates only to the martyrs in the royal household. — MILMAN.] Dodwell had made, before Gibbon, this calculation and these objections; but Ruinart (*Act. Mart. Pref.* p. 27, *et seq.*) has answered him in a peremptory manner: Nobis constat Eusebium in historia infinitos passim martyres admisisse, quamvis revera paucorum nomina recensuerit. Nec alium Eusebii interpretem quam ipsummet Eusebium proferimus, qui (l. iii. c. 33) ait sub Trajano plurimos ex

acquainted with the degree of episcopal zeal and courage which prevailed at that time, it is not in our power to draw any useful inferences from the former of these facts; but the latter may serve to justify a very important and probable conclusion. According to the distribution of Roman provinces, Palestine may be considered as the sixteenth part of the eastern empire;[183] and since there were some governors, who from a real or affected clemency had preserved their hands unstained with the blood of the faithful,[184] it is reasonable to believe that the country which had given birth to Christianity, produced at least the sixteenth part of the martyrs who suffered death within the dominions of Galerius and Maximin; the whole might consequently amount to about fifteen hundred, a number, which, if it is equally divided between the ten years of the persecution, will allow an annual consumption of one hundred and fifty martyrs. Allotting the same proportion to the provinces of Italy, Africa, and perhaps Spain, where, at the end of two or three years, the rigor of the penal laws was either suspended or abolished, the multitude of Christians in the

183 When Palestine was divided into three, the præfecture of the East contained forty-eight provinces. As the ancient distinctions of nations were long since abolished, the Romans distributed the provinces according to a general proportion of their extent and opulence.

184 Ut gloriari possint nullam se innocentium peremisse, nam et ipse audivi aliquos gloriantes, quia administratio sua, in hac parte, fuerit incruenta. *Lactant. Institut. Divin.* v. 11.

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fidelibus martyrii certamen subiisse (l. v. init.) sub Antonino et Vero innumerabiles prope martyres per universum orbem enituisse affirmat. (*L.* vi. c. l.) Severum persecutionem concitasse refert, in qua per omnes ubique locorum Ecclesias, ab athletis pro pietate certantibus, illustria confecta fuerunt martyria. Sic de Decii, sic de Valeriani, persecutionibus loquitur, quæ an Dodwelli faveant conjectionibus judicet æquus lector. Even in the persecutions which Gibbon has represented as much more mild than that of Diocletian, the number of martyrs appears much greater than that to which he limits the martyrs of the latter; and this number is attested by incontestable monuments. I will quote but one example. We find among the letters of St. Cyprian, one from Lucianus to Celerinus, written from the depth of a prison, in which Lucianus names seventeen of his brethren dead, some in the quarries, some in the midst of tortures, some of starvation in prison. Jussi sumus (he proceeds) secundum præceptum imperatoris, fame et siti necari, et reclusi sumus in duabus cellis ita ut nos afficerent fame et siti et ignis vapore. —Guizot.

It may be seen in Cyprian's letters, No. and others, that the unimprisoned Christians were allowed to visit and relieve those in confinement. If, then, any confessors died in prison of hunger and thirst, and the word "*necari*" be not a mere figurative or hyperbolical term, it must have been through the neglect of those, who certainly had the means and the opportunity of preventing it, and were moreover urgently required by their spiritual superior to employ them. These disputes as to the greater or lesser number of martyrs, are, however, comparatively unimportant. The early Christians were often persecuted; this cannot be denied. Numbers ought not to affect the question. The single murder of Servetus has stamped as dark a blot on the name of Calvin, as the slaughter of hosts has on those of Gardiner and Bonner, of Philip and Katharine. Christians have certainly been more ferociously cruel to each other, than the heathens were to their forefathers.—Eng. Ch.

Roman empire, on whom a capital punishment was inflicted by a judicial sentence, will be reduced to somewhat less than two thousand persons. Since it cannot be doubted that the Christians were more numerous, and their enemies more exasperated, in the time of Diocletian, than they had ever been in any former persecution, this probable and moderate computation may teach us to estimate the number of primitive saints and martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the important purpose of introducing Christianity into the world.

Conclusion.

We shall conclude this chapter by a melancholy truth, which obtrudes itself on the reluctant mind; that, even admitting, without hesitation or inquiry, all that history has recorded, or devotion has feigned, on the subject of martyrdoms, it must still be acknowledged that the Christians, in the course of their intestine dissensions, have inflicted far greater severities on each other than they had experienced from the zeal of infidels. During the ages of ignorance which followed the subversion of the Roman empire in the West, the bishops of the imperial city extended their dominion over the laity as well as clergy of the Latin church. The fabric of superstition which they had erected, and which might long have defied the feeble efforts of reason, was at length assaulted by a crowd of daring fanatics, who, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, assumed the popular character of reformers. The church of Rome defended by violence the empire which she had acquired by fraud; a system of peace and benevolence was soon disgraced by proscriptions, wars, massacres, and the institution of the holy office; and as the reformers were animated by the love of civil, as well as of religious freedom, the Catholic princes connected their own interest with that of the clergy, and enforced by fire and the sword the terrors of spiritual censures. In the Netherlands alone more than one hundred thousand of the subjects of Charles the Fifth are said to have suffered by the hand of the executioner;* and this extraordinary number is attested by Grotius,[185] a man of

[185] Grot. *Annal. de Rebus Belgicis*, l. i. p. 12, edit. fol.

* This terrible barbarity, inflicted by Christians on their fellow-Christians, provoked no comment from either Guizot or Milman, and yet these tender-hearted controversialists could shed copious tears at the slightest appearance of Pagan persecution, and bitterly lament the alleged sufferings and death of so-called Christian saints and martyrs.—E.

genius and learning, who preserved his moderation amidst the fury of contending sects, and who composed the annals of his own age and country, at a time when the invention of printing had facilitated the means of intelligence, and increased the danger of detection. If we are obliged to submit our belief to the authority of Grotius, it must be allowed, that the number of protestants, who were executed in a single province and a single reign, far exceeded that of the primitive martyrs in the space of three centuries, and of the Roman empire. But if the improbability of the fact itself should prevail over the weight of evidence, if Grotius should be convicted of exaggerating the merit and sufferings of the reformers:[186] we shall be naturally led to inquire what confidence can be placed in the doubtful and imperfect monuments of ancient credulity; what degree of credit can be assigned to a courtly bishop, and a passionate declaimer,* who, under the protection of Constantine, enjoyed the exclusive privilege of recording the persecutions inflicted on the Christians by the vanquished rivals or disregarded predecessors of their gracious sovereign.†

[186] Fra Paolo (*Istoria del Consilio Tridentino*, lib. 3) reduces the number of Belgic martyrs to fifty thousand. In learning and moderation, Fra Paolo was not inferior to Grotius. The priority of time gives some advantage to the evidence of the former, which he loses on the other hand by the distance of Venice from the Netherlands.

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* Eusebius and the author of the *Treatise de Mortibus Persecutorum.* It is deeply to be regretted that the history of this period rests so much on the loose, and, it must be admitted, by no means scrupulous, authority of Eusebius. Ecclesiastical history is a solemn and melancholy lesson that the best, even the most sacred, cause will eventually suffer by the least departure from truth!—M. ‡

† Professor Schreiter, in a note principally addressed to his German readers, assigns among his reasons for not having made any observations on the two last chapters, the hope at that time entertained, that Professor Wenck was preparing a separate treatise on them. This expectation was disappointed. The note also refers to Dr. Lüderwald's then recently published work, *On the Propagation of the Christian Religion by its Own Evidence.* Helmstädt, 1788. There is some ground for the Professor's complaint, that Christianity, Church, and Hierarchy are too often confounded by Gibbon, and the errors of the latter improperly attributed to the former; yet it must be borne in mind that it has not long been safe *anywhere*, and is not even now *everywhere*, to make a distinction between the Hierarchy and Christianity.—ENG. CH.

‡ Dean Milman is right. It is to be regretted "that the history of this period "rests on the loose and by no means scrupulous authority of Eusebius." The notes and criticism of Milman and Guizot, based on this authority, are therefore worthless.

Eusebius, "the gravest of ecclesiastical historians," as Gibbon styles him, and the apostle Paul, so highly esteemed by sectarians, were both addicted to the wicked habit of telling untruths (*lies* is the harsh word employed by the translators of King James' version, Rom. iii.: 7), to enhance what they believed to be the "glory of God." And yet, in spite of this canonical authority, Milman asserts, in the language of philosophy, "that the best, even the most sacred, "cause will eventually suffer by the least departure from truth." May we not believe that Milman, when left to his own impulses, was better than the creed he so persistently advocated?—E.

APOLLO.

" The god of life, and poesy, and light."— Byron.

APOLLO was the god of the sun — the light of the world — the image of eternal youth — the glory of the universe. " I am come a light into the world," says the apostle, " that whosoever believeth in me should not abide in " darkness." (*John* xii: 46.) " As in the rays of the sun," says Moritz, " which " are both beneficent and destructive, fertilizing and producing decay, creation " and destruction are united, so the divine form of which those rays are the " archetype, unites in itself both terror and mildness. For the god of beauty and " youth, who delights in lyre and song, carries. at the same time, the quiver upon " his shoulder, and draws the silver bow." He is the driver of the chariot of the Sun, which, drawn by milk-white steeds, he seems to guide along the vault of the skies. " His head is surrounded by rays of light. He gives light both to mortal " men and immortal gods. He sees and hears every thing, and discovers all that " was kept secret." " He is the true light which lighteth every man that cometh " into the world." (*John* i: 9.) " Serenity, benevolence, and loveliness," continues Moritz, " constitute the chief character of Apollo, and he whose arrow wounds, " heals again. Not only is he himself venerated under the name of *the Healing*, " but he is also the father and teacher of ÆSCULAPIUS, who is acquainted with " the means of soothing every pain, and knows a medicine for every sickness: " who by his art can save even from death itself."

The all-seeing, all-discovering sunbeam, is the image of Apollo, that " Lightens " our darkness and defends us from all dangers and perils of the night." " *Collect " in Evening Service.*" And Apollo is also the animating sun-beam which awakes the heart to gayety and song. " If thou art afflicted now, and mourning," says Horace, " it will not always be thus; for not always does Apollo bend his bow; " soon will he awaken again the silent muse to play and song!" " All are agreed," says Cicero, " that Apollo is none other than the Sun, because the attributes " which are commonly ascribed to Apollo do so wonderfully agree thereto."

" On the isle of Delos," continues Moritz, " he awoke to life, and soon after his " birth, the divine power that dwelt in him, speedily developed itself. The " august goddesses THEMIS, RHEA, DIONE, and APHRODITE, were present when " he was born: they wrapped him up in soft habiliments, and THETIS gave " him nectar and ambrosia. As soon as he had tasted the divine food, the bonds " of infancy confined him no longer; the divine boy stood erect, and his tongue " was loosed: '*The golden lyre*,' cried he, '*shall be my joy, the carved bow my " '*pleasure*, *and in oracles I will reveal the events of futurity*.' And when he " had thus spoken, now a blooming youth, he walked forth majestically over " mountains and islands. He came to Pytho, with its craggy summits, and thence " arose, swift as thought, into the assembly of the celestials, where then at once " reigned lyre and song; the *Graces*, tenderly embracing their friends and com- " panions, the *Horæ*, joined with them in the Olympian dance: while the *Muses*, " with harmonious voices, sang the joys of the blessed immortals."

The piety of mankind has bestowed upon the son of JUPITER and LATONA the various names of *Apollo*, *Phœbus*, *Sol*, *Helios*, *Hyperion*, &c. He was worshiped as *Mithras* by the Persians, as *Horus* by the Egyptians, as *Chrishna* by the Hindoos, and as *Apollo* by the Greeks and Romans. " He was the only one of " the gods," says Lempriere, " whose oracles were in general repute over the " world." " His temple at Delphi," says Eschenburg, " was illustrious beyond " all others, on account of its vast treasures. He was regarded as the god of the " sciences, especially poetry, eloquence, music, and also medicine. As the god " of inspiration and prophesy, he gave oracles at Didyma, Patara, Claros, and " other places. His image, as expressed by poets and artists, was the highest " ideal of human beauty — a tall and majestic body, and an immortal youth and " vigor." His statue at Actium was a mark for mariners to avoid the dangerous coast, and his famous Colossus at Rhodes, was one of the seven wonders of the world. The most celebrated example of plastic art, which has been spared by the ravages of time, is the beautiful statue of APOLLO known as the *Apollo Belvidere;* and modern genius may scarcely hope to equal, but not surpass, the sublime conceptions and artistic perfection of the ancient Pagans.

In Dwight's *Mythology* it is stated, on the authority of Proclus, " that the " Athenians honored the seventh day " — the Sun-day — " as sacred to APOLLO, " the god of the Sun; " and Jews and Christians have both followed the Pagan example of observing one day in seven as a sacred and holy day. Indeed, there is scarcely a rite, a dogma, or a myth, now existing in the Christian theology, which cannot be traced to its origin in ancient Paganism. The Pagan doctrine of immortality, which is now the fundamental doctrine of the Christian creed, may serve as a pertinent example. As is well known, it was taught by Plato to his Pagan contemporaries centuries before the Christian era, and it is now implicitly believed by Christians of all sects throughout the civilized world. " Not so much " as one single line," says Taylor, " containing or conveying the vestige of any " idea or conceit whatever, find we in Christian temples, but what will fit back " again and dove-tail into its original niche in the walls of the Pantheon." — E.

Hermes presenting a Soul to Hades and Persephone.*

IV.

THE MOTIVES, PROGRESS, AND EFFECTS, OF THE CONVERSION OF CONSTANTINE.—LEGAL ESTABLISHMENT AND CONSTITUTION OF THE CHRISTIAN OR CATHOLIC CHURCH. †

THE public establishment of Christianity may be considered as one of those important and domestic revolutions which excite the most lively curiosity, and afford the most valuable instruction. The victories and the civil policy of Constantine no longer influence the state of Europe; but a considerable portion of the globe still retains the impression which it received from the conversion of that monarch; and the ecclesiastical institutions of his reign are still connected, by an indissoluble chain, with the opinions, the passions, and the interests of the present generation.

Date of the conversion of Constantine.

In the consideration of a subject which may be examined with impartiality, but cannot be viewed with indifference, a difficulty immediately arises of a very unexpected nature—that of ascertaining the real and precise date of the conversion of Constantine. The eloquent Lactantius, in the midst of his court, seems impatient[1] to proclaim A. D. 306.

1 The date of the *Divine Institutions* of Lactantius has been accurately discussed, difficulties have been started, solutions proposed, and an expedient imagined of two *original* editions; the former published during the persecution of Diocletian, the latter under that of Licinius. See Dufresnoy, Prefat. p. v.

* Long before the advent of Christianity, and when the materialistic Jews believed that death ends all, "and that a man hath no pre-eminence above a "beast," the Pagans taught the doctrine of the soul's immortality, and of a life beyond the grave.—E.

† Chap. XX. Gibbon s *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

to the world the glorious example of the sovereign of Gaul; who, in the first moments of his reign, acknowledged and adored the majesty of the true and only God.[2] The learned Eusebius has ascribed the faith of Constantine to the miraculous sign which was displayed in the heavens whilst he meditated and prepared the Italian expedition.[3] The historian Zosimus maliciously asserts, that the emperor had embrued his hands in the blood of his eldest son,* before he publicly renounced the gods of

A. D. 312.

Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclesiast.* tom. vi. pp. 465–470. Lardner's *Credibility*, part ii. vol. vii. pp. 78–86. For my own part, I am *almost* convinced that Lactantius dedicated his *Institutions* to the sovereign of Gaul, at a time when Galerius, Maximin, and even Licinius, persecuted the Christians; that is between the year 306 and 311.

[2] Lactant. *Divin. Instit.* i. 1, vii. 27. The first and most important of these passages is indeed wanting in twenty-eight manuscripts; but it is found in nineteen. If we weigh the comparative value of those manuscripts, one of 900 years old, in the king of France's library, may be alleged in its favor; but the passage is omitted in the correct manuscript of Bologna, which the P. de Montfaucon ascribes to the sixth or seventh century (*Diarium Italic.* p. 409). The taste of most of the editors (except Isæus; *Lactant.* edit. Dufresnoy, tom. i. p. 596) has felt the genuine style of Lactantius.

[3] Euseb. in *Vit. Constant.* l. i. c. 27–32.

* A spirited account of the life and character of Constantine can be found in Taylor's *Diegesis*, pages 345–354, from which we condense a few excerpts. "Constantine the Great, under whose reign Christianity became the established "religion, and but for whom, as far as human probabilities can be calculated, it "never would have come down to us, was born on the 27th of February, A. D. "272, or 274, was converted to the Christian religion on the night of October 26, "A. D. 312, reigned about thirty-one years, and died May 22, A. D. 348, the "second year of the two hundred and seventy-eighth Olympiad, in the sixty-"sixth year of his age. The conversion of Constantine (says Dr. Lardner) was "a favor of divine providence, and of great advantage to the Christians, and his "reign may be reckoned a blessing to the Roman empire on the whole.

"Eusebius—who would never lie nor falsify, except to promote the glory of "God—the *conscientious* Eusebius Pamphilus, who has written his life, seems to "know no bounds of exaggeration in his praise. I am amazed (says this vera-"cious bishop, on whose fidelity all our knowledge of ecclesiastical antiquity "must ultimately depend) when I contemplate such singular piety and goodness. "Moreover, when I look up to heaven, and in my mind behold this blessed soul "living in God's presence, and there invested with a blessed and unfading "wreath of immortality; considering this, I am oppressed with silent amaze-"ment, and my weakness makes me dumb, resigning his due encomium to "Almighty God, who alone can give to Constantine the praise he merits.

In the *Life of Constantine*, lib. iv. c. 63, it is stated that "Constantine was "the first of all the emperors who was regenerated by the new birth of "baptism, and signed with the sign of the cross; and being thus regenerated, "his mind was so illuminated, and by the raptures of faith so transported, "that he admired in himself the wonderful work of God: and when the "centurions and captains admitted into his presence, did bewail and mourn for "his approaching death, because they should lose so good and gracious a "prince, he answered them, 'that he now only began to live, and that he now "only began to be sensible of happiness, and therefore, he now only desired to "'hasten, rather than to slack or stay his passage to God.'

"For he alone of all the Roman emperors did, with most religious zeal, honor "and worship God. He alone, with great liberty of speech, did profess the "gospel of Jesus Christ. He alone, did honor his church more than all the rest. "He alone, abolished the wicked adoration of idols; and, therefore, he alone, "both in his life, and after his death, hath been crowned with such honors as no "one hath obtained, neither among the Grecians nor Barbarians, nor in former "times, among the Romans. Since no age hath produced anything that might "be paralleled or compared to Constantine.

"Lardner, who branded the virtuous Julian, as a persecutor, has not one ill

Rome and of his ancestors.[4] The perplexity produced by these discordant authorities, is derived from the behavior of Constantine himself. According to the strictness of ecclesiastical language, the first of the *Christian* emperors was unworthy of that name till the moment of his death; since it was only during his last illness that he received as a catechumen, the imposition of hands,[5] and was afterwards admitted, by the initiatory rites of baptism, into the number of the faithful.[6] The Christianity of Constantine must be allowed in a much more vague and qualified sense; and the nicest accuracy is required in tracing the slow and almost imperceptible gradations by which the monarch declared himself

A. D. 326.

A. D. 337.

[4] *Zosimus*, l. ii. p. 104.

[5] That rite was always used in making a catechumen (see Bingham's *Antiquities*, l. x. c. i. 419. Dom Chardon, *Hist. des Sacramens*, tom. i. p. 62), and Constantine received it for the *first* time (Euseb. in *Vit. Constant.* l. iv. c. 61) immediately before his baptism and death. From the connection of these two facts, Valesius (ad. loc. *Euseb.* has drawn the conclusion which is reluctantly admitted by Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 628), and opposed with feeble arguments by Mosheim (p. 968).

[6] Euseb. in *Vit. Constant.* l. iv. c. 61, 62, 63. The legend of Constantine's baptism at Rome, thirteen years before his death, was invented in the eighth century, as a proper motive for his *donation*. Such has been the gradual progress of knowledge, that a story, of which Cardinal Baronius (*Annal. Ecclesiast.* A. D. 324, No. 43–49) declared himself the unblushing advocate, is now feebly supported, even within the verge of the Vatican. See the *Antiquitates Christianæ*, tom. ii. p. 232; a work published with six approbations at Rome, in the year 1751, by Father Mamachi, a learned Dominican.

" word to spare for the Christian Constantine, who drowned his unoffending " wife FAUSTA, in a bath of boiling water, beheaded his eldest son, Crispus, in " the very year in which he presided in the Council of Nice, murdered the two " husbands of his sisters Constantia, and Anastasia, murdered his own father-in- " law, Maximian Herculius, murdered his own nephew, being his sister Con- " stantia's son, a boy only twelve years old, and murdered a few others! which " actions, Lardner, with a truly Christian moderation, tells us, '*seem to cast a* " '*reflection upon him.*' Among those few others, never be it forgotten, was " *Sopater*, the Pagan priest, who fell a victim and a martyr to the sincerity of his " attachment to Paganism, and to the honesty of his refusing the consolations of " heathenism to the conscience of the royal murderer.

The Rev. Robt. Taylor thus methodically arranges Constantine's slaughter bill under the following dates:

Maximian,	his wife's father, - - - -	A. D. 310
Bassianus,	his sister Anastasia's husband, - - -	314
Licinianus,	his nephew, by Constantina, - - -	319
Fausta,	his wife, - - - - - - -	320
Sopater,	his former friend, - - - - -	321
Licinius,	his sister Constantina's husband, - - -	325
Crispus,	his own son, - - - - - -	326

The reason for the martyrdom of Sopater, the Pagan philosopher and priest, is thus rendered from Sozomen by Dr. Lardner, vol. 4, p. 400:

" I am not ignorant that the Gentiles are wont to say that Constantine, having " put to death some of his relations and particularly his son Crispus, and being " sorry for what he had done, applied to Sopater, the philosopher, and he answer- " ing that there were no expiations for such offences; the emperor then had " recourse to the Christian bishops, who told him that by repentance and baptism " he might be cleansed from all sin; with which doctrine he was well pleased, " whereupon he became a Christian."—E.

the protector, and at length the proselyte of the church. It was an arduous task to eradicate the habits and prejudices of his education, to acknowledge the divine power of Christ, and to understand that the truth of *his* revelation was incompatible with the worship of the gods. The obstacles which he had probably experienced in his own mind, instructed him to proceed with caution in the momentous change of a national religion; and he insensibly discovered his new opinions, as far as he could enforce them with safety and with effect. During the whole course of his reign, the stream of Christianity flowed with a gentle, though accelerated, motion; but its general direction was sometimes checked, and sometimes diverted, by the accidental circumstances of the times, and by the prudence, or possibly by the caprice, of the monarch. His ministers were permitted to signify the intentions of their master in the various language which was best adapted to their respective principles;[7] and he artfully balanced the hopes and fears of his subjects, by publishing in the same year two edicts; the first of which enjoined the solemn observance of Sunday,[8] and the second directed the regular consultation of aruspices.[9] While this important revolution yet remained in suspense, the Christians and the Pagans watched the conduct of their sovereign with the same anxiety, but with very opposite sentiments. The former were prompted by every motive of zeal, as well as vanity, to exaggerate the marks of his favor, and the evidence of his faith. The latter, till their just apprehensions were changed into despair and resentment, attempted to conceal from the world, and from themselves, that the gods of Rome could no longer reckon the emperor in the number of their votaries. The same passions and prejudices have engaged the partial writers of the times to connect the public confession of Christianity with the most glorious or the most ignominious era of the reign of Constantine.

A. D. 321.

[7] The quæstor, or secretary, who composed the law of the *Theodosian Code*, makes his master say with indifference, "hominibus supradictæ religionis" (l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 1). The minister of ecclesiastical affairs was allowed a more devout and respectful style, *τῆς ἐνθέσου καὶ ἁγιωτάτης καθολικῆς θρησκειας*; the legal, most holy, and Catholic worship. See Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* l. x. c. 6.

[8] *Cod. Theodos.* l. ii. tit. viii. leg. 1. *Cod. Justinian.* l. iii. tit xii. leg. 3. Constantine styles the Lord's day *dies solis*, a name which could not offend the ears of his Pagan subjects.

[9] *Cod. Theodos.* l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 1. Godefroy, in the character of a commentator, endeavors (tom. vi. p. 257) to excuse Constantine; but the more zealous Baronius (*Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 321, No. 18) censures his profane conduct with truth and asperity.

His Pagan superstition.

Whatever symptoms of Christian piety might transpire in the discourses or actions of Constantine, he persevered till he was near forty years of age in the practice of the established religion;[10] and the same conduct, which in the court of Nicomedia might be imputed to his fear, could be ascribed only to the inclination or policy of the sovereign of Gaul. His liberality restored and enriched the temples of the gods; the medals which issued from his imperial mint are impressed with the figures and attributes of Jupiter and Apollo, of Mars and Hercules; and his filial piety increased the council of Olympus by the solemn apotheosis of his father Constantius.[11] But the devotion of Constantine was more peculiarly directed to the genius of the Sun, the Apollo of Greek and Roman mythology; and he was pleased to be represented with the symbols of the God of Light and Poetry. The unerring shafts of that deity, the brightness of his eyes, his laurel wreath, immortal beauty, and elegant accomplishments, seem to point him out as the patron of a young hero. The altars of Apollo were crowned with the votive offerings of Constantine; and the credulous multitude were taught to believe, that the emperor was permitted to behold with mortal eyes the visible majesty of their tutelar deity; and that, either waking or in a vision, he was blessed with the auspicious omens of a long and victorious reign. The Sun was universally celebrated as the invincible guide and protector of Constantine; and the Pagans might reasonably expect that the insulted god would pursue with unrelenting vengeance the impiety of his ungrateful favorite.[12]

He protects the Christians of Gaul. A. D. 306-312.

As long as Constantine exercised a limited sovereignty over the provinces of Gaul, his Christian subjects were protected by the authority, and perhaps by the laws, of a prince,

10 *Theodoret* (l. i. c. 18) seems to insinuate that Helena gave her son a Christian education; but we may be assured, from the superior authority of Eusebius (in *Vit. Constant.* l. iii. c. 47), that she herself was indebted to Constantine for the knowledge of Christianity.

11 See the medals of Constantine in Ducange and Banduri. As few cities had retained the privilege of coining, almost all the medals of that age issued from the mint under the sanction of the imperial authority.*

12 The panegyric of Eumenius (vii. inter panegyr. Vet.), which was pronounced a few months before the Italian war, abounds with the most unexceptionable evidence of the Pagan superstition of Constantine, and of his particular veneration for Apollo, or the Sun; to which Julian alludes *Orat.* vii. p. 228, ἀπολείπωτσέ. See *Commentaire de Spanheim sur les Césars*, p. 317.

* Eckhel. *Doctrin. Num.* vol. vii.—Milman.

The coins of Constantine and his sons were issued from Rome and Constantinople. See Eckhel (*D. Num Vet.* 8, 95.).—E. C.

who wisely left to the gods the care of vindicating their own honor. If we may credit the assertion of Constantine himself, he had been an indignant spectator of the savage cruelties which were inflicted by the hands of Roman soldiers, on those citizens whose religion was their only crime.[13] In the East and in the West, he had seen the different effects of severity and indulgence; and as the former was rendered still more odious by the example of Galerius, his implacable enemy, the latter was recommended to his imitation by the authority and advice of a dying father. The son of Constantius immediately suspended or repealed the edicts of persecution, and granted the free exercise of their religious ceremonies to all those who had already professed themselves members of the church. They were soon encouraged to depend on the favor as well as on the justice of their sovereign, who had imbibed a secret and sincere reverence for the name of Christ, and for the God of the Christians.[14]

A. D. 313. March. Edict of Milan.

About five months after the conquest of Italy, the emperor made a solemn and authentic declaration of his sentiments, by the celebrated edict of Milan, which restored peace to the Catholic church. In the personal interview of the two western princes, Constantine, by the ascendant of genius and power, obtained the ready concurrence of his colleague, Licinius; the union of their names and authority disarmed the fury of Maximin; and, after the death of the tyrant of the East, the edict of Milan was received as a general and fundamental law of the Roman world.[15]

The wisdom of the emperors provided for the restitution of all the civil and religious rights of which the Christians had been so unjustly deprived. It was enacted, that the places of worship, and public lands, which had been confiscated, should be restored to the church, without dispute, without delay, and without expense: and this severe injunction was accompanied with a gracious promise, that if any

[13] Constant. *Orat. ad Sanctos*, c. 25. But it might easily be shown, that the Greek translator has improved the sense of the Latin original; and the aged emperor might recollect the persecution of Diocletian with a more lively abhorrence than he had actually felt in the days of his youth and Paganism.

[14] See Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* l. viii. 13, l. ix. 9, and in *Vit. Constant.* l. i. c. 16, 17. Lactant. *Divin. Institut.* i. l. *Cæcilius de Mort. Persecut.* c. 25.

[15] Cæcilus (*de Mort. Persecut.* c. 48) has preserved the Latin original; and Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* l. x. c. 5) has given a Greek translation of this perpetual edict, which refers to some provisional regulations.

of the purchasers had paid a fair and adequate price, they should be indemnified from the imperial treasury. The salutary regulations which guard the future tranquillity of the faithful are framed on the principles of enlarged and equal toleration; and such an equality must have been interpreted by a recent sect as an advantageous and honorable distinction. The two emperors proclaim to the world, that they have granted a free and absolute power to the Christians, and to all others, of following the religion which each individual thinks proper to prefer, to which he has addicted his mind, and which he may deem the best adapted to his own use. They carefully explain every ambiguous word, remove every exception, and exact from the governors of the provinces a strict obedience to the true and simple meaning of an edict, which was designed to establish and secure, without any limitation, the claims of religious liberty. They condescend to assign two weighty reasons which have induced them to allow this universal toleration; the humane intention of consulting the peace and happiness of their people; and the pious hope, that by such a conduct, they shall appease and propitiate *the Deity*, whose seat is in heaven. They gratefully acknowledge the many signal proofs which they have received of the Divine favor; and they trust that the same Providence will for ever continue to protect the prosperity of the prince and people. From these vague and indefinite expressions of piety, three suppositions may be deduced, of a different, but not of an incompatible nature. The mind of Constantine might fluctuate between the Pagan and the Christian religions. According to the loose and complying notions of Polytheism, he might acknowledge the God of the Christians as *one* of the *many* deities who composed the hierarchy of heaven. Or perhaps he might embrace the philosophic and pleasing idea, that, notwithstanding the variety of names, of rites, and of opinions, all the sects and all the nations of mankind are united in the worship of the Common Father and Creator of the universe.[16] *

[16] A panegyric of Constantine, pronounced seven or eight months after the edict of Milan (See Gothofred. *Chronolog. Legum.* p. 7, and Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 246), uses the following remarkable expression: "Summe "rerum sator, cujus tot nomina sunt, quot linguas gentium esse voluisti, quem enim te ipse dici velis, scire non possumus." (*Panegyr. Vet.* ix. 26). In explaining Constantine's progress in the faith, Mosheim (p. 971) is ingenious, subtle, prolix.

* Pope must have had this in his mind when he commenced his Universal Prayer, making "Saint, savage, and sage," use "Jehovah, Jove, or Lord," only as different names for one Supreme Being.—ENG. CH.

Use and beauty of the Christian morality.

But the councils of princes are more frequently influenced by views of temporal advantage, than by considerations of abstract and speculative truth. The partial and increasing favor of Constantine may naturally be referred to the esteem which he entertained for the moral character of the Christians; and to a persuasion, that the propagation of the gospel would inculcate the practice of private and public virtue. Whatever latitude an absolute monarch may assume in his own conduct, whatever indulgence he may claim for his own passions, it is undoubtedly his interest that all his subjects should respect the natural and civil obligations of society. But the operation of the wisest laws is imperfect and precarious. They seldom inspire virtue, they cannot always restrain vice. Their power is insufficient to prohibit all that they condemn, nor can they always punish the actions which they prohibit. The legislators of antiquity had summoned to their aid the powers of education and of opinion: But every principle which had once maintained the vigor and purity of Rome and Sparta was long since extinguished in a declining and despotic empire. Philosophy still exercised her temperate sway over the human mind, but the cause of virtue derived very feeble support from the influence of the Pagan superstition. Under these discouraging circumstances, a prudent magistrate might observe with pleasure the progress of a religion, which diffused among the people a pure, benevolent, and universal system of ethics, adapted to every duty and every condition of life; recommended as the will and reason of the Supreme Deity, and enforced by the sanction of eternal rewards or punishments. The experience of Greek and Roman history could not inform the world how far the system of national manners might be reformed and improved by the precepts of a divine revelation; and Constantine might listen with some confidence to the flattering, and indeed reasonable, assurances of Lactantius. The eloquent apologist seemed firmly to expect, and almost ventured to promise, *that* the establishment of Christianity would restore the innocence and felicity of the primitive age; *that* the worship of the true God would extinguish war and dissension among those who mutually considered themselves as the children of a common parent; *that* every impure desire, every angry or selfish passion, would be restrained by the knowledge of the gos-

pel; and *that* the magistrates might sheath the sword of justice among a people who would be universally actuated by the sentiments of truth and piety, of equity and moderation, of harmony and universal love.[17]

Theory and practice of passive obedience.

The passive and unresisting obedience, which bows under the yoke of authority, or even of oppression, must have appeared, in the eyes of an absolute monarch, the most conspicuous and useful of the evangelic virtues.[18] The primitive Christians derived the institution of civil government, not from the consent of the people, but from the decrees of Heaven. The reigning emperor, though he had usurped the sceptre by treason and murder, immediately assumed the sacred character of vicegerent of the Deity.* To the Deity alone he was accountable for the abuse of his power; and his subjects were indissolubly bound, by their oath of fidelity, to a tyrant, who had violated every law of nature and society. The humble Christians were sent into the world as sheep among wolves; and since they were not permitted to employ force, even in the defence of their religion, they would be still more criminal if they were tempted to shed the blood of their fellow-creatures, in disputing the vain privileges, or the sordid possessions, of this transitory life. Faithful to the doctrine of the apostle, who in the reign of Nero had preached the duty of unconditional submission, the Christians of the three first centuries preserved their conscience pure and innocent of the guilt of secret conspiracy, or open rebellion. While they experienced the rigor of persecution, they were never provoked either to meet their tyrants in the field, or indignantly to withdraw themselves into some remote and sequestered corner of the globe.[19] The Protest-

17 See the elegant description of Lactantius (*Divin. Institut.* vi. 8), who is much more perspicuous and positive than becomes a discreet prophet.

18 The political system of the Christians is explained by Grotius, *de Jure Belli et Pacis*, l. i. c. 3, 4. Grotius was a republican and an exile, but the mildness of his temper inclined him to support the established powers.

19 Tertullian. *Apolog.* c. 32, 34, 35, 36. Tamen nunquam Albiniani, nec Nigriani vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani. *Ad Scapulam*, c. 2. If this assertion be strictly true, it excludes the Christians of that age from all civil and military employments, which would have compelled them to take an active part in the service of their respective governors. See Moyle's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 349.

* This Christian doctrine of the divine right of kings, which is allied to that twin relic of barbarism, the doctrine of the divine right of priests, was boldly challenged by the leaders of the American Revolution; and it is to the grand success of that revolt against established wrong, that the world is indebted to the now recognized doctrine of the unalienable rights of the people to "life, liberty, "and the pursuit of happiness." Paine's *Rights of Man*, which so clearly enforces this principle, should be read by every freeman, and its author esteemed by every patriot. — E.

ants of France, of Germany, and of Britain, who asserted with such intrepid courage their civil and religious freedom, have been insulted by the invidious comparison between the conduct of the primitive and of the reformed Christians.[20] Perhaps, instead of censure, some applause may be due to the superior sense and spirit of our ancestors, who had convinced themselves that religion cannot abolish the unalienable rights of human nature.[21] Perhaps the patience of the primitive church may be ascribed to its weakness, as well as to its virtue. A sect of unwarlike plebeians, without leaders, without arms, without fortifications, must have encountered inevitable destruction in a rash and fruitless resistance to the master of the Roman legions. But the Christians, when they deprecated the wrath of Diocletian, or solicited the favor of Constantine, could allege with truth and confidence, that they held the principle of passive obedience, and that, in the space of three centuries, their conduct had always been conformable to their principles. They might add, that the throne of the emperors would be established on a fixed and permanent basis, if all their subjects embracing the Christian doctrine, should learn to suffer and to obey.

Divine right of Constantine.

In the general order of Providence, princes and tyrants are considered as the ministers of heaven, appointed to rule or to chastise the nations of the earth. But sacred history affords many illustrious examples of the more immediate interposition of the Deity in the government of his chosen people. The scepter and the sword were committed to the hands of Moses, of Joshua, of Gideon, of David, of the Maccabees; the virtues of those heroes were the motive or the effect of the divine favor, the success of their arms was destined to achieve the deliverance or the triumph of the church. If the judges of Israel were occasional and temporary magistrates, the kings of Judah derived from the royal unction of their great ancestor, an hereditary and indefeasible right, which could not be forfeited by their own vices, nor recalled by the caprice of their subjects. The

[20] See the artful Bossuet (*Hist. des Variations des Eglises Protestantes*, tom. iii. pp. 210–258), and the malicious Bayle (tom. ii. p. 620). I *name* Bayle, for he was certainly the author of the *Avis aux Refugiés;* consult the *Dictionnaire Critique de Chauffepié*, tom. i. part ii. p. 145.

[21] Buchanan is the earliest, or at least the most celebrated, of the reformers, who has justified the theory of resistance. See his *Dialogue de Jure Regni apud Scotos*, tom. ii. pp. 28, 30, edit. fol. Ruddiman.

same extraordinary providence, which was no longer confined to the Jewish people, might elect Constantine and his family as the protectors of the Christian world; and the devout Lactantius announces, in a prophetic tone, the future glories of his long and universal reign.[22] Galerius and Maximin, Maxentius and Licinius, were the rivals who shared with the favorite of heaven the provinces of the empire. The tragic deaths of Galerius and Maximin soon gratified the resentment, and fulfilled the sanguine expectations, of the Christians. The success of Constantine against Maxentius and Licinius removed the two formidable competitors who still opposed the triumph of the second David, and his cause might seem to claim the peculiar interposition of Providence. The character of the Roman tyrant disgraced the purple and human nature; and though the Christians might enjoy his precarious favor, they were exposed, with the rest of his subjects, to the effects of his wanton and capricious cruelty. The conduct of Licinius soon betrayed the reluctance with which he had consented to the wise and humane regulations of the edict of Milan. The convocation of provincial synods was prohibited in his dominions; his Christian officers were ignominiously dismissed; and if he avoided the guilt, or rather danger, of a general persecution, his partial oppressions were rendered still more odious by the violation of a solemn and voluntary engagement.[23] While the East, according to the lively expression of Eusebius, was involved in the shades of infernal darkness, the auspicious rays of celestial light warmed and illuminated the provinces of the West. The piety of Constantine was admitted as an unexceptionable proof of the justice of his arms; and his use of victory confirmed the opinion of the Christians, that their hero was inspired, and conducted, by the Lord of Hosts. The conquest of Italy produced a general edict of toleration; and as soon as the defeat of Licinius had invested Constantine with the sole dominion of the Roman world, he immediately, by circular letters, exhorted all his subjects to imitate without delay, the example of their sovereign, and to embrace the divine truth of Christianity.[24] A. D. 324.

22 Lactant. *Divin. Instiut.* l. i. Eusebius, in the course of his history, his life, and his oration, repeatedly inculcates the divine right of Constantine to the empire.

23 Our imperfect knowledge of the persecution of Licinius is derived from Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* l. x. c. 8. *Vit. Constantin.* l. i. c. 49–56, l. ii. c. 1, 2.) Aurelius Victor mentions his cruelty in general terms.

24 Euseb. in *Vit. Constant.* l. ii. c. 24–42, 48–60.

Loyalty and zeal of the Christian party.

The assurance that the elevation of Constantine was intimately connected with the designs of Providence, instilled in the minds of the Christians two opinions, which, by very different means, assisted the accomplishment of the prophecy. Their warm and active loyalty exhausted in his favor every resource of human industry; and they confidently expected that their strenuous efforts would be seconded by some divine and miraculous aid. The enemies of Constantine have imputed to interested motives the alliance which he insensibly contracted with the Catholic church, and which apparently contributed to the success of his ambition. In the beginning of the fourth century, the Christians still bore a very inadequate proportion to the inhabitants of the empire; but among a degenerate people, who viewed the change of masters with the indifference of slaves, the spirit and union of a religious party might assist the popular leader, to whose service, from a principle of conscience, they had devoted their lives and fortunes.[25] The example of his father had instructed Constantine to esteem and to reward the merit of the Christians; and in the distribution of public offices, he had the advantage of strengthening his government, by the choice of ministers or generals, in whose fidelity he could repose a just and unreserved confidence. By the influence of these dignified missionaries, the proselytes of the new faith must have multiplied in the court and army; the barbarians of Germany, who filled the ranks of the legions, were of a careless temper, which acquiesced without resistance in the religion of their commander; and when they passed the Alps, it may fairly be presumed, that a great number of the soldiers had already consecrated their swords to the service of Christ and of Constantine.[26] The habits of mankind, and the interest of religion, gradually abated the horror of war and bloodshed, which had so long prevailed among the Christians: and in the councils which were assembled under the gracious pro-

[25] In the beginning of the last century, the Papists of England were only a *thirtieth*, and the Protestants of France only a *fifteenth*, part of the respective nations, to whom their spirit and power were a constant object of apprehension. See the relations which Bentivoglio (who was then nuncio at Brussels, and afterwards cardinal) transmitted to the court of Rome (*Relazione*, tom. ii. pp. 211, 241). Bentivoglio was curious, well informed, but somewhat partial.

[26] This careless temper of the Germans appears almost uniformly in the history of the conversion of each of the tribes. The legions of Constantine were recruited with Germans (*Zosimus*, l. ii. p. 86); and the court even of his father had been filled with Christians. See the first book of the *Life of Constantine*, by Eusebius.

tection of Constantine, the authority of the bishops was seasonably employed to ratify the obligation of the military oath, and to inflict the penalty of excommunication on those soldiers who threw away their arms during the peace of the church.[27] While Constantine in his own dominions, increased the number and zeal of his faithful adherents, he could depend on the support of a powerful faction in those provinces which were still possessed or usurped by his rivals. A secret disaffection was diffused among the Christian subjects of Maxentius and Licinius; and the resentment which the latter did not attempt to conceal, served only to engage them still more deeply in the interest of his competitor. The regular corespondence which connected the bishops of the most distant provinces, enabled them freely to communicate their wishes and their designs, and to transmit without danger any useful intelligence, or any pious contributions, which might promote the service of Constantine, who publicly declared that he had taken up arms for the deliverance of the church.[28]

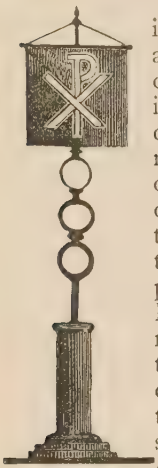
Expectation and belief of a miracle.

The enthusiasm which inspired the troops, and perhaps the emperor himself, had sharpened their swords while it satisfied their conscience. They marched to battle with the full assurance, that the same God, who had formerly opened a passage to the Israelites through the waters of Jordan, and had thrown down the walls of Jericho at the sound of the trumpets of Joshua, would display his visible majesty and power in the victory of Constantine. The evidence of ecclesiastical history is prepared to affirm, that their expectations were justified by the conspicuous miracle to which the conversion of the first Christian emperor has been almost unanimously ascribed. The real or imaginary cause of so important an event, deserves and demands the attention of posterity; and I shall endeavor to form a just estimate of the famous vision of Constantine, by a distinct consideration of the *standard*, the *dream*, and the *celestial sign;* by separating the historical, the natural, and the marvellous parts of this extra-

[27] De his qui arma projiciunt in *pace*, placuit eos abstinere a communione, *Concil. Arelat. Canon.* iii. The best critics apply these words to the *peace of the church.*

[28] Eusebius always considers the second civil war against Licinius as a sort of religious crusade. At the invitation of the tyrant, some Christian officers had resumed their *zones;* or, in other words, had returned to the military service. Their conduct was afterwards censured by the twelfth canon of the Council of Nice; if this particular application may be received, instead of the loose and general sense of the Greek interpreters, Balsamon, Zonaras, and Alexis Aristenus. See Beveridge, *Pandect. Eccles. Græc.* tom. i. p. 72, tom. ii. p. 78, Annotation.

ordinary story, which, in the composition of a specious argument, have been artfully confounded in one splendid and brittle mass.



The *Labarum* or standard of the cross.

I. An instrument of the tortures which were inflicted only on slaves and strangers, became an object of horror in the eyes of a Roman citizen; and the ideas of guilt, of pain, and of ignominy, were closely united with the idea of the cross.[29] The piety, rather than the humanity, of Constantine, soon abolished in his dominions the punishment which the Savior of mankind had condescended to suffer;[30] but the emperor had already learned to despise the prejudices of his education and of his people, before he could erect in the midst of Rome his own statue, bearing a cross in its right hand; with an inscription which referred the victory of his arms, and the deliverance of Rome, to the virtue of that salutary sign, the true symbol of force and courage.[31] The same symbol sanctified the arms of the soldiers of Constantine; the cross glittered on their helmets, was engraved on their shields, was interwoven into their banners; and the consecrated emblems, which adorned the person of the emperor himself, were distinguished only by richer materials and more exquisite workmanship.[32] But the principal standard

[29] Nomen ipsum *crucis* absit non modo a corpore civium Romanorum, sed etiam a cogitatione, oculis, auribus. *Cicero pro Raberio*, c. 5. The Christian writers, Justin, Minucius Felix, Tertullian, Jerom, and Maximus of Turin, have investigated with tolerable success the figure or likeness of a cross in almost every object of nature or art; in the intersection of the meridian and equator, the human face, a bird flying, a man swimming, a mast and yard, a plough, a *standard*, &c., &c., &c. See *Lipsius de Cruce*, l. i. c. 9.

[30] See *Aurelius Victor*, who considers this law as one of the examples of Constantine's piety. An edict so honorable to Christianity deserved a place in the *Theodosian Code*, instead of the indirect mention of it, which seems to result from the comparison of the fifth and eighteenth titles of the ninth book.

[31] Eusebius, in *Vit. Constantin.* l. i. c. 40. This statue, or at least the cross and inscription, may be ascribed with more probability to the second, or even third, visit of Constantine to Rome. Immediately after the defeat of Maxentius, the minds of the senate and people were scarcely ripe for this public monument.

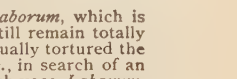
[32] Agnoscas, regina, libens mea signa necesse est;
In quibus effigies *crucis* aut gemmata refulget
Aut longis solido ex auro præfertur in hastis.
Hoc signo invictus, transmissis Alpibus Ultor
Servitium solvit miserabile Constantinus.
* * * * *
Christus *purpureum* gemmanti textus in auro
Signabat *Labarum*, clypeorum insignia Christus
Scripserat; ardebat summis *crux* addita cristis.
Prudent. in *Symmachum*, l. ii. 464, 486.

which displayed the triumph of the cross was styled the *Labarum*,[33] an obscure, though celebrated name, which has been vainly derived from almost all the languages of the world. It is described[34] as a long pike intersected by a transversal beam. The silken veil which hung down from the beam, was curiously inwrought with the images of the reigning monarch and his children. The summit of the pike supported a crown of gold, which enclosed the mysterious monogram, at once expressive of the figure of the cross, and the initial letters of the name of Christ.[35] The safety of the labarum was intrusted to fifty guards of approved valor and fidelity; their station was marked by honors and emoluments: and some fortunate accidents soon introduced an opinion, that as long as the guards of the labarum were engaged in the execution of their office, they were secure and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy. In the second civil war, Licinius felt and dreaded the power of this consecrated banner, the sight of which, in the distress of battle, animated the soldiers of Constantine with an invincible enthusiasm, and scattered terror and dismay through the ranks of the adverse legions.[36] The Christian emperors who respected the example of Constantine, displayed in all their military expeditions the standard of the cross; but when the degenerate successors of Theodosius had ceased to appear in person at the head of their armies, the labarum was deposited as a venerable but useless relic in the palace of Constantinople.[37] Its honors are still preserved on the medals of the Flavian family. Their

[33] The derivation and meaning of the word *Labarum* or *Laborum*, which is employed by Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, Prudentius, &c., still remain totally unknown, in spite of the efforts of the critics, who have ineffectually tortured the Latin, Greek, Spanish, Celtic, Teutonic, Illyric, Armenian, &c., in search of an etymology. See Ducange, in *Glos. Med. et infim. Latinitat*, sub voce *Labarum*, and Godefroy, ad *Cod. Theodos.* tom. ii. p. 143.

[34] Euseb. in *Vit. Constantin.* l. i. c. 30, 31. Baronius (*Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 312, No. 26) has engraved a representation of the Labarum.

[35] Transversa X litera, summo capite circumflexo, Christum in scutis notat. *Cæcilius de M. P.* c. 44. Cuper (ad *M. P.* in edit. Lactant. tom. ii. p. 500), and Baronius (A. D. 312, No. 25), have engraved from ancient monuments several specimens of these monograms, which became extremely fashionable in the Christian world.



[36] Euseb. in *Vit. Constantin.* l. ii. c. 7-9. He introduces the labarum before the Italian expedition; but his narrative seems to indicate that it was never shown at the head of an army, till Constantine, above ten years afterwards, declared himself the enemy of Licinius, and the deliverer of the church.

[37] See *Cod. Theod.* l. vi. tit. 25. *Sozomen*, l. i. c. 2. Theophan. *Chronograph.* p. 11. Theophanes lived towards the eighth century, almost five hundred years after Constantine. The modern Greeks were not inclined to display in the field the standard of the empire and of Christianity; and though they depended on every superstitious hope of *defence*, the promise of *victory* would have appeared too bold a fiction.

grateful devotion has placed the monogram of Christ in the midst of the ensign of Rome. The solemn epithets of, Safety of the republic, Glory of the army, Restoration of public happiness, are equally applied to the religious and military trophies; and there is still extant a medal of the emperor Constantius, where the standard of the labarum is accompanied with these memorable words, BY THIS SIGN THOU SHALT CONQUER.[38]

The dream of Constantine.

II. In all occasions of danger and distress, it was the practice of the primitive Christians to fortify their minds and bodies by the sign of the cross, which they used, in all their ecclesiastical rites, in all the daily occurrences of life, as an infallible preservative against every species of spiritual or temporal evil.[39] The authority of the church might alone have had sufficient weight to justify the devotion of Constantine, who in the same prudent and gradual progress acknowledged the truth, and assumed the symbol, of Christianity. But the testimony of a contemporary writer, who in a formal treatise has avenged the cause of religion, bestows on the piety of the emperor a more awful and sublime character. He affirms, with the most perfect confidence, that in the night which preceded the last battle against Maxentius, Constantine was admonished in a dream‡ to inscribe the shields of his soldiers with the *celestial sign of God*, the sacred monogram of the name of Christ; that he executed the commands of heaven, and that his valor and obedience were rewaded by

[38] The abbé du Voisin, p. 103, &c., alleges several of these medals, and quotes a particular dissertation of a Jesuit, the père de Grainville, on this subject.*

[39] Tertul. *de Corona*, c. iii. *Athanasius*, tom. i. p. 101. The learned Jesuit, Petavius, (*Domata Theolog.* l. xv, c. 9, 10), has collected many similar passages on the virtues of the cross, which in the last age embarrassed our Protestant disputants.†

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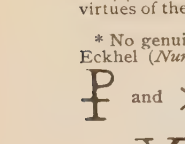
* No genuine coins of Constantine have been found with Christian emblems. Eckhel (*Num. Vet.* 8, 84) rejects, as decidedly spurious, one preserved in the Museum of Pisa, on which they are shown. The monogram on later coins have two forms, the first of which resembles some on early tetradrachms of Athens. Coins of the Ptolemys also are inscribed with the Greek letters X P, the meaning of which is not known. Humphrey's *Manual* (p. 226, edit. Bohn) exhibits of the monogram of Achaia, about 350 B. C., which approaches very nearly to the Christian emblem.—ENG. CH.



† The early influence of such a notion caused the Greek translator of Matthew's *Hebrew Gospel*, to render *Tephillin* by *phylacteria*. (C. xxiii. v. 5.) By this, the prayer-signs of the Jews, which are strictly religious symbols, were assimilated to the talismans, which Eastern nations imagined possessed the virtue of protecting them against diseases and calamities; and hence arose the still prevailing but mistaken idea, that these remembrancers of devotion were used as "amulets "and charms."—ENG. CH.

‡ Manso has observed, that Gibbon ought not to have separated the vision of Constantine from the wonderful apparition in the sky, as the two wonders are closely connected in *Eusebius*. Manso, *Leben Constantine*. p. 82.—MILMAN.

the decisive victory of the Milvian Bridge. Some considerations might perhaps incline a skeptical mind to suspect the judgment or the veracity of the rhetorician, whose pen, either from zeal or interest, was devoted to the cause of the prevailing faction.[40] He appears to have published his *Deaths of the Persecutors*, at Nicomedia, about three years after the Roman victory; but the interval of a thousand miles, and a thousand days, will allow an ample latitude for the invention of declaimers, the credulity of party, and the tacit approbation of the emperor himself; who might listen without indignation to a marvellous tale, which exalted his fame, and promoted his designs. In favor of Licinius, who still dissembled his animosity to the Christians, the same author has provided a similar vision, of a form of prayer, which was communicated by an angel, and repeated by the whole army before they engaged the legions of the tyrant Maximin. The frequent repetition of miracles serves to provoke, where it does not subdue, the reason of mankind;[41] but if the dream of Constantine is separately considered, it may be naturally explained either by the policy or the enthusiasm of the emperor. Whilst his anxiety for the approaching day, which must decide the fate of the empire, was suspended by a short and interrupted slumber, the venerable form of Christ, and the well-known symbol of his religion, might forcibly offer themselves to the active fancy of a prince who reverenced the name, and had perhaps secretly implored the power, of the God of the Christians. As readily might a consummate statesman indulge himself in the use of one of those military stratagems, one of those pious frauds, which Philip and Sertorius had employed with such art and effect.[42] The præternatural origin of dreams was

[40] *Cæcilius de M. P.* c. 44. It is certain that this historical declamation was composed and published while Licinius, sovereign of the East, still preserved the friendship of Constantine and of the Christians. Every reader of taste must perceive that the style is of a very different and inferior character to that of Lactantius; and such indeed is the judgment of Le Clerc and Lardner (*Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, tom. iii. p. 438. *Credibility of the Gospel, &c.*, part ii. vol. vii. p. 94.) Three arguments from the title of the book, and from the names of Donatus and Cæcilius, are produced by the advocates for Lactantius. (See the *P. Lestocq*, tom. ii. pp. 46–60.) Each of these proofs is singly weak and defective; but their concurrence has great weight. I have often fluctuated, and shall *tamely* follow the Colbert MS. in calling the author (whoever he was) Cæcilius.

[41] *Cæcilius de M. P.* c. 46. There seems to be some reason in the observation of M. de Voltaire (*Œuvres*, tom. xiv. p. 307), who ascribes to the success of Constantine the superior fame of his Labarum above the angel of Licinius. Yet even this angel is favorably entaintained by Pagi, Tillemont, Fleury, &c., who are fond of increasing their stock of miracles.

[42] Besides these well-known examples, Tollius (Preface to Boileau's translation of *Longinus*) has discovered a vision of Antigonus, who assured his troops that he had seen a pentagon (the symbol of safety) with these words, "In this conquer."

universally admitted by the nations of antiquity, and a considerable part of the Gallic army was already prepared to place their confidence in the salutary sign of the Christian religion. The secret vision of Constantine could be disproved only by the event; and the intrepid hero who had passed the Alps and the Apennine, might view with careless despair the consequences of a defeat under the walls of Rome. The senate and people, exulting in their own deliverance from an odious tyrant, acknowledged that the victory of Constantine surpassed the powers of man, without daring to insinuate that it had been obtained by the protection of the *gods*. The triumphal arch, which was erected about three years after the event, proclaims, in ambiguous language, that by the greatness of his own mind, and by an *instinct* or impulse of the Divinity, he had saved and avenged the Roman republic.[43] The Pagan orator, who had seized an earlier opportunity of celebrating the virtues of the conqueror, supposes that he alone enjoyed a secret and intimate commerce with the Supreme Being, who delegated the care of mortals to his subordinate deities; and thus assigns a very plausible reason why the subjects of Constantine should not presume to embrace the new religion of their sovereign.[44]

Appearance of a cross in the sky.

III. The philosopher, who with calm suspicion examines the dreams and omens, the miracles and prodigies, of profane or even of ecclesiastical history, will probably conclude, that if the eyes of the spectators have sometimes been deceived by fraud, the understanding of the readers has much more frequently been insulted by fiction. Every event, or appearance, or accident, which seems to deviate from the ordinary course of nature, has been rashly ascribed to the immediate action of the Deity; and the astonished fancy of the multitude has sometimes given shape and color, language and motion, to the fleeting but uncommon meteors of the air. Nazarius

But Tollius has most inexcusably omitted to produce his authority, and his own character, literary as well as moral, is not free from reproach. (See Chauffepié, *Dictionnaire Critique*, tom. iv. p. 460.) Without insisting on the silence of Diodorus, Plutarch, Justin, &c., it may be observed that Polyænus, who, in a separate chapter (l. iv. c. 6) has collected nineteen military stratagems of Antigonus, is totally ignorant of this remarkable vision.

[43] Instinctu Divinitatis, mentis magnitudine. The inscription on the triumphal arch of Constantine, which has been copied by Baronius, Gruter, &c., may still be perused by every curious traveler.

[44] Habeas profecto aliquid cum illa mente Divina secretum; quæ delegata nostra Diis Minoribus cura uni se tibi dignatur ostendere, *Panegyr. Vet.* ix. 2,

and Eusebius are the two most celebrated orators, who, in studied panegyrics, have labored to exalt the glory of Constantine.[45] Nine years after the Roman victory, Nazarius[46] describes an army of divine warriors, who seemed to fall from the sky: he marks their beauty, their spirit, their gigantic forms, the stream of light which beamed from their celestial armor, their patience in suffering themselves to be heard as well as seen by mortals; and their declaration that they were sent, that they flew, to the assistance of the great Constantine. For the truth of this prodigy, the Pagan orator appeals to the whole Gallic nation, in whose presence he was then speaking; and seems to hope that the ancient apparitions[47] would now obtain credit from this recent and public event. A. D. 321.

The Christian fable of Eusebius, which in the space of twenty-six years, might arise from the original dream, is cast in a much more correct and elegant mould. In one of the marches of Constantine, he is reported to have seen with his own eyes the luminous trophy of the cross, placed above the meridian sun, and inscribed with the following words: BY THIS, CONQUER. This amazing object in the sky astonished the whole army, as well as the emperor himself, who was yet undetermined in the choice of a religion: but his astonishment was converted into faith by the vision of the ensuing night. Christ appeared before his eyes; and displaying the same celestial sign of the cross, he directed Constantine to frame a similar standard, and to march, with an assurance of victory, against Maxentius and all his enemies.[48] The learned bishop of Cæsarea appears to A. D. 338.

[45] M. Freret (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. iv. pp. 411–437) explains, by physical causes, many of the prodigies of antiquity; and Fabricius, who is abused by both parties, vainly tries to introduce the celestial cross of Constantine among the solar halos. *Bibliothec. Græc.* tom. iv. pp. 8–29.*

[46] *Nazarius inter Panegyr. Vet.* x. 14, 15. It is unnecessary to name the moderns, whose undistinguishing and ravenous appetite has swallowed even the Pagan bait of Nazarius.

[47] The apparitions of Castor and Pollux, particularly to announce the Macedonian victory, are attested by historians and public monuments. See *Cicero de Natura Deorum*, ii. 2, iii. 5, 6. *Florus*, ii. 12. *Valerius Maximus*, l. i. c. 8. No. 1. Yet the most recent of these miracles is omitted, and indirectly denied, by Livy (xlv. 1).

[48] *Eusebius*, l. i. c. 28, 29, 30. The silence of the same Eusebius, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, is deeply felt by those advocates for the miracle who are not absolutely callous.

* The great difficulty in resolving it into a natural phenomenon, arises from the inscription; even the most heated or awe-struck imagination would hardly discover distinct and legible letters in a solar halo. But the inscription may have been a later embellishment, or an interpretation of the meaning, which the sign was construed to convey. Compare Heinichen, *Excursus in locum Eusebii*, and the authors quoted.—MILMAN.

be sensible, that the recent discovery of this marvellous anecdote would excite some surprise and distrust among the most pious of his readers. Yet, instead of ascertaining the precise circumstances of time and place, which always serve to detect falsehood, or establish truth;[49] instead of collecting and recording the evidence of so many living witnesses, who must have been spectators of this stupendous miracle;[50] Eusebius contents himself with alleging a very singular testimony—that of the deceased Constantine, who, many years after the event, in the freedom of conversation, had related to him this extraordinary incident of his own life, and had attested the truth of it by a solemn oath. The prudence and gratitude of the learned prelate forbade him to suspect the veracity of his victorious master; but he plainly intimates, that, in a fact of such a nature, he should have refused his assent to any meaner authority. This motive of credibility could not survive the power of the Flavian family; and the celestial sign, which the infidels might afterwards deride,[51] was disregarded by the Christians of the age which immediately followed the conversion of Constantine.[52] But the Catholic church, both of the East and of the West, has adopted a prodigy, which favors, or seems to favor, the popular worship of the cross.* The

[49] The narrative of Constantine seems to indicate, that he saw the cross in the sky before he passed the Alps against Maxentius. The scene has been fixed by provincial vanity at Treves, Besançon, &c. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 573.

[50] The pious Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. vii. p. 1317) rejects with a sigh the useful *Acts of Artemius*, a veteran and a martyr, who attests as an eye-witness the vision of Constantine.

[51] Gelasius Cyzic. in *Act. Concil. Nicen.* l. i. c. 4.

[52] The advocates for the vision are unable to produce a single testimony from the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, who, in their volumious writings, repeatedly celebrate the triumph of the Church and of Constantine. As these venerable men had not any dislike to a miracle, we may suspect (and the suspicion is confirmed by the ignorance of Jerom) that they were all unacquainted with the life of Constantine by Eusebius. This tract was recovered by the diligence of those who translated or continued his *Ecclesiastical History*, and who have represented in various colors the vision of the cross.

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* "THE NILE," says Rev. Robt. Taylor, "was worshiped as a god by the inhabitants of the countries fertilized by its inundations, before all records of human opinions or actions. The ignorant gratitude of a superstitious people, while they adored the river on whose inundations the fertility of their provinces depended, could not fail of attaching notions of sanctity and holiness to the posts that were erected along its course, and which, by a *transverse beam*, indicated the height to which, at the spot where the beam was fixed, the waters might be expected to rise. This cross at once warned the traveler to secure his safety, and formed a standard of the value of the land.

"It should never be forgotten, that *the sign of the cross*, for ages anterior to the Augustan era, was in common use among the Gentiles. It was the most sacred symbol of Egyptian idolatry. It is on most of the Egyptian obelisks, and was believed to possess all the devil-expelling virtues which have since been ascribed to it by Christians. The monogram, or symbol of the god Saturn,

vision of Constantine maintained an honorable place in the legend of superstition, till the bold and sagacious spirit of criticism presumed to depreciate the triumph, and to arraign the truth, of the first Christian emperor.[53]

The protestant and philosophic readers of the present age, will incline to believe, that in the account of his own conversion, Constantine attested a wilful falsehood by a solemn and deliberate perjury. They may not hesitate to pronounce, that, in the choice of a religion, his mind was determined only by a sense of interest; and that (according to the expression of a profane poet[54]) he used the altars of the church as a convenient footstool to the throne of the empire. A conclusion so harsh and so absolute is not, however, warranted by our knowledge of human nature, of Constantine, or of Christianity. In an age of religious fervor, the most artful statesmen are observed to feel some part of the enthusiasm which they inspire; and the most orthodox saints assume the dangerous privilege of defending the cause of truth by the arms of deceit and falsehood. Personal interest is often the standard of our belief, as well as of our

The conversion of Constantine might be sincere.

[53] Godefroy was the first, who in the year 1643 (*Not. ad Philostorgium*, l. i. c. 6, p. 16), expressed any doubt of a miracle which had been supported with equal zeal by Cardinal Baronius, and the Centuriators of Madgeburgh. Since that time many of the Protestant critics have inclined toward doubt and disbelief. The objections are urged, with great force, by M. Chauffepié (*Dictionnaire Critique*, tom. iv. pp. 6–11); and, in the year 1774, a doctor of Sorbonne, the Abbé du Voisin, published an apology, which deserves the praise of learning and moderation.*

[54] Lors Constantin dit ces propres paroles;
J'ai renversé le culte des idoles:
Sur les debris de leurs temples fumans
Au Dieu du Ciel j'ai prodigué l'encens.
Mais tous mes soins pour sa grandeur supreme
N'eurent jamais d'autre objet que moi-meme;
Les saints autels n'etoient à mes regards
Qu'un marchepié du trone des Césars.
L'ambition, la fureur, les delices
Etoient mes Dieux, avoient mes sacrifices.
L'or des Chrétiens, leur intrigues, leur sang
Ont Cimenté ma fortune et mon rang.

The poem which contains these lines may be read with pleasure, but cannot be named with decency.

" was the sign of the cross, together with a ram's horn, in indication of the " Lamb of God. Jupiter also bore a cross with a horn, Venus a cross with a " circle. The famous *Crux ansata* is to be seen in all the buildings of Egypt; " and the most celebrated temples of the idol Chrishna in India, like our Gothic " cathedrals, were built in the form of crosses."—E.

* The first Excursus of Heinichen (in *Vitam Constantini*, p. 507) contains a full summary of the opinions and arguments of the later writers who have discussed this interminable subject. As to his conversion, where interest and inclination, state policy, and, if not a sincere conviction of its truth, at least a respect, an esteem, an awe of Christianity, thus coincided, Constantine himself would probably have been unable to trace the actual history of the workings of his own mind, or to assign its real influence to each concurrent motive.—MILMAN.

practice; and the same motives of temporal advantage which might influence the public conduct and professions of Constantine, would insensibly dispose his mind to embrace a religion so propitious to his fame and fortunes. His vanity was gratified by the flattering assurance that *he* had been chosen by heaven to reign over the earth; success had justified his divine title to the throne, and that title was founded on the truth of the Christian revelation. As real virtue is sometimes excited by undeserved applause, the specious piety of Constantine, if at first it was only specious, might gradually, by the influence of praise, of habit, and of example, be matured into serious faith and fervent devotion. The bishops and teachers of the new sect, whose dress and manners had not qualified them for the residence of a court, were admitted to the imperial table; they accompanied the monarch in his expeditions; and the ascendant which one of them, an Egyptian or a Spaniard,[55] acquired over his mind, was imputed by the Pagans to the effect of magic.[56] Lactantius, who had adorned the precepts of the gospel with the eloquence of Cicero;[57] and Eusebius, who has consecrated the learning and philosophy of the Greeks to the service of religion,[58] were both received into the friendship and familiarity of their sovereign; and those able masters of controversy could patiently watch the soft and yielding moments of persuasion, and dexterously apply the arguments which were the best adapted to his character and understanding. Whatever advantages might be derived from the acquisition of an imperial proselyte, he was distinguished by the splendor of his purple, rather than by the superiority of wisdom or virtue, from the many thousands of his subjects who had embraced the doctrines of Christianity. Nor can it be deemed incredible, that the mind of an unlettered soldier should have yielded to the weight of evidence, which, in a more enlightened age, has satisfied or subdued the reason of a Grotius, a Pascal, or a

[55] This favorite was probably the great Osius, bishop of Cordova, who preferred the pastoral care of the whole church to the government of a particular diocese. His character is magnificently, though concisely, expressed by Athanasius (tom. i. p. 793). See Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. vii. pp. 524–261. Osius was accused, perhaps unjustly, of retiring from court with a very ample fortune.

[56] See Eusebius (in *Vit. Constant.* passim) and *Zosimus*, l. ii. p. 104.

[57] The Christianity of Lactantius was of a moral rather than of a mysterious cast. "Erat pæne rudis (says the orthodox Bull) disciplinæ Christianæ, et in rhetorica "melius quam in theologia versatus." *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*, sect. ii. c. 14.

[58] Fabricius, with his usual diligence, has collected a list of between three and four hundred authors quoted in the *Evangelical Preparation* of Eusebius. See *Bib. Græc.* l. v. c. 4, tom. vi. pp. 37–56.

Locke. In the midst of the incessant labors of his great office this soldier employed, or affected to employ, the hours of the night in the diligent study of the Scriptures, and the composition of theological discourses; which he afterwards pronounced in the presence of a numerous and applauding audience. In a very long discourse, which is still extant, the royal preacher expatiates on the various proofs of religion;* but he dwells with peculiar complacency on the Sybilline verses,[59] and the fourth eclogue of Virgil.[60] Forty

[59] See Constantin. *Orat. ad Sanctos*, c. 19, 20. He chiefly depends on a mysterious acrostic, composed in the sixth age after the Deluge, by the Erythræan Sibyl, and translated by Cicero into Latin. The initial letters of the thirty-four Greek verses form this prophetic sentence: JESUS CHRIST, SON OF GOD, SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD.

[60] In his paraphrase of Virgil, the emperor has frequently assisted and improved the literal sense of the Latin text. See Blondel *des Sibylles*, l. i. c. 14, 15, 16.

* Rev. Robt. Taylor, in the *Diegesis*, page 355, calls attention to the fact that Constantine was not only a Christian convert and disciple, but was also a teacher and preacher of the Christian religion. His great wealth, power and influence as emperor of Rome, placed at his disposal every particle of evidence that could be adduced in favor of the divine origin of Christianity. His conversion, which occurred but 279 years after the death of Christ, was so near in time to the Saviour's life and alleged miracles, that the records of those events—the history of those occurrences—must have been easily accessible to the royal advocate; and when we consult his celebrated *Oration*, delivered before the most distinguished Christian clergy of his age and empire, *On the Evidences of the Christian Religion*, we are prepared to listen at least to something tangible,—something better than the vague legends, the obscure prophecies, the questionable traditions, which pass for evidence among *educated* believers.

"Here we must needs mention," says Constantine, chap. 18, of his *Oration*, "a certain testimony of Christ's divinity, fetched from those who were aliens "and strangers from the faith. For those who contumeliously detract from him, "if they will give credence to their own testimonies, may sufficiently understand "thereby that he is both God and the Son of God. For the Erythræan Sibyl, who "lived in the sixth age after the flood being a priestess of Apollo, did yet, by the "power of *divine inspiration*, prophecy of future matters that were to come to "pass concerning God; and, by the *first letters*, which is called an acrostic, "declared the history of Jesus. The acrostic is, *Jesus Christus, Dei Filius, "Servator, Crux*. And these things came into the Virgin's mind by *inspiration*, "and by way of prophecy. And therefore I esteem her happy whom our Savior did "choose to be a prophetess, to divine and foretell of his providence toward us."

"The acrostic is thus versified into English by the translator, Wye Saltonstall:

"I n that time, when the great Judge shall come,
"E arth shall sweat; the Eternal King from's throne
"S hall judge the world, and all that in it be,
"U nrighteous men and righteous, shall God see
"S eated on high with saints eternall-EE.

"C ompassed, which in the last age have been
"H ence shall the earth grow desolate again
"R egardless statues and gold shall be held vain
"I n greedy flames shall burn earth seas and skies
"S tand up again dead bodies shall, and rise,
"T hat they may see all these with their eyes.

"C leansing the faithful in twelve fountains, He
"R eign shall forever unto eternitee,
"V ery God that he is, and our Saviour too,
"X hrist that did suffer for us—*and I hope that'll do!*

"The royal preacher proceeds in the next chapter to reprove the incredulity "of those who doubt the genuineness of this sublime doggerel.

"But the truth of the matter," he continues, "doth manifestly appear; for our

years before the birth of Christ, the Mantuan bard, as if inspired by the celestial muse of Isaiah, had celebrated, with all the pomp of oriental metaphor, the return of the virgin, the fall of the serpent, the approaching birth of a godlike child, the offspring of the great Jupiter, who should expiate the guilt of human kind, and govern the peaceful universe with the virtues of his father; the rise and appearance of a heavenly race, a primitive nation throughout the world; and the gradual restoration of the innocence and felicity of the golden age. The poet was perhaps unconscious of the secret sense and object of these sublime predictions, which have been so unworthily applied to the infant son of a consul, or a triumvir;[61] but if a more splendid, and indeed specious, interpretation of the fourth eclogue contributed to the conversion of the first Christian emperor, Virgil may

[61] The different claims of an elder and younger son of Pollio, of Julia, of Drusus, of Marcellus, are found to be incompatible with chronology, history, and the good sense of Virgil.

" writers have with great study so accurately compared the times, that none can " suspect that this poem was made and came forth after Christ's coming; and, " therefore, they are convicted of falsehood who blaze abroad, that these verses " were not made by the Sibyl.

" And then follows Chapter 20, entitled 'Other verses of Virgil concerning " 'Christ, in which under certain veils (as poets use) this knotty mystery is set " 'forth;' and to be sure, the fourth Bucolic of Virgil: commencing

" Sicelides musæ paulo majora canamus;

" is quoted as the ultimate proof and main evidence of the Christian revelation.

" The amount of evidence then, for the Christian religion in the fourth century, " as far as evidence influenced the mind of the most illustrious convert it could " ever boast, was the Sibylline verses, now on all hands admitted to be a Christian " forgery; and a mystical interpretation arbitrarily put on an eclogue of Virgil, " which neither the poet himself, nor any rational man on earth, ever dreamed " of charging with such an application.

" Surely we had a right to expect from Constantine, that if evidence to the " historical facts on which the gospel rests its claims, existed, he was the man who " should have been acquainted with it;—this was the occasion on which it should " have been brought forward. Who, of all the human race, could better have " known the fact, or with greater propriety have given a certificate of it, had it " been true that such a person as Jesus Christ had suffered an ignominious death."

The Rev. Robert Taylor evidently believed with Gibbon, " that in the account " of his own conversion, Constantine attested a willful falsehood by a solemn and " deliberate perjury:" and if the language of the worthy clergyman now seems somewhat emphatic, it must be remembered that when *The Diegesis* was written its author was unjustly imprisoned in Oakham jail for uttering heresies which are now tolerated in many pulpits.

If the Sibylline verses and the fourth eclogue of Virgil may not now be considered as historical evidence of the statements on which the Gospel rests, it must at least be admitted that Constantine so considered them, and that the first Christian emperor, in his argument for Christianity, freely quoted Pagan poetry as proof of Holy-Writ. " Forty years before the birth of Christ," says Gibbon, " the Mantuan bard had celebrated, with all the pomp of oriental metaphor, the " return of the virgin, the fall of the serpent, the approaching birth of a godlike " child, the offspring of the great Jupiter, who should expiate the guilt of human " kind;" and if we but substitute Jehovah for Jupiter—the God of Israel for the immortal Jove—we may admit with Constantine the remarkable resemblance between ancient Paganism and primitive Christianity.—E.

deserve to be ranked among the most successful missionaries of the gospel.[62]

Devotion and privileges of Constantine.

The awful mysteries of the Christian faith and worship were concealed from the eyes of strangers, and even of catechumens, with an affected secrecy, which served to excite their wonder and curiosity.[63] But the severe rules of discipline which the prudence of the bishops had instituted, were relaxed by the same prudence in favor of an imperial proselyte, whom it was so important to allure, by every gentle condescension, into the pale of the church; and Constantine was permitted, at least by a tacit dispensation, to enjoy *most* of the privileges, before he had contracted *any* of the obligations, of a Christian. Instead of retiring from the congregation, when the voice of the deacon dismissed the profane multitude, he prayed with the faithful, disputed with bishops, preached on the most sublime and intricate subjects of theology, celebrated with sacred rites the vigil of Easter, and publicly declared himself not only a partaker, but, in some measure, a priest and hierophant of the Christian mysteries.[64] The pride of Constantine might assume, and his services had deserved, some extraordinary distinction ;† an ill-timed rigor might have

62 See Lowth *de Sacra Poesi Hebræorum Prælect*, xxi. pp. 289–293. In the examination of the fourth eclogue, the respectable bishop of London has displayed, learning, taste, ingenuity, and a temperate enthusiasm, which exalts his fancy without degrading his judgment.

63 The distinction between the public and the secret parts of divine service, the *missa catechumenorum* and the *missa fidelium*, and the mysterious veil which piety or policy had cast over the latter, are very judiciously explained by Thiers, *Exposition du Saint Sacrament*, l. i. c. 8–12, pp. 59–91 : but, as on this subject, the Papists may reasonably be suspected, a Protestant reader will depend with more confidence on the learned Bingham, *Antiquities*, l. x. c. 5.

64 See Eusebius in *Vit. Constant.* l. iv. c. 15–32, and the whole tenor of Constantine's *sermon*. The faith and devotion of the emperor have furnished Baronius with a specious argument in favor of his early baptism.*

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* Compare Heinichen, *Excursus* iv. et v., where these questions are examined with candor and acuteness, and with constant reference to the opinions of more modern writers.—MILMAN.

†"In the form and wording of several of Constantine's edicts," says Rev. Robt. Taylor, "we have specimens of that conjunction of holiness and blood-thirstiness, "religion and murder, which portrays his character with a precision and fidelity "that needs no further illustration.

"1. *Constantine the puissant, the mighty and noble emperor, unto the bishops, pastors, and people wheresoever.*

"Moreover we thought good, that if there can be found extant any work or "book compiled by Arius, the same should be burned to ashes, so that not only "his damnable doctrine may thereby be wholly rooted out, but also that no relic "thereof may remain unto posterity This also we straightly command and "charge, that if any man be found to hide or conceal any book made by Arius, "and not immediately bring forth the said book, and deliver it up to be burned, "that the said offender for so doing *shall die the death*. For as soon as he is "taken, our pleasure is, that his head be stricken off from his shoulders. God "keep you in his tuition. (In *Socrates Scholasticus*, lib. 1. c. 6. fol. p. 227.

"2. *Constantine's speech in the council concerning peace and concord.*

"Having by God's assistance, gotten the victory over mine enemies, I entreat

blasted the unripened fruits of his conversion; and if the doors of the church had been strictly closed against a prince who had deserted the altars of the gods, the master of the empire would have been left destitute of any form of religious worship. In his last visit to Rome, he piously disclaimed and insulted the superstition of his ancestors, by refusing to lead the military procession of the equestrian order, and to offer the public vows to the Jupiter of the Capitoline hill.[65] Many years before his baptism and death, Constantine had proclaimed to the world, that neither his person nor his image should ever more be seen within the walls of an idolatrous temple; while he distributed through the provinces a variety of medals and pictures, which represented the emperor in an humble and suppliant posture of Christian devotion.[66]

Delay of his baptism till the approach of death.

The pride of Constantine, who refused the privileges of a catechumen, cannot easily be explained or excused; but the delay of his baptism may be justified by the maxims and the practice of ecclesiastical antiquity. The sacrament of baptism[67] was regularly administered by the bishop himself, with his assistant clergy, in the cathedral church of the

[65] *Zosimus*, l. ii. p. 105.

[66] Eusebius in *Vit. Constant.* l. iv. c. 15, 16.

[67] The theory and practice of antiquity, with regard to the sacrament of baptism, have been copiously explained by Dom Chardon. *Hist. des Sacramens*, tom. i. pp. 3–405; Dom Martenne *de Rittibus Ecclesiæ Antiquis*, tom. i.; and by Bingham, in the tenth and eleventh books of his *Christian Antiquities*. One circumstance may be observed, in which the modern churches have materially departed from the ancient custom. The sacrament of baptism (even when it was administered to infants) was immediately followed by confirmation and the holy communion.

" you therefore, beloved ministers of God, and servants of our Lord and Saviour " Jesus Christ, *to cut off the heads* of this hydra of heresy, for so shall ye please " both God and *me*. (Euseb. *Vita. Const.* lib. 3. c. 12.)

" *Motives of Constantine's conversion.*

" Constantine the Emperor, being certified of the tyrannous government of " Maxentius, devised with himself which way possibly he might rid the Romans " from under this grievous yoke of servitude, and despatch the tyrant out of life. " Deliberating thus with himself, he forecasted also *what God*, he were best to " call upon for aid, to wage battle with the adversary. * * * Musing thus " doubtfully with himself, and taking his journey with his soldiers, a certain " vision appeared unto him, as it was strange to behold, so indeed incredible to " be spoken of. About noon, the day somewhat declining, he saw in the sky, a " pillar of light, in the form of a cross, whereon was engraved the inscription, " '*In this overcome.*' This vision so amazed the emperor, that he, mistrusting " his own sight, demanded of them that were present, whether they perceived " the vision, which when all with one consent had affirmed, the wavering mind " of the Emperor, was settled with that divine and wonderful sight. The night " following, Jesus Christ himself appeared to him, in his sleep, saying — '*Frame* " '*to thyself the form of a cross after the example of the sign which appeared* " '*unto thee, and bear the same against thy enemies as a fit banner, or token of* " '*victory.*'" (Socrates *Eccl. Hist.* lib. i. c. i.) — E.

diocese, during the fifty days between the solemn festivals of Easter and Pentecost; and this holy term admitted a numerous band of infants and adult persons into the bosom of the church. The discretion of parents often suspended the baptism of their children till they could understand the obligations which they contracted; the severity of ancient bishops exacted from the new converts a noviciate of two or three years; and the catechumens themselves, from different motives of a temporal or a spiritual nature, were seldom impatient to assume the character of perfect and initiated Christians. The sacrament of baptism was supposed to contain a full and absolute expiation of sin; and the soul was instantly restored to its original purity, and entitled to the promise of eternal salvation. Among the proselytes of Christianity, there were many who judged it imprudent to precipitate a salutary rite, which could not be repeated; to throw away an inestimable privilege, which could never be recovered. By the delay of their baptism, they could venture freely to indulge their passions in the enjoyments of this world, while they still retained in their own hands the means of a sure and easy absolution.[68] The sublime theory of the gospel had made a much fainter impression on the heart, than on the understanding, of Constantine himself. He pursued the great object of his ambition through the dark and bloody paths of war and policy; and, after the victory, he abandoned himself, without moderation, to the abuse of his fortune. Instead of asserting his just superiority above the imperfect heroism and profane philosophy of Trajan and the Antonines, the mature age of Constantine forfeited the reputation which he had acquired in his youth.

[68] The fathers, who censured this criminal delay, could not deny the certain and victorious efficacy even of a death-bed baptism. The ingenious rhetoric of Chrysostom only could find three arguments against these prudent Christians. 1. That we should love and pursue virtue for her own sake, and not merely for the reward. 2. That we may be surprised by death without an opportunity of baptism. 3. That although we shall be placed in heaven, we shall only twinkle like little stars when compared to the suns of righteousness who have run their appointed course with labor, with success, and with glory. Chrysostom in *Epist. ad Hebræos*, Homil. xiii. apud Chardon, *Hist. des Sacremens*, tom. i. p. 49. I believe that this delay of baptism, though attended with the most pernicious consequences, was never condemned by any general or provincial council, or by any public act or declaration of the church. The zeal of the bishops was easily kindled on much slighter occasions.*

* This passage of Chrysostom, though not in his more forcible manner, is not quite fairly represented. He is stronger in other places, in *Act. Hom.* xxiii.—and *Hom.* i. Compare, likewise, the sermon of Gregory of Nyssa on this subject, and Gregory Nazianzen. After all, to those who believed in the efficacy of baptism, what argument could be more conclusive than the danger of dying without it? *Orat.* xl.—MILMAN.

As he gradually advanced in the knowledge of truth, he proportionally declined in the practice of virtue; and the same year of his reign in which he convened the council of Nice, was polluted by the execution, or rather murder, of his eldest son. This date is alone sufficient to refute the ignorant and malicious suggestions of Zosimus,[69] who affirms that after the death of Crispus, the remorse of his father accepted from the ministers of Christianity the expiation which he had vainly solicited from the Pagan pontiffs. At the time of the death of Crispus, the emperor could no longer hesitate in the choice of religion; he could no longer be ignorant that the church was possessed of an infallible remedy, though he chose to defer the application of it, till the approach of death had removed the temptation and danger of a relapse. The bishops whom he summoned in his last illness to the palace of Nicomedia, were edified by the fervor with which he requested and received the sacrament of baptism, by the solemn protestation that the remainder of his life should be worthy of a disciple of Christ, and by his humble refusal to wear the imperial purple after he had been clothed in the white garment of a neophyte. The example and reputation of Constantine seemed to countenance the delay of baptism.[70] Future tyrants were encouraged to believe, that the innocent blood which they might shed in a long reign would instantly be washed away in the waters of regeneration; and the abuse of religion dangerously undermined the foundations of moral virtue.

Propagation of Christianity.

The gratitude of the church has exalted the virtues and excused the failings of a generous patron, who seated Christianity on the throne of the Roman world; and the Greeks, who celebrate the festival of the imperial saint, seldom mention the name of Constantine without adding the title of "*equal to the*

[69] *Zosimus*, l. ii. p. 104. For this disingenious falsehood he has deserved and experienced the harshest treatment from all the ecclesiastical writers, except Cardinal Baronius (A. D. 324, No. 15-28), who had occasion to employ the infidel on a particular service against the Arian Eusebius.†

[70] *Eusebius*, l. iv. c. 61, 62, 63. The bishop of Cæsarea supposes the salvation of Constantine with the most perfect confidence.

† Heyne, in a valuable note on this passage of Zosimus, has shown decisively that this malicious way of accounting for the conversion of Constantine was not an invention of Zosimus. It appears to have been the current calumny, eagerly adopted and propagated by the exasperated Pagan party. Reitemeyer, a later editor of Zosimus, whose notes are retained in the recent edition, in the collection of the Byzantine historians, has a disquisition on the passage, as candid, but not more conclusive than some which have preceded him.—MILMAN.

"*Apostles.*"[71] Such a comparison, if it allude to the character of those divine missionaries, must be imputed to the extravagance of impious flattery. But if the parallel be confined to the extent and number of their evangelic victories, the success of Constantine might perhaps equal that of the apostles themselves. By the edicts of toleration, he removed the temporal disadvantages which had hitherto retarded the progress of Christianity; and its active and numerous ministers received a free permission, a liberal encouragement, to recommend the salutary truths of revelation by every argument which could affect the reason or piety of mankind. The exact balance of the two religions continued but a moment; and the piercing eye of ambition and avarice soon discovered that the profession of Christianity might contribute to the interest of the present as well as of a future life.[72] The hopes of wealth and honors, the example of an emperor, his exhortations, his irresistible smiles, diffused conviction among the venal and obsequious crowds which usually fill the apartments of a palace. The cities, which signalized a forward zeal by the voluntary destruction of their temples, were distinguished by municipal privileges, and rewarded with popular donatives; and the new capital of the East gloried in the singular advantage, that Constantinople was never profaned by the worship of idols.[73] As the lower ranks of society are governed by imitation, the conversion of those who possessed any eminence of birth, of power, or of riches, was soon followed by dependent multitudes.[74] The salvation of the common people was purchased at an easy rate, if it be true, that, in one year, twelve thousand men were baptized at Rome, besides a proportionable number of women and children; and that a white garment, with twenty pieces of gold, had been promised by

[71] See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 429. The Greeks, the Russians, and, in the darker ages, the Latins themselves, have been desirous of placing Constantine in the catalogue of saints.

[72] See the 3rd and 4th books of his life. He was accustomed to say that whether Christ was preached in pretence, or in truth, he should still rejoice, (l. iii. c. 58).

[73] M. de Tillemont (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. pp. 374, 616) has defended, with strength and spirit, the virgin purity of Constantinople against some malevolent insinuations of the Pagan Zosimus.

[74] The author of the *Histoire Politique et Philosophique des deux Indes* (tom. i. p. 9) condemns a law of Constantine, which gave freedom to all the slaves who should embrace Christianity. The emperor did indeed publish a law, which restrained the Jews from circumcising, perhaps from keeping, any Christian slave. (Euseb. in *Vit. Constant.* l. iv. c. 27, and *Cod. Theod.* l. xvi. tit. ix., with Godefroy's *Commentary*, tom. vi. p. 247.) But this imperfect exception related only to the Jews; and the great body of slaves, who were the property of Christian or Pagan masters, could not improve their temporal condition by changing their

the emperor to every convert.[75] The powerful influence of Constantine was not circumscribed by the narrow limits of his life, or of his dominions. The education which he bestowed on his sons and nephews, secured to the empire a race of princes, whose faith was still more lively and sincere, as they imbibed, in their earliest infancy, the spirit, or at least the doctrine of Christianity. War and commerce had spread the knowledge of the gospel beyond the confines of the Roman provinces; and the barbarians, who had disdained an humble and proscribed sect, soon learned to esteem a religion which had been so lately embraced by the greatest monarch and the most civilized nation of the globe.[76] The Goths and Germans, who enlisted under the

religion.* I am ignorant by what guides the Abbé Raynal was deceived; as the total absence of quotations is the unpardonable blemish of his entertaining history.

[75] See *Acta Sti Silvestri*, and *Hist. Eccles. Nicephor. Callist.* l. vii. c. 34, ap. Baronium *Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 324, No. 67, 74. Such evidence is contemptible enough; but these circumstances are in themselves so probable that the learned Dr. Howell (*History of the World*, vol. iii. p. 14) has not scrupled to adopt them.

[76] The conversion of the barbarians, under the reign of Constantine, is celebrated by the ecclesiastical historians. (See *Sozomen*, l. ii. c. 6, and *Theodoret.* l. i. c. 23, 24.) But Rufinus, the Latin translator of *Eusebius*, deserves to be considered as an original authority. His information was curiously collected from one of the companions of the apostle of Æthiopia, and from Bacurius, an Iberian prince, who was count of the domestics. Father Mamachi has given an ample compilation on the progress of Christianity, in the first and second volumes of his great but imperfect work.

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* Southern slaveholders always contended that negro slavery was not opposed to the teachings of Christ and his apostles, and was justified by the example of the early Christians; and even at the present day, Christian apologists for slavery —for the slavery of white people—are not wanting.

In the August number of the *North American Review* for 1881, which is claimed to be the leading literary journal of America, Ex-Judge Jeremiah S. Black, the eminent jurist and devout Christian, says, in a paper on the *Christian Religion*, "My faith and my reason both assure me that the infallible God proceeded on "good grounds when he authorized slavery in Judea. Subordination of inferiors "to superiors is the groundwork of human society. All improvements of our "race, in this world and the next, must come from obedience to some master "better and wiser than ourselves. There can be no question that when a Jew "took a neighboring savage for his bond-servant, incorporated him into his "family, tamed him, taught him to work, and gave him a knowledge of the true "God, he conferred upon him a most beneficent boon."

The rudest savage that ever felt the stinging lash upon his shoulders, could not be convinced by a statement like this, and philosophers, who realize that slavery debases both the enslaved and the enslaver, can but look upon such a statement, from a Christian jurist, with feelings of indignation and sorrow.

"Those who look tenderly at the slave-owner, and with a cold heart at the "slave," says Darwin, in his *Voyage of a Naturalist* (vol. ii. p. 302), "never seem "to put themselves into the position of the latter. What a cheerless prospect, "and not even a hope of change! And these deeds are done and palliated by "men who profess to love their neighbors as themselves; who believe in God, "and pray that his will be done on earth."

If blasphemy be a possible crime, those who accuse the Creator of authorizing human slavery must be guilty of that offence; and what can we think of the morality and justice of a religion which inspires its most eminent advocate to assert that "My faith and my reason both assure me that the infallible God "proceeded on good grounds when he authorized slavery in Judea."

"It were better," says Francis Bacon, "to have no opinion of God at all than "such an opinion as is unworthy of him; for the one is unbelief, the other is "contumely."—E.

standard of Rome, revered the cross which glittered at the head of the legions, and their fierce countrymen received at the same time the lessons of faith and of humanity. The kings of Iberia and Armenia* worshiped the God of their protector; and their subjects, who have invariably preserved the name of Christians, soon formed a sacred and perpetual connection with their Roman brethren. The Christians of Persia were suspected, in time of war, of preferring their religion to their country; but as long as peace subsisted between the two empires, the persecuting spirit of the Magi was effectually restrained by the interposition of Constantine.[77] The rays of the gospel illuminated the coast of India. The colonies of Jews, who had penetrated into Arabia and Ethiopia,[78] opposed the progress of Christianity; but the labor of the missionaries was in some measure facilitated by a previous knowledge of the Mosaic revelation; and Abyssinia still reveres the memory of Frumentius,† who, in the time of Constantine, devoted his life to the conversion of those sequestered regions. Under the reign of his son Constantius, Theophilus,[79] who was himself of Indian extraction, was invested with the double

[77] See, in Eusebius (in *Vit. Constant.* l. iv. c. 9), the pressing and pathetic epistle of Constantine in favor of his Christian brethren of Persia.

[78] See Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, tom. vii. p. 182, tom. viii. p. 333, tom. ix. p. 810. The curious diligence of this writer pursues the Jewish exiles to the extremities of the globe.

[79] Theophilus had been given in his infancy as a hostage by his countrymen of the Isle of Diva, and was educated by the Romans in learning and piety. The Maldives, of which Male, or *Diva*, may be the capital, are a cluster of 1900 or 2000 minute islands in the Indian Ocean. The ancients were imperfectly acquainted with the Maldives; but they are described in the two Mahometan travelers of the ninth century, published by Renaudot, *Geograph. Nubiensis*, p. 30, 31. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 704. *Hist. Generale des Voyages*, t. viii.‡

* According to the Georgian chronicles, Iberia (Georgia) was converted by the virgin Nino, who effected an extraordinary cure on the wife of the king, Mihran. The temple of the god Aramazt, or Armaz, not far from the capital Mtskitha, was destroyed, and the cross erected in its place. *Le Beau*, i. 202, with St. Martin's Notes.

St. Martin has likewise clearly shown (St. Martin, *Add. to Le Beau*, i. 291) that Armenia was the first *nation* which embraced Christianity (*Addition to Le Beau*, i. 76, and *Mémoires sur l'Armenie*, i. 305). Gibbon himself suspected this truth. "Instead of maintaining that the conversion of Armenia was not attempted with "any degree of success, till the sceptre was in the hands of an orthodox emperor. "I ought to have said, that the seeds of the faith were deeply sown during the "season of the last and greatest persecution, that many Roman exiles might assist "the labors of Gregory, and that the renowned Tiridates, the hero of the East, "may dispute with Constantine the honor of being the first sovereign who em- "braced the Christian religion." *Vindication, Misc. Works*, iv. 577.—MILMAN.

† Abba Salama, or Fremonatos, is mentioned in the *Tareek Negushti*, or *Chronicle* of the kings of Abyssinia. Salt's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 461.—MILMAN.

‡ See the dissertation of M. Letronne on this question. He conceives that Theophilus was born in the Island of Dahlak, in the Arabian Gulf. His embassy was to Abyssinia rather than to India. Letronne, *Materiaux pour l'Hist. du Christianisme en Egypte, Indie, et Abyssinie.* Paris, 1832, 3d *Dissert.*—MILMAN.

character of ambassador and bishop. He embarked on the Red Sea with two hundred horses of the purest breed of Cappadocia, which were sent by the emperor to the prince of the Sabæans, or Homerites. Theophilus was intrusted with many other useful or curious presents, which might raise the admiration, and conciliate the friendship, of the barbarians; and he successfully employed several years in a pastoral visit to the churches of the torrid zone.[80]

Change of the national religion.

The irresistible power of the Roman emperors was displayed in the important and dangerous change of the national religion. The terrors of a military force silenced the faint and unsupported murmurs of the Pagans, and there was reason to expect, that the cheerful submission of the Christian clergy, as well as people, would be the result of conscience and gratitude. It was long since established, as a fundamental maxim of the Roman constitution, that every rank of citizens was alike subject to the laws, and that the care of religion was the right as well as the duty of the civil magistrate. Constantine and his successors could not easily persuade themselves that they had forfeited, by their conversion, any branch of their imperial prerogatives, or that they were incapable of giving laws to a religion which they had protected and embraced. The emperors still continued to exercise a supreme jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical order; and the sixteenth book of the *Theodosian Code* represents, under a variety of titles, the authority which they assumed in the government of the Catholic church.

A. D. 312–438.

Distinction of the spiritual and temporal powers.

But the distinction of the spiritual and temporal powers,[81] which had never been imposed on the free spirit of Greece and Rome, was introduced and confirmed by the legal establishment of Christianity. The office of supreme pontiff, which, from the time of Numa to that of Augustus, had always been exercised by one of the most eminent of the senators, was at length united to the imperial dignity. The first magistrate of the state, as often as he was prompted by superstition or policy, performed with his own hands the

[80] *Philostorgius*, l. iii. c. 4, 5, 6, with Godefroy's learned observations. The historical narrative is soon lost in an inquiry concerning the seat of Paradise, strange monsters, &c.

[81] See the epistle of *Osius ap. Athanasium*, vol. i. p. 840. The public remonstrance which Osius was forced to address to the son, contained the same principles of ecclesiastical and civil government which he had secretly instilled into the mind of the father.

sacerdotal functions;[82] nor was there any order of priests, either at Rome or in the provinces, who claimed a more sacred character among men, or a more intimate communication with the gods. But in the Christian church, which intrusts the service of the altar to a perpetual succession of consecrated ministers, the monarch, whose spiritual rank is less honorable than that of the meanest deacon, was seated below the rails of the sanctuary, and confounded with the rest of the faithful multitude.[83] The emperor might be saluted as the father of his people, but he owed a filial duty and reverence to the fathers of the church; and the same marks of respect, which Constantine had paid to the persons of saints and confessors, were soon exacted by the pride of the episcopal order.[84] A secret conflict between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions embarrassed the operations of the Roman government; and a pious emperor was alarmed by the guilt and danger of touching with a profane hand the ark of the covenant. The separation of men into the two orders of the clergy and of the laity was, indeed, familiar to many nations of antiquity; and the priests of India, of Persia, of Assyria, of Judea, of Æthiopia, of Egypt, and of Gaul, derived from a celestial origin the temporal power and possessions which they had acquired. These venerable institutions had gradually assimilated themselves to the manners and government of their respective countries;[85] but the opposition or contempt of the civil power served to cement the discipline of the primitive church. The Christians had been obliged to elect their own magistrates, to raise and distribute a peculiar revenue, and to regulate the internal policy of their republic, by a code of laws, which were ratified by the consent of the

[82] M. de la Bastiel (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xv. pp. 38–62) has evidently proved, that Augustus and his successors exercised in person all the sacred functions of Pontifex Maximus, or high priest, of the Roman empire.

[83] Something of a contrary practice had insensibly prevailed in the church of Constantinople: but the rigid Ambrose commanded Theodosius to retire below the rails, and taught him to know the difference between a king and a priest. See *Theodoret*, l. v. c. 18.

[84] At the table of the emperor Maximus, Martin, bishop of Tours, received the cup from an attendant, and gave it to the presbyter, his companion, before he allowed the emperor to drink; the empress waited on Martin at table. Sulpicius Severus, in *Vit. Sti Martin*, c. 23, and *Dialogue*, ii. 7. Yet it may be doubted whether these extraordinary compliments were paid to the bishop or the saint. The honors usually granted to the former character may be seen in Bingham's *Antiquities*, l. ii. c. 9, and *Vales. ad Theodoret*, l. iv. c. 6. See the haughty ceremonial which Leontius, bishop of Tripoli, imposed on the empress. Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 754. *Patres Apostol.* tom. ii. p. 179.

[85] Plutarch, in his treatise of Isis and Osiris, informs us, that the kings of Egypt, who were not already priests, were initiated, after their election, into the sacerdotal order.

people, and the practice of three hundred years. When Constantine embraced the faith of the Christians, he seemed to contract a perpetual alliance with a distinct and independent society; and the privileges granted or confirmed by that emperor, or by his successors, were accepted not as the precarious favors of the court, but as the just and inalienable rights of the ecclesiastical order.

State of the bishops under the Christian emperors.

The Catholic church was administered by the spiritual and legal jurisdiction of eighteen hundred bishops;[86] of whom one thousand were seated in the Greek, and eight hundred in the Latin, provinces of the empire. The extent and boundaries of their respective dioceses had been variously and accidentally decided by the zeal and success of the first missionaries, by the wishes of the people, and by the propagation of the gospel. Episcopal churches were closely planted along the banks of the Nile, on the seacoast of Africa, in the proconsular Asia, and through the southern provinces of Italy. The bishops of Gaul and Spain, of Thrace and Pontus, reigned over an ample territory, and delegated their rural suffragans to execute the subordinate duties of the pastoral office.[87] A Christian diocese might be spread over a province, or reduced to a village; but all the bishops possessed an equal and indelible character: they all derived the same powers and privileges from the apostles, from the people, and from the laws. While the *civil* and *military* professions were separated by the policy of Constantine, a new and perpetual order of *ecclesiastical* ministers, always respectable, sometimes dangerous, was established in the church and state. The important review of their station and attributes may be distributed under the following heads: I. Popular election: II. Ordination of the clergy: III. Property: IV. Civil jurisdiction: V. Spiritual censures: VI. Exercise of public oratory: VII. Privilege of legislative assemblies.

[86] The numbers are not ascertained by any ancient writer or original catalogue; for the partial lists of the eastern churches are comparatively modern. The patient diligence of Charles à Sto Paolo, of Luke Holstenius, and of Bingham, has laboriously investigated all the episcopal sees of the Catholic church, which was almost commensurate with the Roman empire. The ninth book of the *Christian Antiquities* is a very accurate map of ecclesiastical geography.

[87] On the subject of rural bishops, or *Chorepiscopi*, who voted in synods, and conferred the minor orders, see Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 447, &c., and Chardon, *Hist. des Sacremens*, tom. v. p. 395, &c. They do not appear till the fourth century; and this equivocal character, which had excited the jealousy of the prelates, was abolished before the end of the tenth, both in the East and the West.

I. The freedom of elections subsisted long after the legal establishment of Christianity;[88] and the subjects of Rome enjoyed in the church the privilege which they had lost in the republic, of choosing the magistrates whom they were bound to obey. As soon as a bishop had closed his eyes, the metropolitan issued a commission to one of his suffragans to administer the vacant see, and prepare, within a limited time, the future election. The right of voting was vested in the inferior clergy, who were best qualified to judge of the merit of the candidates; in the senators or nobles of the city, all those who were distinguished by their rank or property; and finally, in the whole body of the people, who, on the appointed day, flocked in multitudes from the most remote parts of the diocese,[89] and sometimes silenced, by their tumultuous acclamations, the voice of reason and the laws of discipline. These acclamations might accidentally fix on the head of the most deserving competitor, of some ancient presbyter, some holy monk, or some layman, conspicuous for his zeal and piety. But the episcopal chair was solicited, especially in the great and opulent cities of the empire, as a temporal rather than as a spiritual dignity. The interested views, the selfish and angry passions, the arts of perfidy and dissimulation, the secret corruption, the open and even bloody violence which had formerly disgraced the freedom of election in the commonwealths of Greece and Rome, too often influenced the choice of the successors of the apostles. I. Election of bishops.

[88] Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. l. ii. c. 1–8, pp. 673–721) has copiously treated of the election of bishops during the first five centuries, both in the East and in the West; but he shows a very partial bias in favor of the episcopal aristocracy. *Bingham* (l. iv. c. 2) is moderate; and Chardon (*Hist. des Sacremens*, tom. v. pp. 108–128) is very clear and concise.*

[89] Incredibilis multitudo, non solum ex eo oppido (*Tours*), sed etiam ex vicinis uribus ad suffragia ferenda convenerat, &c. Sulpicius Severus, in *Vit. Martin.* c. 7. The council of Laodicea (*canon xiii.*) prohibits mobs and tumults; and Justinian confines the right of election to the nobility. *Novell.* cxxiii. 1.

* This freedom was extremely limited, and soon annihilated: already, from the third century, the deacons were no longer nominated by the members of the community, but by the bishops. Although it appears by the letters of Cyprian, that even in his time, no priest could be elected without the consent of the community (*Ep.* 67), that election was far from being altogether free. The bishop proposed to his parishioners the candidate whom he had chosen, and they were permitted to make such objections as might be suggested by his conduct and morals. (St. Cyprian, *Ep.* 33.) They lost this last right towards the middle of the fourth century.—GUIZOT.

The course of proceeding, pointed out by M. Guizot in this note, relates only to the election of presbyters, and has no immediate connection with that of bishops, which is the subject of Gibbon's observations. It illustrates, however, the influence which these gradually acquired in appointing the inferior clergy, by means of which, they of course operated indirectly on the choice of those who were selected to fill vacancies in their own ranks.—ENG. CH.

While one of the candidates boasted the honors of his family, a second allured his judges by the delicacies of a plentiful table, and a third, more guilty than his rivals, offered to share the plunder of the church among the accomplices of his sacrilegious hopes.[90] The civil as well as ecclesiastical laws attempted to exclude the populace from this solemn and important transaction. The canons of ancient discipline, by requiring several episcopal qualifications of age, station, &c., restrained, in some measure, the indiscriminate caprice of the electors. The authority of the provincial bishops, who were assembled in the vacant church, to consecrate the choice of the people, was interposed to moderate their passions, and to correct their mistakes. The bishops could refuse to ordain an unworthy candidate; and the rage of contending factions sometimes accepted their impartial mediation. The submission, or the resistance, of the clergy and people, on various occasions, afforded different precedents, which were insensibly converted into positive laws and provincial customs;[91] but it was everywhere admitted, as a fundamental maxim of religious policy, that no bishop could be imposed on an orthodox church, without the consent of its members. The emperors, as the guardians of the public peace, and as the first citizens of Rome and Constantinople, might effectually declare their wishes in the choice of a primate; but those absolute monarchs respected the freedom of ecclesiastical elections; and while they distributed and resumed the honors of the state and army, they allowed eighteen hundred perpetual magistrates to receive their important offices from the free suffrages of the people.[92] It was agreeable to the dictates of justice, that these magistrates should not desert an honorable station from which they could not be removed; but the wisdom of councils endeavored, without much success, to

[90] The epistles of *Sidonius Apollinaris* (iv. 25, vii. 5, 9) exhibit some of the scandals of the Gallican church; and Gaul was less polished and less corrupt than the East.

[91] A compromise was sometimes introduced by law or by consent; either the bishops or the people chose one of the three candidates who had been named by the other party.

[92] All the examples quoted by Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. l. ii. c. vi. pp. 704-714) appear to be extraordinary acts of power, and even of oppression. The confirmation of the bishop of Alexandria is mentioned by Philostorgius as a more regular proceeding. (*Hist. Eccles.* l. ii. 11.)*

* The statement of Planck is more consistent with history: "From the middle "of the fourth century, the bishops of some of the larger churches, particularly "those of the imperial residence, were almost always chosen under the influence "of the court, and often directly and immediately nominated by the emperor." *Geschichte der Christlich-kirchlichen Gesellschafts-verfassung*, vol. i. p. 263.—M.

enforce the residence, and to prevent the translation, of bishops. The discipline of the West was indeed less relaxed than that of the East; but the same passions which made those regulations necessary, rendered them ineffectual. The reproaches which angry prelates have so vehemently urged against each other, serve only to expose their common guilt, and their mutual indiscretion.

II. Ordination of clergy.

II. The bishops alone possessed the faculty of *spiritual* generation; and this extraordinary privilege might compensate, in some degree, for the painful celibacy[93] which was imposed as a virtue, as a duty, and at length as a positive obligation. The religions of antiquity, which established a separate order of priests, dedicated a holy race, a tribe or family, to the perpetual service of the gods.[94] Such institutions were formed for possession, rather than conquest. The children of the priests enjoyed, with proud and indolent security, their sacred inheritance; and the fiery spirit of enthusiasm was abated by the cares, the pleasures, and the endearments of domestic life. But the Christian sanctuary was open to every ambitious candidate who aspired to its heavenly promises, or temporal possessions. The office of priests, like that of soldiers or magistrates, was strenuously exercised by those men whose temper and abilities had prompted them to embrace the ecclesiastical profession, or who had been selected by a discerning bishop as the best qualified to promote the glory and interest of the church. The bishops[95] (till the abuse was restrained by the prudence of the laws) might constrain

[93] The celibacy of the clergy during the first five or six centuries, is a subject of discipline, and indeed of controversy, which has been very diligently examined. See, in particular, Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. l. ii. c. lx. lxi. pp. 886–902, and Bingham's *Antiquities*, l. iv. c. 5. By each of these learned but partial critics, one-half of the truth is produced, and the other is concealed.*

[94] Diodorus Sicilus attests and approves the hereditary succession of the priesthood among the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the Indians (l. i. p. 84, l. ii. pp. 142, 153, edit. Wesseling). The Magi are described by Ammianus as a very numerous family: "Per sæcula multa ad præsens una eademque prosapia mul-" titudo creata, Deorum cultibus dedicata." (xxiii. 6.) Ausonius celebrates the *Stirps Druidarum* (*De Professorib. Burdigal.* iv.); but we may infer from the remark of Cæsar (vi. 13), that in the Celtic hierarchy, some room was left for choice and emulation.

[95] The subject of the vocation, ordination, obedience, &c., of the clergy, is laboriously discussed by Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. ii. pp. 1–83) and Bingham (in the 4th book of his *Antiquities*, more especially the 4th, 6th, and 7th chapters. When the brother of St. Jerom was ordained in Cyprus, the deacons forcibly stopped his mouth, lest he should make a solemn protestation, which might invalidate the holy rites.

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* Compare *Planck* (vol. i. p. 384). This century, the third, first brought forth the monks, and the monks, or the spirit of monkery, the celibacy of the clergy. Planck likewise observes, that from the history of Eusebius alone, names of married bishops and presbyters may be adduced by dozens.—MILMAN.

the reluctant, and protect the distressed; and the imposition of hands for ever bestowed some of the most valuable privileges of civil society. The whole body of the Catholic clergy, more numerous perhaps than the legions, was exempted,* by the emperors, from all service, private or public, all municipal offices, and all personal taxes and contributions, which pressed on their fellow-citizens with intolerable weight: and the duties of their holy profession were accepted as a full discharge of their obligations to the republic.[96] Each bishop acquired an absolute and indefeasible right to the perpetual obedience of the clerk whom he ordained: the clergy of each episcopal church, with its dependent parishes, formed a regular and permanent society; and the cathedrals of Constantinople[97] and Carthage[98] maintained their peculiar establishment of five hundred ecclesiastical ministers. Their ranks[99] and numbers were insensibly multiplied by the superstition of the times, which introduced into the church the splendid ceremonies of a Jewish or Pagan temple; and a long train of priests, deacons, sub-deacons, acolythes, exorcists, readers, singers, and door-keepers, contributed, in their respective stations, to swell the pomp and harmony of religious worship. The

96 The charter of immunities, which the clergy obtained from the Christian emperors, is contained in the 16th book of the *Theodosian Code;* and is illustrated with tolerable candor by the learned Godefroy, whose mind was balanced by the opposite prejudices of a civilian and a Protestant.

97 Justinian. *Novell.* ciii. Sixty presbyters, or priests, one hundred deacons, forty deaconesses, ninety sub-deacons, one hundred and ten readers, twenty-five chanters, and one hundred door-keepers; in all, five hundred and twenty-five. This moderate number was fixed by the emperor to relieve the distress of the church, which had been involved in debt and usury by the expense of a much higher establishment.

98 Universus clerus ecclesiæ Carthaginiensis * * * fere *quingenti* vel amplius; inter quos quamplurimi erant lectores infantuli. Victor Vitensis, de *Persecut. Vandal.* v. 9, p. 78, edit. Ruinart. This remnant of a more prosperous state subsisted under the oppression of the Vandals.

99 The number of *seven* orders has been fixed in the Latin church, exclusive of the episcopal character. But the four inferior ranks, the minor orders, are now reduced to empty and useless titles.

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* This exemption was very much limited. The municipal offices were of two kinds; the one attached to the individual in his character of inhabitant, the other in that of *proprietor*. Constantine had exempted ecclesiastics from offices of the first description. (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. t. ii. leg. 1, 2. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* l. x. c. vii.) They sought, also, to be exempted from those of the second (munera patrimoniorum.) The rich, to obtain this privilege, obtained subordinate situations among the clergy. Constantine published in 320 an edict, by which he prohibited the more opulent citizens (decuriones and curiales) from embracing the ecclesiastical profession, and the bishops from admitting new ecclesiastics, before a place should be vacant by the death of an occupant (Godefroy ad *Cod. Theod.* l. xii. t. i. de *Decur.*). Valentinian the First, by a rescript still more general, enacted that no rich citizen should obtain a situation in the church (*De Episc.* l. lxvii.). He also enacted that ecclesiastics, who wished to be exempt from offices which they were bound to discharge as proprietors, should be obliged to give up their property to their relations. Cod. Theodus. l. xii. t. i. leg. 49.—Guizot.

clerical name and privilege were extended to many pious fraternities, who devoutly supported the ecclesiastical throne [100] Six hundred *parabolani*, or adventurers, visited the sick at Alexandria; eleven hundred *copiatæ*, or grave-diggers, buried the dead at Constantinople; and the swarms of monks, who arose from the Nile, overspread and darkened the face of the Christian world.*

III. Property. A. D. 313.

III. The edict of Milan secured the revenue as well as the peace of the church.[101] The Christians not only recovered the lands and houses of which they had been stripped by the persecuting laws of Diocletian, but they acquired a perfect title to all the possessions which they had hitherto enjoyed by the connivance of the magistrate. As soon as Christianity became the religion of the emperor and the empire, the national clergy might claim a decent and honorable maintenance; and the payment of an annual tax might have delivered the people from the more oppressive tribute which superstition imposes on her votaries. But as the wants and expenses of the church increased with her prosperity, the ecclesiastical order was still supported and enriched by the voluntary oblations of the faithful. Eight years after the edict of Milan, Constantine granted to all his subjects the free and universal permission of bequeathing their fortunes to the holy Catholic church; [102] and their devout liberality,

A. D. 321.

[100] See *Cod. Theodos.* l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 42, 43 Godefroy's *Commentary*, and the *Ecclesiastical History of Alexandria*, show the danger of these pious institutions, which often disturbed the peace of that turbulent capital.

[101] The edict of Milan (de *M. P.* c. 48) acknowledges, by reciting, that there existed a species of landed property, ad jus corporis eorum, id est, ecclesiarum non hominum singulorum pertinentia. Such a solemn declaration of the supreme magistrate must have been received in all the tribunals as a maxim of civil law.

[102] Habeat unusquisque licentiam sanctissimo Catholicæ (*ecclesiæ*) venerabilique concilio, decedens bonorum quod optavit relinquere. *Cod. Theodos.* l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 4. This law was published at Rome, A. D. 321, at a time when Constantine might foresee the probability of a rupture with the emperor of the East.

* Gibbon has here laid open the true cause, which produced the fall of the Roman empire, and the dark ages that followed. But he has not traced its working distinctly. M. Schreiter has justly accused him of confounding Christianity with its hierarchy, and ascribing to the former, evils which are strictly attributable only to the latter. The mischief originated in the abuse, which ingrafted on Christianity a powerful, ambitious and imperious priesthood. The awe which this institution inspired, and the submission which it exacted, led to a torpidity of spirit and prostration of mind, which gradually enfeebled and ruined the whole social system. This power and the universal decay began together and progressed together. They were coeval, co-gradient, co-regent, for fifteen centuries, "darkening the face of the Christian world," till the Reformation, by dethroning the one, checked the other, and gave a new impulse to liberated mind.—ENG. CH.

"By their fruits ye shall know them," said Jesus; and, judged by this standard, the religion which induced this paralysis of mind, and accelerated this fungus growth of superstition, was in truth inimical to human welfare. The advent of Protestantism was like the dawn of a brighter day, and those sects and individuals who believed the least, and protested the most, have always composed the more intelligent, public-spirited and moral portion of the community.—E.

which during their lives was checked by luxury or avarice, flowed with a profuse stream at the hour of their death. The wealthy Christians were encouraged by the example of their sovereign. An absolute monarch, who is rich without patrimony, may be charitable without merit; and Constantine too easily believed that he should purchase the favor of Heaven, if he maintained the idle at the expense of the industrious, and distributed among the saints the wealth of the republic. The same messenger who carried over to Africa the head of Maxentius, might be intrusted with an epistle to Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage. The emperor acquaints him that the treasurers of the province are directed to pay into his hands the sum of three thousand *folles*, or 18,000*l.* sterling, and to obey his farther requisitions for the relief of the churches of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania.[103] The liberality of Constantine increased in a just proportion to his faith and to his vices. He assigned in each city a regular allowance of corn to supply the fund of ecclesiastical charity; and the persons of both sexes, who embraced the monastic life, became the peculiar favorites of their sovereign. The Christian temples of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople, &c., displayed the ostentatious piety of a prince, ambitious, in a declining age, to equal the perfect labors of antiquity.[104] The form of these religious edifices was simple and oblong; though they might sometimes swell into the shape of a dome, and sometimes branch into the figure of a cross. The timbers were framed for the most part of cedars of Libanus; the roof was covered with tiles, perhaps of gilt brass; and the walls, the columns, the pavement, were incrusted with variegated marbles. The most precious ornaments of gold and silver, of silk and gems, were profusely dedicated to the service of the altar; and this specious magnificence was supported on the solid and perpetual basis of landed property. In the space of two centuries, from the reign of Constantine to that of Justinian, the eighteen hundred churches of the empire were enriched by the frequent and

[103] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* l. x. 6; in *Vit. Constantin.* l. iv. c. 28. He repeatedly expatiates on the liberality of the Christian hero, which the bishop himself had an opportunity of knowing, and even of tasting.

[104] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* l. x. c. 2, 3, 4. The bishop of Cæsarea, who studied and gratified the taste of his master, pronounced in public an elaborate description of the church of Jerusalem (in *Vit. Cons.* l. iv. c. 46). It no longer exists, but he has inserted in the *Life of Constantine* (l. iii. c. 36) a short account of the architecture and ornaments. He likewise mentions the church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople (l. iv. c. 59).

unalienable gifts of the prince and people. An annual income of six hundred pounds sterling may be reasonably assigned to the bishops, who were placed at an equal distance between riches and poverty,[105] but the standard of their wealth insensibly rose with the dignity and opulence of the cities which they governed. An authentic but imperfect[106] rent-roll specifies some houses, shops, gardens and farms, which belonged to the three *Basilicæ* of Rome, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John Lateran, in the provinces of Italy, Africa and the East. They produce, besides a reserved rent of oil, linen, paper, aromatics, &c., a clear annnal revenue of twenty-two thousand pieces of gold, or 12,000*l.* sterling. In the age of Constantine and Justinian, the bishops no longer possessed, perhaps they no longer deserved, the unsuspecting confidence of their clergy and people. The ecclesiastical revenues of each diocese were divided into four parts; for the respective uses of the bishop himself, of his inferior clergy, of the poor, and of the public worship; and the abuse of this sacred trust was strictly and repeatedly checked.[107] The patrimony of the church was still subject to all the public impositions of the state.[108]

The clergy of Rome, Alexandria, Thessalonica, &c., might solicit and obtain some partial exemptions; but the premature attempt of the great council of Rimini, which aspired to universal freedom, was successfully resisted by the son of Constantine.[109]

105 See Justinian. *Novell.* cxxii. 3. The revenue of the patriarchs, and the most wealthy bishops is not expressed: the highest annual valuation of a bishopric is stated at *thirty*, and the lowest at *two*, pounds of gold; the medium might be taken at *sixteen*, but these valuations are much below the real value.

106 See Baronius (*Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 324, No. 58, 65, 70, 71). Every record which comes from the Vatican is justly suspected; yet these rent-rolls have an ancient and authentic color; and it is at least evident, that if forged, they were forged in a period when *farms*, not *kingdoms*, were the objects of papal avarice.

107 See Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. iii. l. ii. c. 13, 14, 15, pp. 689–706. The legal division of the ecclesiastical revenue does not appear to have been established in the time of Ambrose and Chrysostom. Simplicius and Gelasius, who were bishops of Rome in the latter part of the fifth century, mention it in their pastoral letters as a general law, which was already confirmed by the custom of Italy.

108 Ambrose the most strenuous assertor of ecclesiastical privileges, submits without a murmur to the payment of the land tax. "Si tributum petit Imperator, "non negamus; agri ecclesiæ solvunt tributum; solvimus quæ sunt Cæsaris "Cæsari, et quæ sunt Dei Deo; tributum Cæsaris est; non negatur." Baronius labors to interpret this tribute as an act of charity rather than of duty (*Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 387); but the words, if not the intentions, of Ambrose, are more candidly explained by Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. iii. l. i. c. 34, p. 268.

109 In Ariminense synodo super ecclesiarum et clericorum privilegiis tractatu habito, usque eo dispositio progressa est, ut juga quæ viderentur ad ecclesiam pertinere, a publica functione cessarent inquietudine desistente; quod nostra videtur dudum sanctio repulsisse. *Cod. Theod.* l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 15. Had the synod of Rimini carried this point, such practical merit might have atoned for some speculative heresies.

IV. Civil jurisdiction.

IV. The Latin clergy, who erected their tribunal on the ruins of the civil and common law, have modestly accepted as the gift of Constantine,[110] the independent jurisdiction, which was the fruit of time, of accident, and of their own industry. But the liberality of the Christian emperors had actually endowed them with some legal prerogatives, which secured and dignified the sacerdotal character.[111] 1. Under a despotic government, the bishops alone enjoyed and asserted the inestimable privilege of being tried only by their *peers;* and even in a capital accusation, a synod of their brethren were the sole judges of their guilt or innocence. Such a tribunal, unless it was inflamed by personal resentment or religious discord, might be favorable, or even partial, to the sacerdotal order: but Constantine was satisfied,[112] that secret impunity would be less pernicious than public scandal: and the Nicene council was edified by his public declaration, that if he surprised a bishop in the act of adultery he should cast his imperial mantle over the episcopal sinner.* 2. The domestic jurisdiction of the bishops was at once a privilege and a restraint of the ecclesiastical order, whose civil causes were decently withdrawn from the cognizance of a secular judge. Their venial offences were not exposed to the shame of a public trial or punishment; and the gentle correction which the tenderness of youth may endure from its parents or instructors, was inflicted by the temperate severity of the bishops. But if the clergy were guilty of any crime which could not be sufficiently expiated by their degradation from an honorable and beneficial profession, the Roman magistrate drew the sword of justice, without any regard to

110 From Eusebius (in *Vit. Constant.* l. iv. c. 27) and Sozomen (l. i. c. 9), we are assured that the episcopal jurisdiction was extended and confirmed by Constantine; but the forgery of a famous edict, which was never fairly inserted in the *Theodosian Code* (see at the end, tom. vi. p. 303), is demonstrated by Godefroy in the most satisfactory manner. It is strange that M. de Montesquieu, who was a lawyer as well as a philosopher, should allege this edict of Constantine (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xxix. c. 16), without intimating any suspicion.

111 The subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction has been involved in a mist of passion, of prejudice, and of interest. Two of the fairest books which have fallen into my hands, are the *Institutes of the Canon Law*, by the Abbé de Fleury, and the *Civil History of Naples*, by Giannone. Their moderation was the effect of situation as well as of temper. Fleury was a French ecclesiastic, who respected the authority of the parliaments; Giannone was an Italian lawyer, who dreaded the power of the church. And here let me observe, that as the general propositions which I advance are the result of *many* particular and imperfect facts, I must either refer the reader to those modern authors who have expressly treated the subject, or swell these notes to a disagreeable and disproportioned size.

112 Tillemont has collected from *Rufinus*, *Theodoret*, &c., the sentiments and language of Constantine. *Mém. Eccles.* tom. iii. pp. 749, 750.

* Such royal charity for episcopal indiscretion has seldom been equalled and never excelled.—E.

ecclesiastical immunities. 3. The arbitration of the bishops was ratified by a positive law; and the judges were instructed to execute, without appeal or delay, the episcopal decrees, whose validity had hitherto depended on the consent of the parties. The conversion of the magistrates themselves, and of the whole empire, might gradually remove the fears and scruples of the Christians. But they still resorted to the tribunal of the bishops, whose abilities and integrity they esteemed; and the venerable Austin enjoyed the satisfaction of complaining that his spiritual functions were perpetually interrupted by the invidious labor of deciding the claim or the possession of silver and gold, of lands and cattle. 4. The ancient privilege of sanctuary was transferred to the Christian temples, and extended, by the liberal piety of the younger Theodosius, to the precincts of consecrated ground.[113] The fugitive, and even guilty, suppliants were permitted to implore, either the justice, or the mercy, of the Deity and his ministers. The rash violence of despotism was suspended by the mild interposition of the church; and the lives or fortunes of the most eminent subjects might be protected by the mediation of the bishop.

V. Spiritual censures.

V. The bishop was the perpetual censor of the morals of his people. The discipline of penance was digested into a system of canonical jurisprudence,[114] which accurately defined the duty of private or public confession, the rules of evidence, the degrees of guilt, and the measure of punishment. It was impossible to execute this spiritual censure, if the Christian pontiff, who punished the obscure sins of the multitude, respected the conspicuous vices and destructive crimes of the magistrate; but it was impossible to arraign the conduct of the magistrate, without controlling the administration of civil government. Some considerations of religion, or loyalty, or fear, protected the sacred persons of the emperors from the zeal or resentment of the bishops; but they boldly

113 See *Cod. Theod.* l. ix. tit. xlv. leg. 4. In the works of Fra Paolo (tom. iv. p. 192, &c.), there is an excellent discourse on the origin, claims, abuses, and limits of sanctuaries. He justly observes, that ancient Greece might perhaps contain fifteen or twenty *azyla* or sanctuaries; a number which at present may be found in Italy within the walls of a single city.

114 The penitential jurisprudence was continually improved by the canons of the councils. But as many cases were still left to the discretion of the bishops, they occasionally published, after the example of the Roman Prætor, the rules of discipline which they proposed to observe. Among the canonical epistles of the fourth century, those of Basil the Great were the most celebrated. They are inserted in the *Pandects* of Beveridge (tom. ii. pp. 47–151), and are translated by Chardon, *Hist. des Sacremens*, tom. iv. pp. 219–277.

censured and excommunicated the subordinate tyrants, who were not invested with the majesty of the purple. St. Athanasius excommunicated one of the ministers of Egypt; and the interdict which he pronounced, of fire and water, was solemnly transmitted to the churches of Cappadocia.[115] Under the reign of the younger Theodosius, the polite and eloquent Synesius, one of the descendants of Hercules,[116] filled the episcopal seat of Ptolemais, near the ruins of ancient Cyrene,[117] and the philosophic bishop supported with dignity the character which he had assumed with reluctance.[118] He vanquished the monster of Lybia, the presiding Andronicus, who abused the authority of a venal office, invented new modes of rapine and torture, and

115 Basil, *Epistol.* xlvii. in Baronius (*Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 370, No. 91), who declares that he purposely relates it, to convince governors that they were not exempt from a sentence of excommunication. In his opinion, even a royal head is not safe from the thunders of the Vatican; and the cardinal shows himself much more consistent than the lawyers and theologians of the Gallican church.

116 The long series of his ancestors, as high as Eurysthenes, the first Doric king of Sparta, and the fifth in lineal descent from Hercules, was inscribed in the public registers of Cyrene, a Lacedæmonian colony. (Synes. *Epist.* lvii. p. 197, edit. Petav.). Such a pure and illustrious pedigree of seventeen hundred years, without adding the royal ancestors of Hercules, cannot be equalled in the history of mankind.*

117 Synesius (*de Regno*, p. 2) pathetically deplores the fallen and ruined state of Cyrene, *πόλις Ἑλληνὶς, παλαιὸν ὄνομα καὶ σεμνὸν, καὶ ἐν ὠδῇ μυρίᾳ τῶν πύλαι σόφων, νῦν πένης καὶ κατηφὴς, καὶ μέγα ἐρειπιόν.* Ptolemais, a new city, 82 miles to the westward of Cyrene, assumed the metropolitan honors of the Pentapolis, or upper Libya, which were afterwards transferred to Sozusa. See Wesseling, *Itinerar.* pp. 67. 68, 732. Cellarius, *Geograph.* tom. ii. p. ii. p. 72, 74. Carolus à Sto Paulo, *Geograph. Sacra*, p. 273; D'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. iii, p. 43, 44; *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tom. xxxvii. pp. 363–391

118 Synesius had previously represented his own disqualifications (*Epist.* c. v. pp. 246–250). He loved profane studies and profane sports; he was incapable of supporting a life of celibacy; he disbelieved the resurrection; and he refused to preach *fables* to the people, unless he might be permitted to *philosophize* at home. Theophilus, primate of Egypt, who knew his merit, accepted this extraordinary compromise. See the life of Synesius in Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. xii. pp. 499–554.†

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* Clinton (*F. H.* i, 101) gives the pedigree of Hercules, beginning with Danaus. The kingdom of Lacedæmon was founded by his descendant, Aristodemus, whose sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, commenced, B. C. 1102, the bi-regal succession of the Agidæ and Proclidæ, which subsisted so many centuries at Sparta. To the former of these lines belonged Battus, who founded Cyrene, B. C. 63.—E. C.

† Synesius was a native of Cyrene, and might be honestly proud of the "ancient "and illustrious name." In the last days of ancient learning, he feebly supported the philosophic character, which the place of his birth had early acquired and long maintained. The celebrity which he gained, while studying at Alexandria, under the talented but unfortunate Hypatia, recommended him to Theophilus. His philosophy embraced many of the mystical absurdities of the New Platonists, without, however, running into their wild extravagance. The resurrection which he disbelieved, was that *of the body;* he could not have borne the patronymic of his school, had he denied the immortality of the soul. Brucker (*Hist. of Philos.* vol. ii. p. 312), admits that he "held opinions not perfectly consistent "with the popular creed." Yet Dupin (*Hist. Ecc.* vol. i. p. 410), says, that notwithstanding this, he was "a very wise, prudent, and good bishop." Warburton (*Div. Leg.* vol. iii. p. 196), was so scandalized by the philosophical heresies of Synesius, that he calls him "no small fool;" and proceeds thus: "He went into "the church a Platonist, and a Platonist he remained, as extravagant and absurd "as any he had left behind him."—ENG. CH.

aggravated the guilt of oppression by that of sacrilege.[119] After a fruitless attempt to reclaim the haughty magistrate by mild and religious admonition, Synesius proceeds to inflict the last sentence of ecclesiastical justice,[120] which devotes Andronicus, with his associates and their *families*, to the abhorrence of earth and heaven. The impenitent sinners, more cruel than Phalaris or Sennacherib, more destructive than war, pestilence, or a cloud of locusts, are deprived of the name and privileges of Christians, of the participation of the sacraments, and of the hope of paradise. The bishop exhorts the clergy, the magistrates, and the people, to renounce all society with the enemies of Christ; to exclude them from their houses and tables; and to refuse them the common offices of life, and the decent rights of burial. The church of Ptolemais, obscure and contemptible as she may appear, addresses this declaration to all her sister churches of the world; and the profane, who reject her decrees, will be involved in the guilt and punishment of Andronicus and his impious followers. These spiritual terrors were enforced by a dexterous aplication to the Byzantine court; the trembling president implored the mercy of the church; and the descendant of Hercules enjoyed the satisfaction of raising a prostrate tyrant from the ground.[121] Such principles, and such examples, insensibly prepared the triumph of the Roman pontiffs, who have trampled on the necks of kings.

VI. Every popular government has experienced the effects of rude or artificial eloquence. The coldest nature is animated, the firmest reason is moved, by the rapid communication of the prevailing impulse; and each hearer is affected by his own passions, and by those of the surrounding multitude. The ruin of civil liberty had silenced the demagogues of Athens, and the tribunes of Rome; the custom of preaching, which seems to constitute a considerable part of Christian devotion, had not been introduced into the temples of antiquity; and the ears of monarchs were never invaded by the harsh

VI. Freedom of public preaching.

[119] See the invective of Synesius, *Epist.* lvii. pp. 191–201. The promotion of Andronicus was illegal; since he was a native of Berenice in the same province. The instruments of torture are curiously specified; the κιεστήριον, or press, the δακτυλήθρα, the ποδοστρύβη, the ρινολάβιζ, the ὄταλρα, and the χειλυτρόφιον, that variously pressed or distended the fingers, the feet, the nose, the ears, and the lips of the victims.

[120] The sentence of excommunication is expressed in a rhetorical style. (Synesius, *Epist.* lvii. pp. 201–203.) The method of involving whole families, though somewhat unjust, was improved into national interdicts.

[121] See Synesius, *Epist.* xlvii. pp. 186, 187. *Epist.* lxxii. pp. 218, 219. *Epist.* xxxix. pp. 230, 231.

sound of popular eloquence, till the pulpits of the empire were filled with sacred orators, who possessed some advantages unknown to their profane predecessors.[122] The arguments and rhetoric of the tribune were instantly opposed, with equal arms, by skillful and resolute antagonists; and the cause of truth and reason might derive an accidental support from the conflict of hostile passions. The bishop, or some distinguished presbyter, to whom he cautiously delegated the powers of preaching, harangued, without the danger of interruption or reply, a submissive multitude, whose minds had been prepared and subdued by the awful ceremonies of religion. Such was the strict subordination of the Catholic church, that the same concerted sounds might issue at once from a hundred pulpits of Italy or Egypt, if they were *tuned*[123] by the master hand of the Roman or Alexandrian primate. The design of this institution was laudable, but the fruits were not always salutary. The preachers recommended the practice of the social duties, but they exalted the perfection of monastic virtue, which is painful to the individual, and useless to mankind. Their charitable exhortations betrayed a secret wish, that the clergy might be permitted to manage the wealth of the faithful, for the benefit of the poor. The most sublime representations of the attributes and laws of the Deity were sullied by an idle mixture of metaphysical subtleties, puerile rites, and fictitious miracles; and they expatiated, with the most fervent zeal, on the religious merit of hating the adversaries, and obeying the ministers, of the church. When the public peace was distracted by heresy and schism, the sacred orators sounded the trumpet of discord and, perhaps, of sedition. The understandings of their congregations were perplexed by mystery, their passions were inflamed by invectives; and they rushed from the Christian temples

[122] See Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. iii. l. iii. c. 83, pp. 1761–1770), and Bingham (*Antiquities*, vol. i. xiv. c. 4, pp. 688–717). Preaching was considered as the most important office of the bishop; but this function was sometimes intrusted to such presbyters as Chrysostom and Augustin.*

[123] Queen Elizabeth used this expression, and practiced this art, whenever she wished to prepossess the minds of her people in favor of any extraordinary measure of government. The hostile effects of this *music* were apprehended by her successor, and severely felt by his son. "When pulpit, drum ecclesiastic," &c. See Heylin's *Life of Archbishop Laud*, p. 153.

* For this powerful assistant, the early church was again indebted to philosophy. The lectures of the schools were the examples on which the first meetings of the Greek believers and the addresses of their preachers were modeled. It was thus that the "traditions of the apostles" and the interpretations of the conferences at Antioch were made known. Rival lecturers saw with jealousy the increasing numbers of those who attended; and this made Origen say, in reply to Celsus: "How would the philosophers rejoice to gather such hearers of their exhortations to the beautiful!" (*Cont. Cels.* lib. 3.)—ENG. CH.

of Antioch or Alexandria, prepared either to suffer or to inflict martyrdom. The corruption of taste and language is strongly marked in the vehement declamations of the Latin bishops; but the compositions of Gregory and Chrysostom have been compared with the most splendid models of Attic, or at least of Asiatic, eloquence.[124]

VII. Privilege of legislative assemblies.

VII. The representatives of the Christian republic were regularly assembled in the spring and autumn of each year; and these synods diffused the spirit of ecclesiastical discipline and legislation through the hundred and twenty provinces of the Roman world.[125] The archbishop, or metropolitan, was empowered, by the laws, to summon the suffragan bishops of his province; to revise their conduct, to vindicate their rights, to declare their faith, and to examine the merit of the candidates who were elected by the clergy and people to supply the vacancies of the episcopal college. The primates of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Carthage, and afterwards Constantinople, who exercised a more ample jurisdiction, convened the numerous assembly of their dependent bishops. But the convocation of great and extraordinary synods was the prerogative of the emperor alone. Whenever the emergencies of the church required this decisive measure, he despatched a peremptory summons to the bishops, or the deputies of each province, with an order for the use of post-horses, and a competent allowance for the expenses of their journey. At an early period, when Constantine was the protector, rather than the proselyte, of Christianity, he referred the African controversy to the council of Arles; in which the bishops of York, of Treves, of Milan, and of Carthage, met as friends and brethren, to debate in their native tongue on the common interest of the Latin or Western church.[126] Eleven years afterwards, a more numerous and celebrated assembly was convened at Nice in Bithynia, to extinguish, by their final sentence, the subtle disputes which had arisen in Egypt on the subject

A. D. 314.

A. D. 325.

[124] Those modest orators acknowledged, that, as they were destitute of the gift of miracles, they endeavored to acquire the arts of eloquence.

[125] The council of Nice, in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh canons, has made some fundamental regulations concerning synods, metropolitans, and primates. The Nicene canons have been variously tortured, abused, interpolated, or forged, according to the interest of the clergy. The *Suburbicarian* churches, assigned (by Rufinus) to the bishop of Rome, have been made the subject of vehement controversy. (See Sirmond, *Opera*, tom. iv. p. 1–238.)

[126] We have only thirty-three or forty-seven episcopal subscriptions: but Ado, a writer indeed of small account, reckons six hundred bishops in the council of Arles. Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. vi. p. 422.

of the Trinity. Three hundred and eighteen bishops obeyed the summons of their indulgent master; the ecclesiastics of every rank, and sect, and denomination, have been computed at two thousand and forty-eight persons;[127] the Greeks appeared in person; and the consent of the Latins was expressed by the legates of the Roman pontiff. The session, which lasted about two months, was frequently honored by the presence of the emperor. Leaving his guards at the door, he seated himself (with the permission of the council) on a low stool in the midst of the hall. Constantine listened with patience, and spoke with modesty; and while he influenced the debates, he humbly professed that he was the minister, not the judge, of the successors of the apostles, who had been established as priests and as gods upon earth.[128] Such profound reverence of an absolute monarch towards a feeble and unarmed assembly of his own subjects, can only be compared to the respect with which the senate had been treated by the Roman princes who adopted the policy of Augustus. Within the space of fifty years, a philosophic spectator of the vicissitudes of human affairs, might have contemplated Tacitus in the senate of Rome, and Constantine in the council of Nice. The fathers of the Capitol, and those of the church, had alike degenerated from the virtues of their founders; but as the bishops were more deeply rooted in the public opinion, they sustained their dignity with more decent pride, and sometimes opposed, with a manly spirit, the wishes of their sovereign. The progress of time and superstition erased the memory of the weakness, the passion, the ignorance, which disgraced these ecclesiastical synods; and the Catholic world has unanimously submitted[129] to the *infallible* decrees of the general councils.[130]

[127] See Tillemont, tom. vi. p. 915, and Beausobre, *Hist. du Manicheisme*, tom. i. p. 529. The name of *bishop*, which is given by Eutychius to the 2048 ecclesiastics (*Annal.* tom. i p. 440, vers. Pocock), must be extended far beyond the limits of an orthodox or even an episcopal ordination.

[128] See Euseb. in *Vit. Con.* l. iii. c. 6–21. Tillemont, *Mém. Eccl.* tom. vi. pp. 669–759.

[129] Sancimus igitur vicem legum obtinere, quæ a quatuor Sanctis Conciliis * * * expositæ sunt aut firmatæ. Prædictarum enim quatuor synodorum dogmata sicut sanctus Scripturas et regulas sicut leges observamus. Justinian. *Novell.* cxxxi. Beveridge (ad *Pandect.* proleg. p. 2) remarks that the emperor never made new laws in ecclesiastical matters; and Giannone observes, in a very different spirit, that they gave a legal sanction to the canons of councils. *Istoria Civile di Napoli*, tom. i. p. 136.

[130] See the article CONCILE in the *Encyclopedie*, tom. iii. pp. 668–679, edition de Lucques. The author, M. le docteur Bouchaud, has discussed, according to the principles of the Gallican church, the principal questions which relate to the form and constitution of general, national, and provincial councils. The editors (see Preface, p. xvi) have reason to be proud of *this* article. Those who consult their immense compilation, seldom depart so well satisfied.

MERCURY.

340*a*

MERCURY, called MERCURIUS by the Apostles, (*Acts* xiv. 12,) and also by the Romans, was the son of JUPITER and MAIA, a daughter of ATLAS. He was celebrated for his activity, perseverance, cunning, intelligence, and eloquence. He became the herald of the immortals—the chosen and trusted messenger of JOVE—and transmitted and published, to both gods and men, the *words* and commands of that august potentate. Hence he was known to the ancient Pagans as the *Herald*, the *Messenger*, the *Living Word*, or the *Logos*. With the aid of his winged cap and sandals, he traversed space with the rapidity of the wind, and was only outstripped in speed by the glittering sunbeam, which was the messenger from ORMUZD to the devout Magian, or by the subtle electric spark, which was the lightning's flash of ZEUS.

"This god" says Taylor, "was distinguished in the Pagan world by the "evangelical title of the Logos or the WORD—'The *Word* that in the beginning "'was with God, and that also was a God.' Our Christian writers discover con- "siderable apprehension, and a jealous caution in their language, where the "resemblance between Paganism and Christianity might be apt to strike the "mind too cogently. Where Horace gives us a very extraordinary account of "MERCURY'S descent into hell, (He also descended into hell.—*Apostles' Creed.*) "and his causing a cessation of the sufferings there, our Christian mythologist "checks our curiosity, by the sudden break off—'As this perhaps may be a "'mystical part of his character, we had better let it alone.'—*Bell's Panth.* vol. "2. p. 72. But the further back we trace the evidences of the Christian religion, "the less concerned we find its advocates to maintain, or even to pretend that "there was any difference at all between the essential doctrines of Christianity "and Paganism."

"For by declaring the Logos, the first begotten of God, our Master, Jesus "Christ, to be born of a virgin without any human mixture, to be crucified and "dead, and to have risen again into heaven; we say no more in this, than what "you say of those whom you style the sons of Jove. As to the son of God, called "Jesus, should we allow him to be nothing more than man, yet the title of the "Son of God is very justifiable upon the account of his wisdom, considering that "you have your MERCURY in worship under the title of THE WORD, and Mes- "senger of God."—*Reeve's Apologies of the Fathers*, vol. 1, London, 1716.

"The celebrated passage, '*In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was* "'*with God, and the Word was God*,' &c., (*John* i. 1.) is a fragment of some "Pagan treatise on the Platonic philosophy, and as such is quoted as early as the "year 263 by Amelius, a Pagan philosopher, as strictly applicable to the *Logos* or "MERCURY, or the WORD, and is quoted appropriately as an honorable testimony "borne to the Pagan deity, *by a barbarian*. 'And this plainly was the WORD, by "'whom all things were made, he being himself eternal, as Heraclitus also "'would say; and by JOVE, the same whom the barbarian affirms to have been "'in the place and dignity of a principal, and to be with God, and to be God, by "'whom all things were made, and in whom every thing that was made, has its "'life and being; who, descending into body, and putting on flesh, took the "'appearance of a man, though even then he gave proof of the majesty of his "'nature; nay, and after his dissolution, he was deified again.' This is the lan- "guage of one, of whom there is not the least pretence to show that he was a "believer of the Gospel, or had ever heard of it, or that he did not reject it; it was "the language of clear, undisguised, and unmingled Paganism. The Logos then, "or Word, was a designation purely and exclusively appropriate to the Pagan "mythology." *Taylor's Diegesis*, pp. 183—186.

Indeed, the resemblance between orthodox Paganism and pure Christianity, as taught in the first century, was so absolute, that Pagan priests, who may be considered competent judges, could not always detect the difference between the two religions or mythologies, and were sometimes strangely deceived. A remarkable instance of this fact is recorded in *Acts*, xiv: 7-13, which occurred in Lystra, a city of Lyconia. Paul and Barnabas, after their expulsion from Iconium, visited this place. "And there they preached the gospel," says the author of *The Acts*, and there they also cured a cripple, who had never walked, "being impotent in his feet." This miracle and *the doctrines the apostles preached* were mistaken by the Pagans for genuine Paganism. "The priest of "JUPITER," continues the sacred historian, "brought oxen and garlands unto the "gates, and would have done sacrifice with the people." "The gods are come "down to us in the likeness of men," said the credulous Pagans of Lystra. "And they called Barnabus *Jupiter*, and Paul *Mercurius*, because he was the "chief speaker." The acute Greeks, says Voltaire, could split a theological hair into four parts, but these devout natives of Lystra could detect no difference between Paganism and Christianity. They had listened to Paul's eloquence, and it was to them the echo of their own belief: they had witnessed the wonderful cure he performed, and this miracle confirmed their faith: and they honestly believed that the two apostles, St. Paul and St. Barnabas, were Pagan gods.—E.

The Parcæ or Fates.*

V.

PERSECUTION OF HERESY.—THE SCHISM OF THE DONATISTS.—THE ARIAN CONTROVERSY.—ATHANASIUS.—DISTRACTED STATE OF THE CHURCH AND EMPIRE UNDER CONSTANTINE AND HIS SONS.—TOLERATION OF PAGANISM.†

THE grateful applause of the clergy has consecrated the memory of a prince who indulged their passions and promoted their interest. Constantine gave them security, wealth, honors, revenge; and the support of the orthodox faith was considered as the most sacred and important duty of the civil magistrate. The edict of Milan, the great charter of toleration, had confirmed to each in-

* According to Hesiod, these three goddesses who presided over the birth and life of mortals, were the daughters of Nox and Erebus, and it was their province to execute the eternal, inexorable decrees of Necessity, before whose imperial fiat both gods and men must bow.

These weird sisters are represented as placidly weaving—insensible to our love and indifferent to our hate—the web and woof of human destiny; joining, meanwhile, in the song of the Sirens. CLOTHO, the younger, presides over the moment in which we are born. She holds in her hand a distaff, from which the beautiful, but inscrutable, LACHESIS, spins out the events and actions, the hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows, of our chequered life; whilst the elder sister, ATROPOS,—the stern embodiment of fate and destiny—holds suspended the fatal shears, whose slightest movement severs the fragile thread of being, blots out the consciousness of existence, and ends for all at last in sober sadness—too oft in grief and anguish—the mystery, the tragedy of life.—E.

† Chap. XXI. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

dividual of the Roman world, the privilege of choosing and professing his own religion. But this inestimable privilege was soon violated: with the knowledge of truth, the emperor imbibed the maxims of persecution; and the sects which dissented from the Catholic church, were afflicted and oppressed by the triumph of Christianity. Constantine easily believed that the heretics, who presumed to dispute *his* opinions, or to oppose *his* commands, were guilty of the most absurd and criminal obstinacy; and that a seasonable application of moderate severities might save those unhappy men from the danger of an everlasting condemnation. Not a moment was lost in excluding the ministers and teachers of the separated congregations from any share of the rewards and immunities which the emperor had so liberally bestowed on the orthodox clergy. But as the sectaries might still exist under the cloud of royal disgrace, the conquest of the East was immediately followed by an edict which announced their total destruction.[1] After a preamble filled with passion and reproach, Constantine absolutely prohibits the assemblies of the heretics, and confiscates their public property to the use either of the revenue or of the Catholic church. The sects against whom the imperial severity was directed, appear to have been the adherents of Paul of Samosata; the Montanists of Phrygia, who maintained an enthusiastic succession of prophecy; the Novatians, who sternly rejected the temporal efficacy of repentance; the Marcionites and Valentinians, under whose leading banner the various Gnostics of Asia and Egypt had insensibly rallied; and perhaps the Manichæans, who had recently imported from Persia a more artful composition of oriental and Christian theology.[2] The design of extirpating the name, or at least of restraining the progress, of these odious heretics, was prosecuted with vigor and effect. Some of the penal regulations were copied from the edicts of Diocletian; and this method of conversion was applauded by the same bishops who had felt the hand of oppression, and had pleaded for the rights of humanity. Two immaterial circumstances may serve, however, to prove that the mind of Constantine was not entirely corrupted by the spirit

[1] Eusebius in *Vit. Constantin.* l. iii. c. 63, 64, 65, 66.

[2] After some examination of the various opinions of Tillemont, Beausobre, Lardner, &c., I am convinced that Manes did not propagate his sect, even in Persia, before the year 270. It is strange that a philosophic and foreign heresy should have penetrated so rapidly into the African provinces; yet I cannot easily reject the edict of Diocletian against the Manichæans, which may be found in Baronius. (*Annal. Eccl.* A. D. 287.)

of zeal and bigotry. Before he condemned the Manichæans,* and their kindred sects, he resolved to make an accurate inquiry into the nature of their religious principles. As if he distrusted the impartiality of his ecclesiastical counsellors, this delicate commission was intrusted to a civil magistrate, whose learning and moderation he justly esteemed, and of whose venal character he was probably ignorant.[3] The emperor was soon convinced, that he had too hastily proscribed the orthodox faith and the exemplary morals of the Novatians, who had dissented from the church in some articles of discipline which were not perhaps essential to salvation. By a particular edict, he exempted them from the general penalties of the law;[4] allowed them to build a church at Constantinople; respected the miracles of their saints; invited their bishop Acesius to the council of Nice; and gently ridiculed the narrow tenets of his sect by a familiar jest; which, from the mouth of a sovereign, must have been received with applause and gratitude.[5]

[3] Constantinus enim, cum limatius superstitionum quæreret sectas, Manichæorum et similium, &c. *Ammian.* xv. 15. Strategius, who from this commission obtained the surname of *Musonianus*, was a Christian of the Arian sect. He acted as one of the counts at the council of Sardica. Libanius praises his mildness and prudence. Vales. ad locum *Ammian.*

[4] *Cod. Theod.* l. xvi. tit. 5, leg. 2. As the general law is not inserted in the *Theodosian Code*, it is probable that, in the year 438, the sects which it had condemned were already extinct.

Sozomen, l. i. c. 22. *Socrates*, l. i. c. 10. These historians have been suspected, but I think without reason, of an attachment to the Novatian doctrine. The emperor said to the bishop, "Acesius, take a ladder, and get up to heaven by "yourself." Most of the Christian sects have, by turns, borrowed the ladder of Acesius.†

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* "MANI, properly so called, though more commonly Manes or Manichæus, "from whom the most important Christian sect that ever existed, takes its "designation," says Rev. Robt. Taylor, in *Diegesis*, "was by birth a Persian, "educated amongst the Magi, or wise men of the East, and himself originally "one of that order.

"In the edict of Diocletian, preserved in the fragments of Hermogenes, the "Christians are called Manichees. It sufficiently appears that the Gentiles in "general confounded the Christians and Manichees, and that there really was no "difference, or appeared to be none, between the followers of Christ and of "Manes. Let who will or can, determine the curious question, whether Manes "and his followers were heretical seceders from Christianity, or whether those "who afterwards acquired the name of Christians, were heretics from the primi-"tive sect of Manichees. The admitted fact of the existence of upwards of "ninety different heresies, or manners and variation of telling the Gospel story, "within the first three centuries, is proof demonstrative that there could have "been no common authority to which Christians could appeal.

"It is admitted by Mosheim (vol. 1, cent. 3, chap. 2), that the more intelligent "among the Christian people in the third century had been taught, that true "Christianity, as it was inculcated by Jesus, and not as it was afterwards cor-"rupted by his disciples, differed in few points from the Pagan religion, properly "explained and restored to its primitive purity.

"St. Augustin himself," continues Taylor, "was originally a member of this sect, "till he found that higher distinctions and better emoluments were to be gained "by joining the stronger party. Whereupon he left the poor presbytery of the "Manichæan church, to become the orthodox bishop of Hippo Regius."—E.

† These very first acts of Constantine manifest the influence not of the religion,

African controversy. A. D. 312.

The complaints and mutual accusations which assailed the throne of Constantine as soon as the death of Maxentius had submitted Africa to his victorious arms, were ill adapted to edify an imperfect proselyte. He learned, with surprise, that the provinces of that great country, from the confines of Cyrene to the columns of Hercules, were distracted with religious discord.[6] The source of the division was derived from a double election in the church of Carthage; the second, in rank and opulence, of the ecclesiastical thrones of the West. Cæcilian and Majorinus were the two rival primates of Africa; and the death of the latter soon made room for Donatus, who, by his superior abilities and apparant virtues, was the firmest support of his party. The advantage which Cæcilian might claim from the priority of his ordination, was destroyed by the illegal, or at least indecent, haste, with which it had been performed, without expecting the arrival of the bishops of Numidia. The authority of these bishops, who, to the number of seventy, condemned Cæcilian, and consecrated Majorinus, is again weakened by the infamy of some of their personal characters; and by the female intrigues, sacrilegious bargains, and tumultuous proceedings, which are imputed to this Numidian council.[7] The bishops of the contending factions maintained, with equal ardor and obstinacy, that their adversaries were degraded, or at least dishonored, by the odious crime of delivering the Holy

[6] The best materials for this part of ecclesiastical history may be found in the edition of *Optatus Milevitanus*, published (Paris, 1700) by M. Dupin, who has enriched it with critical notes, geographical discussions, original records, and an accurate abridgment of the whole controversy. M. de Tillemont has bestowed on the Donatist the greatest part of a volume (tom. vi. part i.); and I am indebted to him for an ample collection of all the passages of his favorite, St. Augustin, which relate to those heretics.

[7] Schisma igitur illo tempore confusæ mulieris iracundia peperit, ambitus nutrivit; avaritia roboravit. *Optatus*, l. i. c. 19. The language of Purpurius is that of a furious madman. Dicitur te necasse filios sororis tuæ duos. Purpurius respondit: Putas me terreri à te * * * occidi; et occido eos qui contra me faciunt. *Acta Concil.* Cirtensis, ad calc. *Optat.* p. 274. When Cæcilian was invited to an assembly of bishops, Purpurius said to his brethren, or rather to his accomplices, "Let him come hither to receive our imposition of hands, and we "will break his head by way of penance." *Optat.* l. i. c. 19.

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which he rather used than embraced, but of the hierarchy, through whom he saw that the masses might be made subservient to his designs. To secure these chiefs of the church, their artful patron indulged their desire to exclude all rivals, and bestowed on them new rewards and immunities. So, too, the schisms, which are the subjects of this chapter, would never have distracted the world, had there been no such objects of ambitious desires as episcopal thrones and revenues.—E. C.

Says Butler, in *Hudibras:*

"What makes all doctrines plain and clear?—
"About two hundred pounds a year.
"And that which was prov'd true before,
"Prov'd false again?—Two hundred more."—E.

Scriptures to the officers of Diocletian. From their mutual reproaches, as well as from the story of this dark transaction, it may justly be inferred, that the late persecution had imbittered the zeal, without reforming the manners, of the African Christians. That divided church was incapable of affording an impartial judicature; the controversy was solemnly tried in five successive tribunals, which were appointed by the emperor; and the whole proceeding, from the first appeal to the final sentence, lasted above three years. A severe inquisition which was taken by the prætorian vicar and the pro-consul of Africa, the report of two episcopal visitors who had been sent to Carthage, the decrees of the councils of Rome and of Arles, and the supreme judgment of Constantine himself in his sacred consistory, were all favorable to the cause of Cæcilian, and he was unanimously acknowledged by the civil and ecclesiastical powers, as the true and lawful primate of Africa. The honors and estates of the church were attributed to *his* suffragan bishops; and it was not without difficulty that Constantine was satisfied with inflicting the punishment of exile on the principal leaders of the Donatist faction. As their cause was examined with attention, perhaps it was determined with justice. Perhaps their complaint was not without foundation, that the credulity of the emperor had been abused by the insidious arts of his favorite Osius. The influence of falsehood and corruption might procure the condemnation of the innocent, or aggravate the sentence of the guilty. Such an act, however, of injustice, if it concluded an importunate dispute, might be numbered among the transient evils of a despotic administration, which are neither felt nor remembered by posterity.

Schism of the Donatists. A. D. 315.

But this incident, so inconsiderable that it scarcely deserves a place in history, was productive of a memorable schism, which afflicted the provinces of Africa above three hundred years, and was extinguished only with Christianity itself. The inflexible zeal of freedom and fanaticism animated the Donatists to refuse obedience to the usurpers, whose election they disputed, and whose spiritual powers they denied. Excluded from the civil and religious communion of mankind, they boldly excommunicated the rest of mankind who had embraced the impious party of Cæcilian, and of the traditors, from whom he derived his pretended ordination. They

asserted with confidence, and almost with exultation, that the apostolical succession was interrupted; that *all* the bishops of Europe and Asia were infected by the contagion of guilt and schism; and that the prerogatives of the Catholic church were confined to the chosen portion of the African believers, who alone had preserved inviolate the integrity of their faith and discipline. This rigid theory was supported by the most uncharitable conduct. Whenever they acquired a proselyte, even from the distant provinces of the East, they carefully repeated the sacred rites of baptism[8] and ordination; as they rejected the validity of those which he had already received from the hands of heretics or schismatics. Bishops, virgins, and even spotless infants, were subjected to the disgrace of a public penance, before they could be admitted to the communion of the Donatists. If they obtained possession of a church which had been used by their Catholic adversaries, they purified the unhallowed building with the same jealous care which a temple of idols might have required. They washed the pavement, scraped the walls, burnt the altar, which was commonly of wood, melted the consecrated plate, and cast the holy eucharist to the dogs, with every circumstance of ignominy which could provoke and perpetuate the animosity of religious factions.[9] Notwithstanding this irreconcilable aversion, the two parties, who were mixed and separated in all the cities of Africa, had the same language and manners, the same zeal and learning, the same faith and worship. Proscribed by the civil and ecclesistical powers of the empire, the Donatists still maintained in some provinces, particularly in Numidia, their superior numbers; and four hundred bishops acknowledged the jurisdiction of their primate. But the invincible spirit of the sect sometimes preyed on its own vitals; and the bosom of their schismatical church was torn by intestine divisions. A fourth part of the Donatist bishops followed the independent standard of the Maximianists. The narrow and solitary path which their first leaders had marked out, continued to deviate from the great society of mankind.

[8] The councils of Arles, of Nice, and of Trent, confirmed the wise and moderate practice of the church of Rome. The Donatists, however, had the advantage of maintaining the sentiment of Cyprian, and of a considerable part of the primitive church. Vincentius Lirinensis (p. 332, ap. Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. vi. p. 138) has explained why the Donatists are eternally burning with the Devil, while St. Cyprian reigns in heaven with Jesus Christ.

[9] See the sixth book of *Optatus Milevitanus*, pp. 91–100.

Even the imperceptible sect of the Rogatians could affirm, without a blush, that when Christ should descend to judge the earth, he would find his true religion preserved only in a few nameless villages of the Cæsarean Mauritania.[10]

The Trinitarian controversy.

The schism of the Donatists was confined to Africa: the more diffusive mischief of the Trinitarian controversy successively penetrated into every part of the Christian world. The former was an accidental quarrel, occasioned by the abuse of freedom; the latter was a high and mysterious argument, derived from the abuse of philosophy. From the age of Constantine to that of Clovis and Theodoric, the temporal interests both of the Romans and Barbarians were deeply involved in the theological disputes of Arianism. The historian may therefore be permitted respectfully to withdraw the veil of the sanctuary; and to deduce the progress of reason and faith, of error and passion, from the school of Plato to the decline and fall of the empire.

The system of Plato. Before Christ. 360.

The genius of Plato, informed by his own meditation or by the traditional knowledge of the priests of Egypt,[11] had ventured to explore the mysterious nature of the Deity. When he had elevated his mind to the sublime contemplation of the first self-existent necessary cause of the universe, the Athenian sage was incapable of conceiving *how* the simple unity of his essence could admit the infinite variety of distinct and successive ideas which compose the model of the intellectual world; *how* a Being purely incorporeal could execute that perfect model, and mould with a plastic hand the rude and independent chaos. The vain hope of extricating himself from these difficulties, which must ever oppress the feeble powers of the human mind, might induce Plato to consider the divine nature under the threefold modification of the first cause, the reason or *Logos*, and the soul or spirit of the universe. His poetical imagination sometimes fixed and animated these

The Logos.

[10] Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclesiastiques*, tom. vi. part i. p. 253. He laughs at their partial credulity. He revered Augustin, the great doctor of the system of predestination.

[11] Plato Ægyptum peragravit ut a sacerdotibus Barbaris numeros et *cœlestia* acciperet. *Cicero de Finibus*, v. 25. The Egyptians might still preserve the traditional creed of the Patriarchs. Josephus has persuaded many of the Christian fathers, that Plato derived a part of his knowledge from the Jews; but this vain opinion cannot be reconciled with the obscure state and unsocial manners of the Jewish people, whose scriptures were not accessible to Greek curiosity till more than one hundred years after the death of Plato. See Marsham, *Canon. Chron.* p. 144. Le Clerc, *Epistol. Critic.* vii. p. 177–194.

metaphysical abstractions; the three *archical* or original principles were represented in the Platonic system as three gods, united with each other by a mysterious and ineffable generation; and the Logos was particularly considered under the more accessible character of the Son of an eternal Father, and the Creator and Governor of the world. Such appear to have been the secret doctrines which were cautiously whispered in the gardens of the Academy; and which, according to the more recent disciples of Plato*

* This exposition of the doctrine of Plato appears to me contrary to the true sense of that philosopher's writings. The brilliant imagination which he carried into metaphysical inquiries, his style, full of allegories and figures, have misled those interpreters who did not seek, from the whole tenor of his works and beyond the images which the writer employs, the system of this philosopher. In my opinion, there is no Trinity in Plato; he has established no mysterious generation between the three pretended principles which he is made to distinguish. Finally, he conceived only as *attributes* of the Deity, or of matter, those ideas, of which it is supposed that he made *substances*, real beings.

According to Plato, God and matter existed from all eternity. Before the creation of the world, matter had in itself a principle of motion, but without end or laws: it is this principle which Plato calls the irrational soul of the world (ἄλογος ψῦχη); because, according to his doctrine, every spontaneous and original principle of motion is called soul. God wished to impress *form* upon matter, that is to say, 1. To mould matter, and make it into a body; 2. To regulate its motion, and subject it to some end and to certain laws. The Deity, in this operation, could not act but according to the ideas existing in his intelligence: their union filled this, and formed the ideal type of the world. It is this ideal world, this divine intelligence, existing with God from all eternity, and called by Plato νοῦς or λόγος, which he is supposed to personify, to substantialize; while an attentive examination is sufficient to convince us that he has never assigned it an existence external to the Deity (hors de la Divinité), and that he considered the λόλος as the aggregate of the ideas of God, the divine understanding in its relation to the world. The contrary opinion is irreconcilable with all his philosophy: thus he says (*Timæus*, p. 348, edit. Bip.) that to the idea of the Deity is essentially united that of an intelligence, of a *logos*. He would thus have admitted a double *logos;* one inherent in the Deity as an attribute, the other independently existing as a substance. He affirms (*Timæus*, 316, 337, 348, *Sophista*, v. ii. pp. 265, 266) that the intelligence, the principle of order, νοῦς or λόγος, cannot exist but as an attribute of a soul (ψῦχη), the principle of motion and of life, of which the nature is unknown to us. How, then, according to this, could he consider the *logos* as a substance endowed with an independent existence? In other places, he explains it by these two words, ἐπιστὴμη (knowledge, science), and διάνοια, (intelligence), which signify the attributes of the Deity. (*Sophist.* v. ii. p. 299.) Lastly, it follows from several passages, among others, from *Phileb.* v. iv. pp. 247, 248, that Plato has never given to the words νοῦς, λόγος, but one of these two meanings: 1. *The result of the action of the Deity;* that is, order, the collective laws which govern the world: and 2. The rational soul of the world (λογιστίκη ψῦχη), or the cause of this result, that is to say, the divine intelligence. When he separates God, the ideal archetype of the world and matter, it is to explain how, according to his system, God has proceeded, at the creation, to unite the principle of order, which he had within himself, his proper intelligence, the λόγος, the principle of motion, to the principle of motion, the irrational soul, the ἄλογος ψῦχη, which was in matter. When he speaks of the place occupied by the ideal world (τόπος νοητὸς), it is to designate the divine intelligence, which is its cause. Finally, in no part of his writings do we find a true personification of the pretended beings of which he is said to have formed a trinity; and if this personification existed, it would equally apply to many other notions, of which might be formed many different trinities.

This error, into which many ancient as well as modern interpreters of Plato have fallen, was very natural. Besides the snares which were concealed in his

could not be perfectly understood till after an assiduous study of thirty years.[12]

Taught in the school of Alexandria. Before Christ. 300.

The arms of the Macedonians diffused over Asia and Egypt the language and learning of Greece and the theological system of Plato was taught, with less reserve, and perhaps with some improvements, in the celebrated school of Alex-

[12] The modern guides who lead me to the knowledge of the Platonic system are Cudworth (*Intellectual System*, pp. 568–620), Basnage (*Hist. des Juifs*, l. iv. c. 4, pp 53–86), Le Clerc (*Epist. Crit.* vii. pp. 193–209), and Brucker (*Hist. Philosoph.* tom. i. pp 675–706). As the learning of these writers was equal, and their intention different, an inquisitive observer may derive instruction from their disputes and certainty from their agreement.

figurative style; besides the necessity of comprehending as a whole the system of his ideas, and not to explain isolated passages, the nature of his doctrine itself would conduce to this error. When Plato appeared, the uncertainty of human knowledge, and the continual illusions of the senses were acknowledged, and had given rise to a general skepticism. Socrates had aimed at raising morality above the influence of this skepticism: Plato endeavored to save metaphysics, by seeking in the human intellect a source of certainty which the senses could not furnish. He invented the system of innate ideas, of which the aggregate formed, according to him, the ideal world, and affirmed that these ideas were real attributes, not only attached to our conceptions of objects, but to the nature of the objects themselves; a nature of which from them we might obtain a knowledge. He gave, then, to these ideas a positive existence as attributes: his commentators could easily give them a real existence as substances; especially as the terms which he used to designate them, *ἀυτο τοκάλον*, *ἀυτο τὸ ἀγαθον*, essential beauty, essential goodness, lent themselves to this substantialization (hypostasis). —Guizot.

We have retained this view of the original philosophy of Plato, in which there is probably much truth. The genius of Plato was rather metaphysical than impersonative: his poetry was in his language, rather than, like that of the Orientals, in his conceptions.—Milman.

In a very profound disquisition, M. Guizot has endeavored to show, that "the "true meaning of Plato's philosophical writings is here not presented to us," and that "in no part of them is there any real personification of the pretended beings "who are said to form his trinity." Yet he admits that most of Plato's interpreters, as well ancient as modern, have been betrayed into this error, by the very nature of his doctrine, by the ambiguities of his figurative style, and by dwelling on detached passages, instead of comprehending all his ideas in one entire system. The question, however, is not how Plato's words ought to be interpreted, but how they were understood at the period of which Gibbon was writing. M. Guizot has confessed that the Greek philosopher was then and has been since generally considered to have personified or substantialized his three principles. This may have been an error, but the fact justifies Gibbon.—Eng. Ch.

As none can comprehend the mystery of the Trinity—which is intended to be believed and not understood—it affords an admirable theme for endless discussion among learned theologians; and the doctrine of the triad—of the trinity in unity—is equally opposed to human reason, whether it originated in Egypt or in Greece – with the monks of Alexandria, or of Rome.

Ludwig Feuerbach, in his *Essence of Christianity*, became puzzled in striving to unravel the subject, *because*, "Imagination gives the *Trinity*, reason the *Unity* "of the persons;" *because*, "The idea of the Trinity demands that man should "think the opposite of what he imagines, and imagine the opposite of what he "thinks;" *because*, "The three persons of the Christian Godhead are not *tres* "*Dii*, three Gods;—at least they are not meant to be such;—but *unus Deus*, one "God. The three Persons end, not, as might have been expected, in a plural, "but in a singular; they are not only *Unum*—the Gods of Olympus are that—but "*Unus*. Unity has here the significance not of essence only, but also of existence; "unity is the existential form of God. Three are one: the plural is a singular. "God is a personal being consisting of three persons." The great reformer, Martin Luther, suggests the only explanation possible or necessary when he plainly asks (Luther, t. x. iv. p. 13), "How can reason bring itself into accord with "this, or believe, that three is one and one is three?"—E.

andria.[13] A numerous colony of Jews had been invited, by the favor of the Ptolemies, to settle in their new capital.[14] While the bulk of the nation practiced the legal ceremonies, and pursued the lucrative occupations of commerce, a few Hebrews, of a more liberal spirit, devoted their lives to

13 Brucker, *Hist. Philosoph.* tom. i. pp. 1349–1357. The Alexandrian school is celebrated by *Strabo* (l. xvii.) and *Ammianus* (xxii. 6).*

14 Josephi. *Antiquitat.* xl. ii. c. i, 3. Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, l. vii. c. 7.†

* The philosophy of Plato was not the only source of that professed in the school of Alexandria. That city, in which Greek, Jewish, and Egyptian men of letters were assembled, was the scene of a strange fusion of the system of these three people. The Greek brought a Platonism, already much changed; the Jews, who had acquired at Babylon a great number of Oriental notions, and whose theological opinions had undergone great changes by this intercourse, endeavored to reconcile Platonism with their new doctrine, and disfigured it entirely; lastly, the Egyptians, who were not willing to abandon notions for which the Greeks themselves entertained respect, endeavored on their side to reconcile their own with those of their neighbors. It is in *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Wisdom of Solomon* that we trace the influence of Oriental philosophy rather than that of Platonism. We find in these books, and in those of the later prophets, as in Ezekiel, notions unknown to the Jews before the Babylonian captivity, of which we do not discover the germ in Plato, but which are manifestly derived from the Orientals. Thus God represented under the image of light, and the principle of evil under that of darkness; the history of the good and bad angels; paradise and hell, &c., are doctrines of which the origin, or least the positive determination, can only be referred to the Oriental philosophy. Plato supposed matter eternal; the Orientals and the Jews considered it as a creation of God, who alone was eternal. It is impossible to explain the philosophy of the Alexandrian school solely by the blending of the Jewish theology with the Greek philosophy. The Oriental philosophy, however little it may be known, is recognized at every instant. Thus, according to the *Zend Avesta*, it is by the Word (honover) more ancient than the world, that Ormuzd created the universe.‡ This word is the *logos* of Philo, consequently very different from that of Plato. I have shown that Plato never personified the logos as the ideal archetype of the world: Philo ventured this personification. The Deity, according to him, has a double logos; the first (λόγος ενδιάθετος) is the ideal archetype of the world, the ideal world, the *first-born* of the Deity; the second (λόγος προφόρικο) is the word itself of God, personified under the image of a being acting to create the sensible world, and to make it like to the ideal world: it is the second born of God. Following out his imaginations, Philo went so far as to personify anew the ideal world, under the image of a celestial man (ὁυράνιος ἄνφρωπος), the primitive type of man, and the sensible world under the image of another man less perfect than the celestial man. Certain notions of the Oriental philosophy may have given rise to this strange abuse of allegory, which it is sufficient to relate, to show what alterations Platonism had already undergone, and what was their source. Philo, moreover, of all the Jews of Alexandria, is the one whose Platonism is the most pure. (See Buhle, Introd. to *Hist. of Mod. Philosophy.* Michaelis, Introd. to *New Test.* in German, part ii. p. 973.) It is from this mixture of Orientalism, Platonism, and Judaism, that Gnosticism arose, which has produced so many theological and philosophical extravagancies, and in which oriental notions evidently predominate.—GUIZOT.

† According to Josephus, they were also settled at Cyrene.—ENG. CH.

‡ "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word "was God." *St. John*, c. i. v. 1.

M. Guizot, assisted by Milman, could possibly have explained wherein this text of the inspired apostle differs from the "oriental philosophy" of the *Zend Avesta;* and yet, it cannot be denied that the Indian trimurti or trinity—Brahma, the Creator; Vishnu, the Preserver; and Siva, the Destroyer; and also the triad of Plato—the *Supreme Good*, the *Reason*, and the *Soul*—bear a striking resemblance to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. As both these Heathen or Pagan beliefs antedate Christianity, it cannot be proven that they are copied from our sacred writings, and to admit that they are the original sources from which our belief was descended, would be fatal to the claim of inspiration on which the Christian religion is founded.—E.

religious and philosophical contemplation.[15] They cultivated with diligence, and embraced with ardor, the theological system of the Athenian sage. But their national pride would have been mortified by a fair confession of their former poverty: and they boldly marked, as the sacred inheritance of their ancestors, the gold and jewels which they had so lately stolen from their Egyptian masters. One hundred years before the birth of Christ, a philosophical treatise, which manifestly betrays the style and sentiments of the school of Plato, was produced by the Alexandrian Jews, and unanimously received as a genuine and valuable relic of the inspired wisdom of Solomon.[16] A similar union of the Mosaic faith and the Grecian philosophy distinguishes the works of Philo,* which

Before Christ. 100.

[15] For the origin of the Jewish philosophy, see Eusebius, *Præparat. Evangel.* viii. 9, 10. According to Philo, the Theraputæ studied philosophy; and Brucker has proved (*Hist. Philosoph.* tom. ii. p. 787) that they gave the preference to that of Plato.

[16] See Calmet, *Dissertations sur la Bible*, tom. ii. p. 277. The book of the *Wisdom of Solomon* was received by many of the fathers as the work of that monarch; and although rejected by the Protestants for want of a Hebrew original, it has obtained, with the rest of the *Vulgate*, the sanction of the council of Trent.

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* In Chap. IX. of *The Diegesis*, the Rev. Robt. Taylor gives a careful sketch of Philo-Judæus, and shows the remarkable resemblance between modern Christianity and the religious community of which Philo was a member. "1. Having "parishes, 2. Churches, 3. Bishops, priests, and deacons; 4. Observing the "grand festivals of Christianity; 5. Pretending to have had *apostolic* founders; "6. Practicing the very manners that distinguished the immediate apostles of "Christ; 7. Using Scriptures which they believed to be divinely inspired, 8. And "which Eusebius himself believed to be none other than the substance of our "Gospels; 9. And the selfsame allegorical method of interpreting those Scriptures, which has since obtained among Christians; 10. And the selfsame "manner and order of performing public worship; 11. And having missionary "stations or colonies—of their community established in Rome, Corinth, Galatia, "Ephesus, Philippi, Colosse, and Thessalonica; precisely such, and in such circumstances, as those addressed by St. Paul, in his respective epistles to the "Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians; and 12. Answering to every circumstance described of the state and "discipline of the first community of Christians, *to the very letter;* 13. And all "this, as nothing new in Philo's time, but of *then* long-established notoriety and "venerable antiquity: yet Philo, who wrote before Josephus, and gave this particular description of Egyptian monkery, when Jesus Christ, if such a person "had ever existed, was not above ten years of age, and at least fifty years, before "the existence of any Christian writing whatever, has never once thrown out the "remotest hint, that he had ever heard of the existence of Christ, of Christianity, "or of Christians."

"Here then have we, in the cities of Egypt, and in the deserts of Thebais, the "whole already established system of ecclesiastical polity, its hierarchy of bishops, "its subordinate clergy, the selfsame sacred scriptures, the selfsame allegorical "method of interpreting those scriptures, so convenient to admit of the evasion "or amendment from time to time, of any defects that criticism might discover "in them; the same doctrines, rites, ceremonies, festivals, discipline, psalms, "repeated in alternate verses by the minister and the congregation, epistles and "gospels—in a word, the *every-thing*, and every iota of Christianity, previously "existing from time immemorial, and certainly known to have been in existence, "and as such, recorded and detailed by an historian of unquestioned veracity, "living and writing at least fifty years before the earliest date that Christian "historians have assigned to any Christian document whatever."—E.

were composed, for the most part, under the reign of Augustus.[17] The material soul of the universe[18] might offend the piety of the Hebrews: but they applied the character of the *Logos* to the Jehovah of Moses and the patriarchs: and the Son of God was introduced upon earth under a visible and even human appearance, to perform those familiar offices which seem incompatible with the nature and attributes of the universal cause.[19]

17 The Platonism of Philo, which was famous to a proverb, is proved beyond a doubt by Le Clerc (*Epist. Crit.* viii. pp. 211–228). Basnage (*Hist. des Juifs*, l. iv. c. 5) has clearly ascertained, that the theological works of Philo were composed before the death, and most probably before the birth, of Christ. In such a time of darkness, the knowledge of Philo is more astonishing than his errors. Bull, *Defens. Fid. Nicen.* s. i. c. i. p. 12.*

18 Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore *miscet*.

Besides this material soul, Cudworth has discovered (p. 562) in Amelius, Porphyry, Plotinus, and, as he thinks, in Plato himself, a superior, spiritual, *supercosmian* soul of the universe. But this double soul is exploded by Brucker, Basnage, and Le Clerc, as an idle fancy of the latter Platonists.

19 Patav. *Dogmata Theologica*, tom. iii. l. vii. c. 2, p. 791. Bull, *Defens. Fid Nicen.* s. i. c. l. pp. 8, 13. This notion, till it was abused by the Arians, was freely adopted in the Christian theology. Tertullian (ad. *Praxeam*, c. 16) has a remarkable and dangerous passage. After contrasting, with indiscreet wit, the nature of God, and the actions of Jehovah, he concludes: Scilicet ut hæc de filio Dei non credenda fuisse, si nonscripta essent; fortasse non credenda de Patre licet scripta.‡

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* Gibbon's accuracy is here again impugned by M. Guizot, who contends that "the philosophy taught in the schools of Alexandria† was not derived from that "of Plato alone, but from a bewildering confusion of Jewish, Greek, and Egyptian "systems," and that the first of these consisted of "oriental notions acquired at "Babylon." From these he maintains that Philo took his *Logos*, which "is con- "sequently very different from that of Plato," and that his "sensible and ideal "worlds" are borrowed from the same source. This still evades the main question, which is, not how the opinions of *a few Jews* may have been tinctured by Chaldæan or Magian fancies; but how the *general mind of educated Greeks* was affected when the knowledge of a spiritual Deity, worshiped by the Hebrew race, mingled with and gave precisenesss and consistency to the imperfect notions of such a Being, which their philosophy had created. From this point, attention should not be withdrawn by apocryphal episodes or slight shades of difference. M. Guizot has trusted too much to Mosheim's fallacious "oriental philosophy." It was not there that Philo found his "sensible and ideal worlds," but in Aristotle's *εἰδῆ αἰσθητὰ* and *εἰδῆ νοητὰ*. (*Met. Zeta.* c. 7, et passim) The chief of the Peripatetics is here strangely overlooked or kept in the background.—E. C.

† "This PHILOSOPHY," says Rev. Robt. Taylor, "comprehended the *Epicureans*, "who maintained that wisely consulted *pleasure*, was the ultimate end of man; "the *Academics*, who placed the height of wisdom in doubt and skepticism; "the *Stoics*, who maintained a fortitude indifferent to all events; the *Aristotelians*, "who held the most subtle disputations concerning God, religion, and the social "duties; the *Platonists*, from their master, *Plato*, who taught the immortality of "the soul, the doctrine of the trinity, of the manifestation of a divine man, who "should be crucified, and the eternal rewards and punishments of a future life; "and from all these resulting, the *Eclectics*, who, as their name signifies, *elected*, "and chose what they held to be wise and rational, out of the tenets of *all* sects, "and rejected whatever was considered futile and pernicious. The Eclectics "held Plato in the highest reverence. Their college or chief establishment was "at *Alexandria* in Egypt. The most indubitable testimonies prove, that *this* "Philosophy was in a flourishing state, at the period assigned to the birth of "Christ. The Eclectics are the same as the Therapeuts or Essenes of Philo, and "in every rational sense that can be attached to the word, they were the authors "and real founders of Christianity."—E.

‡ Tertullian is here arguing against the Patripassians; those who asserted that the Father was of the Virgin, died and was buried. —MILMAN.

These things surely could not have been believed of the Son of God, had they not been written; and are perhaps not to be believed of the Father, although written.—Translation by ENG. CH.

Revealed by the Apostle St. John. A. D. 97.

The eloquence of Plato, the name of Solomon, the authority of the school of Alexandria, and the consent of the Jews and Greeks, were insufficient to establish the truth of a mysterious doctrine, which might please, but could not satisfy a rational mind. A prophet, or apostle, inspired by the Deity, can alone exercise a lawful dominion over the faith of mankind; and the theology of Plato might have been forever confounded with the philosophical visions of the Academy, the Porch, and the Lyceum, if the name and divine attributes of the *Logos* had not been confirmed by the celestial pen of the last and most sublime of the evangelists.[20] The Christian revelation,

[20] The Platonists admired the beginning of the *Gospel of St. John*, as containing an exact transcript of their own principles. Augustin, *de Civitat. Dei*, x. 29. *Amelius apud Cyril advers. Julian.* l. viii. p. 283. But in the third and fourth centuries, the Platonists of Alexandria might improve their Trinity, by the secret study of the Christian theology.*

* A short discussion on the sense in which St. John has used the word Logos will prove that he has not borrowed it from the philosophy of Plato. The evangelist adopts this word without previous explanation, as a term with which his contemporaries were already familiar, and which they could at once comprehend. To know the sense which he gave to it, we must inquire that which it generally bore in his time. We find two: the one attached to the word *logos* by the Jews of Palestine, the other by the school of Alexandria, particularly by Philo. The Jews had feared at all times to pronounce the name of Jehovah; they had formed a habit of designating God by one of his attributes; they called him sometimes Wisdom, sometimes the Word. *By the word of the Lord were the heavens made.* (*Psalm* xxxiii. 6.) Accustomed to allegories, they often addressed themselves to this attribute of the Deity as a real being. Solomon makes Wisdom say, "The "Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old. I "was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was." (*Prov.* viii. 22, 23.) Their residence in Persia only increased this inclination to sustained allegories. In the *Ecclesiasticus* of the son of Sirach, and the *Book of Wisdom*, we find allegorical descriptions of Wisdom like the following: "I came out of "the mouth of the Most High: I covered the earth as a cloud; * * * I alone "compassed the circuit of heaven, and walked in the bottom of the deep * * * "The Creator created me from the beginning, before the world, and I shall never "fail." (*Eccles.* xxiv. 35-39.) See also the *Wisdom of Solomon*, c. vii. v. 9. [The latter book is clearly Alexandrian.—MILMAN.] We see from this that the Jews understood from the Hebrew and Chaldaic words which signify Wisdom, the Word, and which were translated into Greek by *σοφία*, *λόγος*, a simple attribute of the Deity, allegorically personified, but of which they did not make a real particular being, separate from the Deity.

The school of Alexandria, on the contrary, and Philo among the rest, mingling Greek with Jewish and Oriental notions, and abandoning himself to his inclination to mysticism, personified the *logos* and represented it (see note preceding) as a distinct being, created by God, and intermediate between God and man. This is the second *logos* of Philo (*λόγος προφόρικος*) that which acts from the beginning of the world, alone in its kind (*μονολένης*), creator of the sensible world (*κόσμος αισθητὸς*), formed by God according to the ideal world (*κασμος κόητος*), which he had in himself, and which was the first logos (*ὁ ἀνωτάτω*), the first born (*ὁ πρισβύτερος νῖος*) of the Deity. The *logos* taken in this sense, then, was a created being, but anterior to the creation of the world, near to God, and charged with his revelations to mankind.

Which of these two senses is that which St. John intended to assign to the word logos in the first chapter of his *Gospel*, and in all his writings?

St. John was a Jew, born and educated in Palestine; he had no knowledge, at least very little, of the philosophy of the Greeks, and that of the Grecizing Jews; he would naturally, then, attach to the word *logos* the sense attached to it by the

which was consummated under the reign of Nerva, disclosed to the world the amazing secret, that the *Logos*, who was with God from the beginning, and was God, who had made all things, and for whom all things had been made, was incarnate in the person of Jesus of Nazareth; who had been born of a virgin, and suffered death on the cross. Besides the general design of fixing on a perpetual basis the divine honors of Christ, the most ancient and respectable of the

Jews of Palestine. If, in fact, we compare the attributes which he assigns to the *logos* with those which are assigned to it in *Proverbs*, in the *Wisdom of Solomon*, in *Ecclesiasticus*, we shall see that they are the same. The Word was in the world, and the world was made by him; in him was life, and the life was the light of men (c. i. v. 10–14). It is impossible not to trace in this chapter the ideas which the Jews had formed of the allegorized logos. The evangelist afterwards really personifies that which his predecessors have personified only poetically; for he affirms "*that the Word became flesh*" (v. 14). It was to prove this that he wrote. Closely examined, the ideas which he gives of the *logos* cannot agree with those of Philo and the school of Alexandria; they correspond, on the contrary, with those of the Jews of Palestine. Perhaps St. John, employing a well-known term to explain a doctrine which was yet unknown, has slightly altered the sense; it is the alteration which we appear to discover on comparing different passages of his writings.

It is worthy of remark, that the Jews of Palestine, who did not perceive this alteration, could find nothing extraordinary in what St. John said of the Logos; at least they comprehended it without difficulty, while the Greeks and Grecizing Jews, on their part, brought to it prejudices and preconceptions easily reconciled with those of the evangelist, who did not expressly contradict them. This circumstance must have much favored the progress of Christianity. Thus the fathers of the church in the two first centuries and later, formed almost all in the school of Alexandria, gave to the Logos of St. John a sense nearly similar to that which it received from Philo. Their doctrine approached very near to that which in the fourth century the council of Nice condemned in the person of Arius.—G.

M. Guizot has forgotten the long residence of St. John at Ephesus, the centre of the mingling opinions of the East and West, which were gradually growing up into Gnosticism. (See Matter. *Hist. du Gnosticisme*, vol. i. p. 154.) St. John's sense of the Logos seems as far removed from the simple allegory ascribed to the Palestinian Jews as from the Oriental impersonation of the Alexandrian. The simple truth may be, that St. John took the familiar term, and, as it were, infused into it the peculiar and Christian sense in which it is used in his writings.—M.

In a long note, M. Guizot has here taken great pains to make it appear that "St. John did not borrow his *Logos* from the philosophy of Plato." He asserts that, in the time of the evangelist, this term had only two meanings, one "adopted "by the Jews of Palestine, and the other by the school of Alexandria, especially "Philo." Of the first he finds proofs in such expressions as the "Word of the "Lord," (*Ps.* 33, v. 6), and in the description of Wisdom (*Prov.* c. 8, v. 22, 23), forgetting that the two royal authors, to whom he refers, lived six hundred years before Plato; and he relies equally on similar passages in *Ecclesiasticus* (c. 24, v. 3, 5, 9, 20), and the *Book of Wisdom* (c. 7 and 9), the last of which, Dean Milman, in his comment on this note, reminds him, was not produced in Palestine, but "is clearly Alexandrian." On the other hand, M. Guizot takes no account of the several Greek schools, the Old Academy, or direct followers of Plato; the New Academy, or disciples of Carneades, and the Peripatetic adherents of Aristotle, all of whom had their *Logos*, agreeing in some points and differing in others. These had teachers in every city, and studied not only the works of their two great masters and those of Xenophon, which we now possess, but also the sixty treatises of Xenocrates and others, which have since been lost. For some time Antioch continued to be the centre of Christian energy. After going forth from that city to preach to the Gentiles, Paul and Barnabus returning thither, reported their success to those "by whom they had been recommended to the grace of "God for the work which they fulfilled," and projected with them future missions (*Acts*, c. 14, v. 26, 28; c. 15, v. 36). It is evident, therefore, that Plato's *Logos* was well known to the educated Greeks, among whom the new faith was introduced. Of this M. Guizot affirms, that "St. John knew nothing or very little," although he had lived sixty years in the midst of it, and, as pointed out by Dean Milman,

ecclesiastical writers have ascribed to the evangelic theologian, a particular intention to confute two opposite heresies, which disturbed the peace of the primitive church.[21] I. The faith of the Ebionites,[22] perhaps of the Nazarenes,[23] was gross and imperfect. They revered Jesus as the greatest of the prophets, endowed with supernatural virtue and power. They ascribed to his person and to his future reign all the predictions of the Hebrew oracles which relate to the spiritual and everlasting kingdom of the promised Messiah.[24] Some of them might

The Ebionites and Docetes.

[21] See Beausobre, *Hist. Critique du Manicheisme*, tom i. p. 377. The *Gospel according to St. John* is supposed to have been published about seventy years after the death of Christ.

[22] The sentiments of the Ebionites are fairly stated by Mosheim (p. 331) and Le Clerc (*Hist. Eccles.* p. 535). The *Clementines*, published among the apostolical fathers, are attributed by the critics to one of these sectaries.

[23] Staunch polemics, like Bull (Judicium, *Eccles. Cathol.* c. 2), insist on the orthodoxy of the Nazarenes; which appears less pure and certain in the eyes of Mosheim (p. 330).

[24] The humble condition and sufferings of Jesus have always been a stumbling block to the Jews. "Deus * * * contrariis coloribus Messiam depinxerat; "futurus, erat Rex, Judex, Pastor," &c. See *Limborch et Orobio Amica Collat.* pp. 8, 19, 53–76, 192–234. But this objection has obliged the believing Christians to lift up their eyes to a spiritual and everlasting kingdom.

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had long resided "at Ephesus, the centre of the mingling opinions of the East "and the West." It was not till after this, and when he was ninety years old, that his gospel was written; and then, we learn from Jerome, (Prologue to his *Commentary on Matthew*), and Chrysostom (Introd. to his *Homilies on Matthew*, and again, fourth *Homily on John*), the importunities of the Asiatic bishops obtained, from the last surviving apostle, a confirmation of their faith. "*Coactus* "*est*," are the words of Jerome, "de Divinitate Salvatoris altius scribere." There are other mistakes in M. Guizot's note, on which it is not necessary to dilate. He concludes, however, by admitting, that the philosophy of the age "greatly favored the progress of Christianity, although during the two first cen- "turies, the fathers of the church were led by it to a doctrine tending to that "which was afterwards held by Arius."—ENG. CH.

M. Guizot has wasted many words in explaining the difference between the Pagan and original *Logos* of Plato; the copied or borrowed *Logos* of Philo; and, (as he believes), the genuine, Christian *Logos* of St. John. We have thus a Trinity of these phantasms—substantially the same, yet still possessing technical shades of difference, sufficient for immediate and positive identification. It is in such hair-splitting controversies that theologians acquire fame and fortune; and the contestant who, in these sectarian tournaments, uses the greatest number of words to express the fewest possible ideas, is ultimately crowned with the laurel wreath of victory.

The *Logos* of Plato is undoubtedly the oldest—the original—of which the others are copies, and if the originator of a system does not comprehend its meaning, to whom must we apply for a definition?

Philo, the Jew, differs from Plato, the Greek, only as one sectarian differs from another, and St. John, the Apostle, who wrote later than either, differs in the same manner from both. Still, the original idea, coined in Plato's brain centuries before the Christian era, pervades the writings of both his followers; and if there be any merit in asserting, in the language of St. John, that "In the beginning was the *Word*, and the *Word* was with God, and the *Word* was God," and that this Trinity of *Words*, or God, was *Logos*, or the Son incarnate, let us honestly award the honor to the Athenian sage, who deserves, by the right of original invention, all the fame that may accrue from his incomprehensible, metaphysical abstraction, which comprizes three gods—"the First Cause, the reason or *Logos*, "and the Soul or Spirit of the universe—united with each other by a mysterious "and ineffable generation:"—these *three* persons forming *one* essence, or Trinity, in the Platonic philosophy, precisely as the *three* persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, form *one* Triune God in the Christian theology.—E.

confess that he was born of a virgin; but they obstinately rejected the preceding existence and divine perfections of the *Logos*, or Son of God, which are so clearly defined in the Gospel of St. John. About fifty years afterwards, the Ebionites, whose errors are mentioned by Justin Martyr with less severity than they seem to deserve,[25] formed a very inconsiderable portion of the Christian name. II. The Gnostics, who were distinguished by the epithet of *Docetes*, deviated into the contrary extreme; and betrayed the human, while they asserted the divine, nature of Christ.

[25] Justin Martyr. *Dialog. cum Tryphonte*, pp. 143, 144. See Le Clerc, *Hist. Eccles.* p. 615. Bull and his editor Grabe (*Judicium Eccles. Cathol.* c. 7, and Appendix), attempt to distort either the sentiments or the words of Justin; but their violent correction of the text is rejected even by the Benedictine editors.*

* The greater part of the Docetæ rejected the true divinity of Jesus Christ, as well as his human nature. They belonged to the Gnostics, whom philosophers, in whose party Gibbon has enlisted, make to derive their opinions from those of Plato. These philosophers did not consider that Platonism had undergone continual alterations, and that those which gave it some analogy with the notions of the Gnostics were later in their origin than most of the sects comprehended under this name. Mosheim has proved (in his *Instit. Histor. Eccles. Major.* s. i p. 136, sqq and p. 339, sqq.), that the oriental philosophy, combined with the cabalistical philosophy of the Jews, had given birth to Gnosticism. The relations which exist between this doctrine and the records which remain to us of that of the Orientals, the Chaldean, and Persian, have been the source of the errors of the Gnostic Christians, who wished to reconcile their ancient notions with their new belief. It is on this account that, denying the human nature of Christ, they also denied his intimate union with God, and took him for one of the substances (æons) created by God. As they believed in the eternity of matter, and considered it to be the principle of evil, in opposition to the Deity, the first cause and principle of good, they were unwilling to admit that one of the pure substances, one of the æons which came forth from God, had, by partaking in the material nature, allied himself to the principle of evil; and this was their motive for rejecting the real humanity of Jesus Christ. See Ch. G. F. Walch, *Hist. of Heresies*, in Germ. t. i. p 217, sqq. Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Phil* ii. p. 639.—Guizot.

Some modifications of Platonism had undoubtedly been made in the course of four centuries, especially by the New Academy; but its fundamental principles remained the same, and to a certain extent, even the school of Aristotle was but one of its branches. In the Augustan era, this philosophy became more widely known, and had more various constructions put on its mysterious doctrines. This, as observed in a former note, gave rise to Gnosticism, in the fifty sub-divisions of which there must have been such a medley of opinions, that some might be picked out of them to suit any theory. We must look only at the broad facts of the case. If Mosheim's idea had been correct, Gnosticism ought to have prevailed most in Palestine. Instead of this, its adherents "were almost without "exception of the race of the Gentiles;" they were the most anti-Jewish, too, in their notions, denying the "divine legation" of Moses, disputing and even ridiculing many portions of the Hebrew scriptures, and severely criticising the history of the people. On the other hand, he has greatly overrated the influence of oriental philosophy, which few but himself have been able to perceive. (See the note of his English translator, Inst. of *Ecc. Hist.* v. i, p. 68.) Some infusion of it there may have been. But when Manes tried this more copiously, it was a secondary object with him to form a Christian sect; his first was, to construct a Christianity which the Persians might receive. (*Beausobre*, l. 2, c. 2, p. 179.) It can then have been only from various constructions of their own philosophy, that "the most polite, the most learned, and the most wealthy" of the Christian Greeks derived those tenets, to which the appellation of Gnosticism was given. If, at an after period, Ammonius Saccus† conformed to any of these his New Platonism, which is apparently the later change alluded to by M. Guizot, this indicates more clearly the original source.—Eng. Ch.

† Ammonius Saccus, the tutor of Origen, was the gentleman who taught that "Christianity and Paganism, when rightly understood, were one and the same "religion." See note on page 125.—E.

Educated in the school of Plato, accustomed to the sublime idea of the *Logos*, they readily conceived that the brightest *Æon*, or *Emanation* of the Deity, might assume the outward shape and visible appearances of a mortal ;[26] but they vainly pretended, that the imperfections of matter are incompatible with the purity of a celestial substance. While the blood of Christ yet smoked on Mount Calvary, the Docetes invented the impious and extravagant hypothesis, that, instead of issuing from the womb of the Virgin,[27] he had descended on the banks of the Jordan in the form of perfect manhood ; that he had imposed on the senses of his enemies, and of his disciples ; and that the ministers of Pilate had wasted their impotent rage on an airy phantom, who *seemed* to expire on the cross, and, after three days, to rise from the dead.[28]

Mysterious nature of the Trinity.

The divine sanction, which the Apostle had bestowed on the fundamental principle of the theology of Plato, encouraged the learned proselytes of the second and third centuries to admire and study the writings of the Athenian sage, who had thus marvellously anticipated one of the most surprising discoveries of

[26] The Arians reproached the orthodox party with borrowing their Trinity from the Valentinians and Marcionites. See Beausobre, *Hist. du Manich.*, l. iii. c. 5, 7.

[27] Non dignum est ux utero credere Deum, et Deum Christum * * * non dignum est ut tanta majestas per sordes et squalores mulieris transire credatur. The Gnostics asserted the impurity of matter and of marriage ; and they were scandalized by the gross interpretations of the fathers, and even of Augustin himself. See *Beausobre*, tom. ii. p. 523.

[28] Apostolis adhuc in sæculo superstitibus apud Judæam Christi sanguine recente, et *phantasma* corpus Domini asserebatur. Cotelerius thinks (*Patres Apostol.* tom. ii. p. 24) that those who will not allow the *Docetes* to have arisen in the time of the Apostles, may with equal reason deny that the sun shines at noonday. These *Docetes*, who formed the most considerable party among the Gnostics, were so called, because they granted only a *seeming* body to Christ.*

* The name of Docetæ was given to these sectaries only in the course of the second century ; this name did not designate a sect, properly so called ; it applied to all the sects who taught the non-reality of the material body of Christ ; of this number were the Valentinians, the Basilidians, the Ophites, the Marcionites (against whom Tertullian wrote his book, *De Carne Christi*), and other Gnostics. In truth, Clement of Alexandria (l. iii. *Strom.* c. 13, p. 552) makes express mention of a sect of Docetæ, and even names as one of its heads a certain Cassianus ; but everything leads us to believe that it was not a distinct sect. Philastrius (de *Hæres*, c. 31) reproaches Saturninus with being a Docete. Irenæus (adv. *Hær.* c. 23) make the same reproach against Basilides. Epiphanius and Philastrius, who have treated in detail on each particular heresy, do not specially name that of the Docetæ. Serapion, bishop of Antioch (Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* l. vi. c. 12), and Clement of Alexandria (l. vii. *Strom.* p. 900), appear to be the first who have used the generic name. It is not found in any earlier record, though the error which it points out existed even in the time of the Apostles. (See Ch. G. F. Walch, *Hist. of Her.* v. i. p. 283. Tillemont, *Mém. pour servir à la Hist. Eccles.* ii. p. 50. *Buddæus de Eccles. Apost.* c. 5, § 7.—GUIZOT.

Gibbon's words do not imply, that the Docetes were a separate sect, but that the term denoted the holders of an opinion, common to the largest portion of the fifty sects into which Gnosticism was divided. The early origin and philosophical character of these variations of Christianity are here placed beyond all doubt.—E. C.

the Christian revelation. The respectable name of Plato was used by the orthodox,[29] and abused by the heretics,[30] as the common support of truth and error: the authority of his skillful commentators, and the science of dialectics, were employed to justify the remote consequences of his opinions and to supply the discreet silence of the inspired writers. The same subtle and profound questions concerning the nature, the generation, the distinction, and the equality of the three divine persons of the mysterious *Triad*, or *Trinity*,[31] were agitated in the philosophical and in the Christian schools of Alexandria. An eager spirit of curiosity urged them to explore the secrets of the abyss; and the pride of the professors, and of their disciples, was satisfied with the science of words. But the most sagacious of the Christian theologians, the great Athanasius himself, has candidly confessed,[32] that whenever he forced his understanding to meditate on the divinity of the *Logos*, his toilsome and unavailing efforts recoiled on themselves; that the more he thought, the less he comprehended: and the more he wrote the less capable was he of expressing his thoughts.† In every step of the inquiry, we are compelled to feel and acknowledge the immeasurable disproportion between the size of the object and the capacity of the human mind. We may strive to abstract the notions of time, of space, and of matter, which so closely adhere to all

29 Some proofs of the respect which the Christians entertained for the person and doctrine of Plato may be found in *De la Mothe le Vayer*, tom. v. p. 135, &c., edit. 1757; and Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, tom. iv. pp. 29, 70, &c.*

30 Doleo bona fide, Platonem omnium hæreticorum condimentarium factum. Tertullian. de *Anima*, c. 23. Petavius (*Dogm. Theolog.* tom. iii. proleg. 2) shows that this was a general complaint. *Beausobre* (tom. i. l. iii. c. 9, 10) has deduced the Gnostic errors from Platonic principles; and as, in the school of Alexandria, those principles were blended with the Oriental philosophy (*Brucker*, tom. i. p. 1356), the sentiment of Beausobre may be reconciled with the opinion of Mosheim (*General History of the Church*, vol. i. p. 37).

31 If Theophilus, bishop of Antioch (see Dupin, *Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique*, tom. i. p. 66), was the first who employed the word *Triad*, *Trinity*, that abstract term, which was already familiar to the schools of philosophy, must have been introduced into the theology of the Christians after the middle of the second century.

32 *Athanasius*, tom. i. p. 808. His expressions have an uncommon energy: and as he was writing to monks, there could not be any occasion for him to *affect* a rational language.

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* They studied the Greek philosophers *before* they became Christians, and used them in training others to believe. Examples of this have been given in former notes, to which many more might be added.—ENG. CH.

† This curious statement of the great Athanasius, may be considered as an emphatic warning for believers in the mysterious *Logos*, not to investigate, not to reason, not to think. For the fact that the more this original and indomitable advocate of trinitarianism thought on the subject, the less he comprehended, shows that earnest and sincere thought is the enemy of belief, and that reason and investigation lead even orthodox believers into heretical doubt, if not positive unbelief.—E.

the perceptions of our experimental knowledge; but as soon as we presume to reason of infinite substance, of spiritual generation; as often as we deduce any positive conclusions from a negative idea, we are involved in darkness, perplexity, and inevitable contradiction. As these difficulties arise from the nature of the subject, they oppress, with the same insuperable weight, the philosophic and the theological disputant; but we may observe two essential and peculiar circumstances, which discriminated the doctrines of the Catholic church from the opinions of the Platonic school.

Zeal of the Christians.

I. A chosen society of philosophers, men of a liberal education and curious disposition, might silently meditate, and temperately discuss in the gardens of Athens or the library of Alexandria, the abstruse questions of metaphysical science. The lofty speculations, which neither convinced the understanding, nor agitated the passions, of the Platonists themselves, were carelessly overlooked by the idle, the busy, and even the studious part of mankind.[33] But after the *Logos* had been revealed as the sacred object of the faith, the hope, and the religious worship of the Christians, the mysterious system was embraced by a numerous and increasing multitude in every province of the Roman world. Those persons who, from their age, or sex, or occupations, were the least qualified to judge, who were the least exercised in the habits of abstract reasoning, aspired to contemplate the economy of the divine nature; and it is the boast of Tertullian,[34] that a Christian mechanic could readily answer such questions as had perplexed the wisest of the Grecian sages. Where the subject lies so far beyond our reach, the difference between the highest and the lowest of human understandings may indeed be calculated as infinitely small; yet the degree of weakness may perhaps be measured by the degree of obstinacy and dogmatic confidence. These speculations, instead of being treated as the amusement of a vacant hour, became the most serious business of the present, and the most useful preparation for a future life. A theology, which it was incumbent to believe, which it was impious to doubt, and which it might

[33] In a treatise, which professed to explain the opinions of the ancient philosophers concerning the nature of the gods, we might expect to discover the theological Trinity of Plato. But Cicero very honestly confessed, that although he had translated the *Timæus*, he could never understand that mysterious dialogue. See *Hieronym.* præf. ad. l. xii. in *Isaiam*, tom. v. p. 154.

[34] Tertullian, in *Apolog.* c. 46. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, au mot *Simonide*. His remarks on the presumption of Tertullian are profound and interesting.

be dangerous, and even fatal, to mistake, became the familiar topic of private meditation and popular discourse. The cold indifference of philosophy was inflamed by the fervent spirit of devotion; and even the metaphors of common language suggested the fallacious prejudices of sense and experience. The Christians, who abhorred the gross and impure generation of the Greek mythology,[35] were tempted to argue from the familiar analogy of the filial and paternal relations. The character of *Son* seemed to imply a perpetual subordination to the voluntary author of his existence;[36] but as the act of generation, in the most spiritual and abstracted sense, must be supposed to transmit the properties of a common nature,[37] they durst not presume to circumscribe the powers or the duration of the Son of an eternal and omnipotent Father. Fourscore years after the death of Christ, the Christians of Bithynia declared before the tribunal of Pliny, that they invoked him as a God; and his divine honors have been perpetuated in every age and country, by the various sects who assume the name of his disciples.[38] Their tender reverence for the memory of Christ, and their horror for the profane worship of any created being, would have engaged them to assert the equal and absolute divinity of the *Logos*, if their rapid ascent towards the throne of heaven had not been imperceptibly checked by the apprehension of violating the unity and sole supremacy of the great Father of Christ and of the universe. The suspense and fluctuation produced in the minds of the Christians, by these opposite tendencies, may be observed in the writings of the theologians who flourished after the end of the apostolic age, and before the origin of the Arian controversy. Their suffrage is claimed with equal confidence, by the orthodox and by the heretical

[35] Lactantius, iv. 8. Yet the *Probole*, or *Prolatio*, which the most orthodox divines borrowed without scruple from the Valentinians, and illustrated by the comparisons of a fountain and stream, the sun and its rays, &c., either meant nothing, or favored a material idea of the divine generation. See *Beausobre*, tom. i. l. iii. c. 7, p. 548.

[36] Many of the primitive writers have frankly confessed, that the Son owed his being to the *will* of the Father. See Clarke's *Scripture Trinity*, pp. 280–287. On the other hand, Athanasius and his followers seem unwilling to grant what they are afraid to deny. The schoolmen extricate themselves from this difficulty by the distinction of a *preceding* and a *concomitant* will. Petav. *Dogm. Theolog.* tom. ii. l. vi. c. 8, pp. 587–603.

[37] See Petav. *Dogm. Theolog.* tom. ii. l. ii. c. 10, p. 159.

[38] Carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem. Plin. *Epist.* x. 97. The sense of *Deus* Θεὸς, *Elohim*, in the ancient languages, is critically examined by Le Clerc (*Ars. Critica*, pp. 150–156), and the propriety of worshiping a very excellent creature is ably defended by the *Socinian Emlyn* (*Tracts*, pp. 29–36, 51–145).

parties; and the most inquisitive critics have fairly allowed, that if they had the good fortune of possessing the Catholic verity, they have delivered their conceptions in loose, inaccurate, and sometimes contradictory language.[39]

Authority of the church.

II. The devotion of individuals was the first circumstance which distinguished the Christians from the Platonists; the second was the authority of the Church. The disciples of philosophy asserted the rights of intellectual freedom, and their respect for the sentiments of their teachers was a liberal and voluntary tribute, which they offered to superior reason. But the Christians formed a numerous and disciplined society; and the jurisdiction of their laws and magistrates was strictly exercised over the minds of the faithful. The loose wanderings of the imagination were gradually confined by creeds and confessions;[40] the freedom of private judgment submitted to the public wisdom of synods; the authority of a theologian was determined by his ecclesiastical rank; and the episcopal successors of the apostles inflicted the censures of the church on those who deviated from the orthodox belief. But in an age of religious controversy, every act of oppression adds new force to the elastic vigor of the mind; and the zeal or obstinacy of a spiritual rebel was sometimes stimulated by secret motives of ambition or avarice. A metaphysical argument became the cause or pretence of political contests; the subtleties of the Platonic school were used as the badges of popular factions; and the distance which separated their respective tenets was enlarged or magnified by the acrimony of dispute. As long as the dark heresies of Praxeas and Sabellius labored to confound the *Father* with the *Son*,[41] the orthodox party might be excused if they adhered more strictly and more earnestly to the *distinction*, than to the

Factions.

[39] See *Daillé de Usu Patrum*, and Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. x. p. 409. To arraign the faith of the Anti-Nicene fathers, was the object, or at least has been the effect, of the stupendous work of Petavius on the Trinity (*Dogm. Theolog.* tom. ii.); nor has the deep impression been erased by the learned defence of Bishop Bull.*

[40] The most ancient creeds were drawn up with the greatest latitude. See Bull (*Judicum. Eccles. Cathol.*) who tries to prevent Episcopius from deriving any advantage from this observation.

[41] The heresies of Praxeas, Sabellius, &c., are accurately explained by *Mosheim* (pp. 425, 680-714). Praxeas, who came to Rome about the end of the second century, deceived, for some time, the simplicity of the bishop, and was confuted by the pen of the angry Tertullian.

* Dr. Burton's work on the doctrine of the Anti-Nicene fathers must be consulted by those who wish to obtain clear notions on this subject.—MILMAN.

equality, of the divine persons. But as soon as the heat of controversy had subsided, and the progress of the Sabellians was no longer an object of terror to the churches of Rome, of Africa, or of Egypt, the tide of theological opinion began to flow with a gentle but steady motion towards the contrary extreme; and the most orthodox doctors allowed themselves the use of the terms and definitions which had been censured in the mouth of the sectaries.[42] After the edict of toleration had restored peace and leisure to the Christians, the Trinitarian controversy was revived in the ancient seat of Platonism, the learned, the opulent, the tumultuous, city of Alexandria; and the flame of religious discord was rapidly communicated from the schools to the clergy, the people, the province, and the East. The abstruse question of the eternity of the *Logos* was agitated in ecclesiastical conferences, and popular sermons; and the heterodox opinions of Arius[43] were soon made public by his own zeal and by that of his adversaries. His most implacable adversaries have acknowledged the learning and blameless life of that eminent presbyter, who, in a former election, had declared, and perhaps generously declined, his pretensions to the episcopal throne.[44] His competitor, Alexander, assumed the office of his judge. The important cause was argued before him; and if at first he seemed to hesitate, he at length pronounced his final sentence, as an absolute rule of faith.[45] The undaunted presbyter, who presumed to resist the authority of his angry bishop, was separated from the communion of the church; but the pride of Arius was supported by the applause of a numerous party. He reckoned among his immediate followers, two bishops of Egypt, seven presbyters, twelve deacons, and (what may appear almost incredible) seven hundred virgins. A large majority of the bishops of Asia

Arius.

[42] Socrates acknowledges, that the heresy of Arius proceeded from his strong desire to embrace an opinion the most diametrically opposite to that of Sabellius.

[43] The figure and manners of Arius, the character and numbers of his first proselytes, are painted in very lively colors by Epiphanius (tom. i. *Hæres.* lxix. 3, p. 729), and we cannot but regret that he should soon forget the historian, to assume the task of controversy.

[44] See *Philostorgius* (l. i. c. 3), and Godefroy's ample *Commentary*. Yet the credibility of Philostorgius is lessened, in the eyes of the orthodox, by his Arianism; and in those of rational critics, by his passion, his prejudice, and his ignorance.

[45] *Sozomen* (l. i. c. 15) represents Alexander as indifferent, and even ignorant in the beginning of the controversy; while *Socrates* (l. i. c. 5) ascribes the origin of the dispute to the vain curiosity of his theological speculations. Dr. Jortin (*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 178) has censured, with his usual freedom, the conduct of Alexander; πρὸς ὀρλην ἐξαπτέται * * * δμοίως φρόνειν ἐκέλευσε.

appeared to support or favor his cause; and their measures were conducted by Eusebius of Cæsarea, the most learned of the Christian prelates; and by Eusebius of Nicomedia, who had acquired the reputation of a statesman without forfeiting that of a saint. Synods in Palestine and Bithynia were opposed to the synods of Egypt. The attention of the prince and people was attracted by this theological dispute; and the decision, at the end of six years,[46] was referred to the supreme authority of the general council of Nice. A. D. 318–325.

Three systems of the Trinity.

When the mysteries of the Christian faith were dangerously exposed to public debate, it might be observed, that the human understanding was capable of forming three distinct, though imperfect systems, concerning the nature of the divine Trinity; and it was pronounced, that none of these systems, in a pure and absolute sense, were exempt from heresy and error.[47] I. According to the first hypothesis, which was maintained by Arius and his disciples, the *Logos* was a dependent and spontaneous production, created from nothing by the will of the Father. The Son, by whom all things were made,[48] had been begotten before all worlds, and the longest of the astronomical periods could be compared only as a fleeting moment to the extent of his duration; yet this duration was not infinite,[49] and there *had* been a time which preceded the ineffable generation of the *Logos*. On this only begotten Son, the Almighty Father had transfused his ample spirit, and impressed the effulgence of his glory. Visible image of invisible perfection, he saw, at an immeasurable distance beneath his feet, the thrones of the brightest archangels; yet he shone only with

[46] The flames of Arianism might burn for some time in secret; but there is reason to believe that they burst out with violence as early as the year 319. Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. vi. pp. 774–780.

[47] Quid credidit? Certe, *aut* tria nomina audiens tres Deos esse credidit, et idololatra effectus est; *aut* in tribus vocabulis trinominem credens Deum, in Sabellii hæreism incurrit; *aut* edoctus ab Arianis unum esse verum Deum Patrem, filium et spiritum sanctum credidit creaturas. Aut extra hæc quid credere potuerit nescio. *Hieronym. adv. Luciferianos.** Jerom reserves for the last the orthodox system, which is more complicated and difficult.

[48] As the doctrine of absolute creation from nothing was gradually introduced among the Christians (*Beausobre*, tom. ii. pp. 165–215), the dignity of the *workman* very naturally rose with that of the *work*.

[49] The metaphysics of Dr. Clarke (*Scripture Trinity*, pp. 276–280) could digest an eternal generation from an infinite cause.

* What did he believe? Certainly, *either* hearing three names, he believed that there were three gods, and so became an idolator; *or*, believing that the three words were three names of one God, he fell into Sabellianism; *or*, taught by the Arians, he believed that there was only one true God, the Father, and that the Son and the Holy Ghost were created beings. What else he could have believed, I know not.—Translation by ENG. CH.

a reflected light, and, like the sons of the Roman emperors, who were invested with the titles of Cæsar or Augustus,[50] he governed the universe in obedience to the will of his Father and Monarch. II. In the second hypothesis, the *Logos* possessed all the inherent, incommunicable perfections, which religion and philosophy appropriate to the Supreme God. Three distinct and infinite minds or substances, three coequal and coeternal beings, composed the divine essence;[51] and it would have implied contradiction, that any of them should not have existed, or that they should ever cease to exist.[52] The advocates of a system which seemed to establish three independent deities, attempted to preserve the unity of the First Cause, so conspicuous in the design and order of the world, by the perpetual concord of their administration, and the essential agreement of their will. A faint resemblance of this unity of action may be discovered in the societies of men, and even of animals. The causes which disturb their harmony proceed only from the imperfection and inequality of their faculties; but the omnipotence, which is guided by infinite wisdom and goodness, cannot fail of choosing the same means for the accomplishment of the same ends.

Tritheism.

III. Three beings, who, by the self-derived necessity of their existence, possess all the divine attributes in the most perfect degree; who are eternal in duration, infinite in space, and intimately present to each other, and to the whole universe; irresistibly force themselves on the astonished mind, as one and the same Being,[53] who, in the economy of grace, as well as in that of nature, may manifest himself under different forms, and be considered under different aspects. By this hypothesis, a real substantial Trinity is refined into a trinity of names, and abstract modifications, that subsist only in the mind which conceives them. The *Logos* is no longer a person, but an

Sabellianism.

[50] This profane and absurd simile is employed by several of the primitive fathers, particularly by Athenagoras, in his *Apology* to the emperor Marcus and his son; and it is alleged, without censure, by Bull himself. See *Defens. Fid. Nicen.* sect. iii. c. 5, No. 4.

[51] See Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, pp. 559, 579. This dangerous hypothesis was countenanced by the two Gregories, of Nyssa and Nazianzen, by Cyril of Alexandria, John of Damascus, &c. See *Cudworth*, p. 603. Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. xviii. pp. 97–105.

[52] Augustin seems to envy the freedom of the philosophers. Liberis verbis loquuntur philosophi * * * Nos autem non dicimus duo vel tria principia, duos vel tres Deos. *De Civitat. Deo*, x. 23.

[53] Boetius, who was deeply versed in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, explains the unity of the Trinity by the *indifference* of the three persons. See the judicious remarks of Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. xvi. p. 225, &c.

attribute; and it is only in a figurative sense that the epithet of Son can be applied to the eternal reason which was with God from the beginning, and by *which*, not by *whom*, all things were made. The incarnation of the *Logos* is reduced to a mere inspiration of the divine wisdom, which filled the soul, and directed all the actions of the man Jesus. Thus, after revolving round the theological circle, we are surprised to find that the Sabellian ends where the Ebionite had begun; and that the incomprehensible mystery which excites our adoration eludes our inquiry.[54]

Council of Nice. A. D. 325.

If the bishops of the council of Nice[55] had been permitted to follow the unbiassed dictates of their conscience, Arius and his associates could scarcely have flattered themselves with the hopes of obtaining a majority of votes, in favor of an hypothesis so directly adverse to the two most popular opinions of the Catholic

[54] If the Sabellians were startled at this conclusion, they were driven down another precipice into the confession, that the Father was born of a virgin, that *he* had suffered on the cross; and thus deserved the odious epithet of *Patripassians*, with which they were branded by their adversaries. See the invectives of Tertullian against Praxeas, and the temperate reflections of *Mosheim* (pp. 423, 681); and *Beausobre*, tom. i. l. iii. c. 6, p. 533.

[55] The transactions of the council of Nice are related by the ancients, not only in a partial, but in a very imperfect manner. Such a picture as Fra Paolo would have drawn, can never be recovered; but such rude sketches as have been traced by the pencil of bigotry, and that of reason, may be seen in Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. v. pp. 669–759), and in Le Clerc (*Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. x. pp. 435–454.*)

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* That the decisions of councils should be considered as so authoritative, must appear extraordinary to those who examine the truth of their history. The following words of Neander on this subject, in his *History of Christianity* (vol. iii, p. 189, Bohn), may be of use to the thoughtful: "However emphatically the "emperors might declare, that the bishops alone were entitled to decide in "matters of doctrine, still *human passions proved mightier than theoretical* "*forms*. Although these councils were to serve as organs, to express the deci- "sion of the Divine Spirit, yet the Byzantine court had already prejudged the "question, as to which party ought to be considered pious and which impious, "whenever it could be contrived to gain over the court, in favor of any particular "doctrinal interest. Before the assembling of the council of Nice, Constantine "had been persuaded that the Arian doctrine contained a blasphemy against the "divinity of Christ, and that the ὁμοούσιον was absolutely required, in order to "maintain the dignity of Christ's person. When the court persecuted *one* of the "contending doctrinal parties, merely out of dislike to the man who stood at the "head of it, then the doctrinal question was turned into a means of gratifying "personal grudges. At the first council of Ephesus, the revenge of Pulcheria, "who governed the imperial court, turned the doctrinal controversy into the "means of removing the patriarch Nestorius from Constantinople. The em- "perors were under no necessity of employing force against the bishops; by "indirect means they could influence the minds of all those, with whom worldly "interests stood for more than the cause of truth, or who were not yet superior "to the fear of man. It was nothing but the influence of the emperor Constantine "which induced the eastern bishops at the council of Nice, to suffer the imposition "of a doctrinal formula, which they detested, and from which indeed they sought "immediately to rid themselves." The secular interests, which thus prevailed under the guise of orthodoxy, were themselves secretly impelled by the intrigues and instructions of the ambitious spirituals who wanted to debase their rivals. Ecclesiastical history requires honest expositors and unprejudiced students.—E. C.

world. The Arians soon perceived the danger of their situation, and prudently assumed those modest virtues, which, in the fury of civil and religious dissensions, are seldom practiced, or even praised, except by the weaker party. They recommended the exercise of Christian charity and moderation; urged the incomprehensible nature of the controversy; disclaimed the use of any terms or definitions which could not be found in the Scriptures; and offered by very liberal concessions, to satisfy their adversaries, without renouncing the integrity of their own principles. The victorious faction received all their proposals with haughty suspicion, and anxiously sought for some irreconcilable mark of distinction, the rejection of which might involve the Arians in the guilt and consequences of heresy. A letter was publicly read, and ignominiously torn, in which their patron, Eusebius of Nicomedia, ingenuously confessed, that the admission of the HOMOOUSION, or Consubstantial, a word already familiar to the Platonists, was incompatible with the principles of their theological system. The fortunate opportunity was eagerly embraced by the bishops, who governed the resolutions of the synod; and, according to the lively expression of Ambrose,[56] they used the sword, which heresy itself had drawn from the scabbard, to cut off the head of the hated monster. The consubstantiality of the Father and the Son was established by the council of Nice, and has been unanimously received as a fundamendal article of the Christian faith, by the consent of the Greek, the Latin, the Oriental, and the Protestant churches. But if the same word had not served to stigmatize the heretics and to unite the Catholics, it would have been inadequate to the purpose of the majority, by whom it was introduced into the orthodox creed. This majority was divided into two parties, distinguished by a contrary tendency to the sentiments of the Tritheists and of the Sabellians. But as those opposite extremes seemed to overthrow the foundations either of natural or revealed religion, they mutually agreed to qualify the rigor of their principles; and to disavow the just, but invidious, consequences which might be urged by their antagonists. The interest of the common cause inclined them to join their

Homoousion.

[56] We are indebted to Ambrose (*De Fide*, l. iii. cap. ult.) for the knowledge of this curious anecdote. Hoc verbum posuerunt Patres, quod viderunt adversariis esse formidini; ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio, ipsum nefandæ caput hereœseos amputarent.

numbers, and to conceal their differences; their animosity was softened by the healing counsels of toleration, and their disputes were suspended by the use of the mysterious *Homoousion*, which either party was free to interpret according to their peculiar tenets. The Sabellian sense, which, about fifty years before, had obliged the council of Antioch[57] to prohibit this celebrated term, had endeared it to those theologians who entertained a secret but partial affection for a nominal Trinity. But the more fashionable saints of the Arian times, the intrepid Athanasius, the learned Gregory Nazianzen, and the other pillars of the church, who supported with ability and success the Nicene doctrine, appeared to consider the expression of *Substance* as if it had been synonymous with that of *nature;* and they ventured to illustrate their meaning, by affirming that three men, as they belong to the same common species, are consubstantial, or homoousion, to each other.[58] This pure and distinct equality was tempered, on the one hand, by the internal connection, and spiritual penetration, which indissolubly unites the divine persons,[59] and, on the other, by the preeminence of the Father, which was acknowledged as far as it is compatible with the independence of the Son.[60] Within these limits the almost invisible and tremulous ball of orthodoxy was allowed securely to vibrate. On either side, beyond this consecrated ground, the heretics and the demons lurked in ambush to surprise and devour the unhappy wanderer. But as the degrees of theological hatred depend on the spirit of the war, rather than on the importance of the controversy, the heretics who degraded, were treated with more severity than those who annihilated, the person of the Son. The life of Athanasius was consumed in irreconcilable opposition to the impious *madness* of the Arians;[61] but he defended above twenty years the

[57] See Bull, *Defens. Fid. Nicen.* sect. ii. c. i. p. 25–36. He thinks it his duty to reconcile two orthodox synods.

[58] According to Aristotle, the stars were homoousian to each other. "That "*Homoousius* means of one substance in *kind*, hath been shown by Petavius, "Curcellæus, Cudworth, Le Clerc, &c., and to prove it would be *actum agere*." This is the just remark of Dr. Jortin (vol. ii. p. 212), who examines the Arian controversy with learning, candor, and ingenuity.

[59] See Petavius (*Dogm. Theolog.* tom. ii. l. iv. c. 16, p. 453, &c.), *Cudworth* (p. 559), *Bull* (sect. iv. pp. 285–290, edit. Grab). The περιχώρησις, or *circumincessio*, is perhaps the deepest and darkest corner of the whole theological abyss.

[60] The third section of Bull's *Defence of the Nicene Faith*, which some of his antagonists have called nonsense, and others heresy, is consecrated to the supremacy of the Father.

[61] The ordinary appellation with which Athanasius and his followers chose to compliment the Arians, was that of *Ariomanites*.

Sabellianism of Marcellus of Ancyra; and when at last he was compelled to withdraw himself from his communion, he continued to mention with an ambiguous smile, the venial errors of his respectable friend.[62]

Arian creeds.

The authority of a general council, to which the Arians themselves had been compelled to submit, inscribed on the banners of the orthodox party the mysterious characters of the word *Homoousion*, which essentially contributed, notwithstanding some obscure disputes, some nocturnal combats, to maintain and perpetuate the uniformity of faith, or at least of language. The Consubstantialists, who by their success have deserved and obtained the title of Catholics, gloried in the simplicity and steadiness of their own creed, and insulted the repeated variations of their adversaries, who were destitute of any certain rule of faith. The sincerity or the cunning of the Arian chiefs, the fear of the laws or of the people, their reverence for Christ, their hatred of Athanasius, all the causes, human and divine, that influence and disturb the counsels of a theological faction, introduced among the sectaries a spirit of discord and inconstancy, which, in the course of a few years, erected eighteen different models of religion,[63] and avenged the violated dignity of the church. The zealous Hilary,[64] who, from the peculiar hardships of his situation, was inclined to extenuate rather than to aggravate the errors of the oriental clergy, declares, that in the wide extent of the ten provinces of Asia, to which he had been banished, there could be found very few prelates who had preserved the knowledge of the true God.[65] The oppression which he had felt, the disorders of which he was the spectator and the victim, appeased, during a short interval, the angry passions of his soul; and in the following

[62] *Epiphanius*, tom. i. *Hæres.* lxxii 4, p. 837. See the adventures of Marcellus, in Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. vii. pp. 880–899). His works, in *one* book, of the unity of God, was answered in the *three* books, which are still extant, of *Eusebius*. After a long and careful examination, *Petavius* (tom. ii. l. i., c. 14, p. 78) has reluctantly pronounced the condemnation of Marcellus.

[63] Athanasius, in his epistle concerning the Synods of Seleucia and Rimini (tom. i. pp. 886–905), has given an ample list of Arian creeds, which has been enlarged and improved by the labors of the indefatigable Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. vi. p. 477).

[64] Erasmus, with admirable sense and freedom, has delineated the just character of Hilary. To revise his text, to compose the annals of his life, and to justify his sentiments and conduct, is the province of the Benedictine editors.

[65] Absque episcopo Eleusio et paucis cum eo, ex majore parte Asianæ decem provinciæ, inter quas consisto, vere Deum nesciunt. Atque utinam penitus nescirent! cum procliviore enim venia ignorarent quam obtrectarent. *Hilar. de Synodis, sive de Fide Orientalium*, c. 63, p. 1186, edit. Benedict. In the celebrated parallel between atheism and superstition, the bishop of Poitiers would have been surprised in the philosophic society of Bayle and Plutarch.

passage, of which I shall transcribe a few lines, the bishop of Poitiers unwarily deviates into the style of a Christian philosopher. "It is a thing," says Hilary, "equally de-"plorable and dangerous, that there are as many creeds as "opinions among men, as many doctrines as inclinations, "and as many sources of blasphemy as there are faults "among us; because we make creeds arbitrarily, and ex-"plain them as arbitrarily. The Homoousion is rejected, "and received, and explained away by successive synods. "The partial or total resemblance of the Father and of the "Son, is a subject of dispute, for these unhappy times. "Every year, nay every moon, we make new creeds, to de-"scribe invisible mysteries. We repent of what we have "done, we defend those who repent, we anathematize those "whom we defended. We condemn either the doctrine of "others in ourselves, or our own in that of others; and "reciprocally tearing one another to pieces, we have been "the cause of each other's ruin."[66] *

Arian sects.

It will not be expected, it would not perhaps be endured, that I should swell this theological digression, by a minute examination of the eighteen creeds, the authors of which, for the most part, disclaimed the odious name of their parent Arius. It is amusing enough to delineate the form, and to trace the vegetation, of a singular plant; but the tedious detail of leaves without flowers, and of branches without fruit, would soon exhaust the patience, and disappoint the curiosity, of the laborious student. One question which gradually arose from the Arian controversy may, however, be noticed, as it served to produce and discriminate the three sects, who were united only by their common aversion to the Homoousion of the Nicene synod. 1. If they were asked, whether the Son was *like* unto the Father, the question was resolutely answered in the negative by the heretics who adhered to the principles of Arius, or indeed to those of philosophy; which seem to establish an infinite difference between the Creator and the most excellent of his creatures. This obvious consequence

[66] *Hilarius ad Constantium*, l. i. c. 4, 5, pp. 1227, 1228. This remarkable passage deserved the attention of Mr. Locke, who has transcribed it (vol. iii. p. 470) into the model of his new commonplace book.

*"Every sect, of whatever opinion it may be," says Voltaire, "is a rallying "point for doubt and error. There is no sect of geometricians, algebraists, of "arithmeticians; because all the propositions of geometry, algebra, and arith-"metic are true. When truth is evident, it is impossible to divide people into "parties and factions. Nobody disputes that it is broad day at noon."—E.

was maintained by Ætius,[67] on whom the zeal of his adversaries bestowed the surname of the Atheist. His restless and aspiring spirit urged him to try almost every profession of human life. He was successively a slave, or at least a husbandman, a traveling tinker, a goldsmith, a physician, a schoolmaster, a theologian, and at last the apostle of a new church, which was propagated by the abilities of his disciple Eunomius.[68] Armed with texts of Scripture, and with captious syllogisms from the logic of Aristotle, the subtle Ætius had acquired the fame of an invincible disputant, whom it was impossible either to silence or to convince. Such talents engaged the friendship of the Arian bishops, till they were forced to renounce, and even to persecute, a dangerous ally, who, by the accuracy of his reasoning, had prejudiced their cause in the popular opinion, and offended the piety of their most devoted followers. 2. The omnipotence of the Creator suggested a specious and respectful solution of the *likeness* of the Father and the Son; and faith might humbly receive what reason could not presume to deny, that the supreme God might communicate his infinite perfections, and create a being similar only to himself.[69] These Arians were powerfully supported by the weight and abilities of their leaders, who had succeeded to the management of the Eusebian interest, and who occupied the principal thrones of the East. They detested, perhaps with some affectation, the impiety of Ætius; they professed to believe, either without reserve, or according to the Scriptures, that the Son was different from all *other* creatures, and similar only to the Father. But they denied that he was either of the same, or of a similar substance; sometimes boldly justifying their dissent, and sometimes objecting to the use of the word substance, which seems to imply an adequate, or at least a distinct notion of the nature of the Deity. 3. The sect which asserted the doctrine of a

[67] In *Philostorgius* (l. iii. c. 15) the character and adventures of Ætius appear singular enough, though they are carefully softened by the hand of a friend. The editor, Godefroy (p. 153), who was more attached to his principles than to his author, has collected the odious circumstances which his various adversaries have preserved or invented.

[68] According to the judgment of a man who respected both these sectaries, Ætius had been endowed with a stronger understanding, and Eunomius had acquired more art and learning. (*Philostorgius*, l. viii. c 18.) The confession and apology of Eunomius (Fabricius, *Bibliot. Græc.* tom. viii. pp. 258–305) is one of the few heretical pieces which have escaped.

[69] Yet, according to the opinion of Estius and Bull (p. 297), there is one power —that of creation—which God *cannot* communicate to a creature. Estius, who so accurately defined the limits of Omnipotence, was a Dutchman by birth, and by trade a scholastic divine. Dupin, *Bibliot. Eccles.* tom. xvii. p. 45.

similar substance was the most numerous, at least in the provinces of Asia; and when the leaders of both parties were assembled in the council of Seleucia,[70] *their* opinion would have prevailed by a majority of one hundred and five to forty-three bishops. The Greek word, which was chosen to express this mysterious resemblance, bears so close an affinity to the orthodox symbol, that the profane of every age have derided the furious contests which the difference of a single diphthong excited between the Homoousians and the Homoiousians.* As it frequently happens, that the sounds and characters which approach the nearest to each other accidently represent the most opposite ideas, the observation would be itself ridiculous, if it were possible to mark any real and sensible distinction between the doctrine of the Semi-Arians, as they were improperly styled, and that of the Catholics themselves. The bishop of Poitiers, who, in his Phrygian exile, very wisely aimed at a coalition of parties, endeavors to prove that, by a pious and faithful interpretation,[71] the *Homoiousion* may be reduced to a consubstantial sense. Yet he confesses that the word has a dark and suspicious aspect; and, as if darkness were congenial to theological disputes, the Semi-Arians, who advanced to the doors of the church, assailed them with the most unrelenting fury.

Faith of the Western or Latin church.

The provinces of Egypt and Asia, which cultivated the language and manners of the Greeks, had deeply imbided the venom of the Arian

[70] Sabinus ap. *Socrat.* (l. ii. c. 39) had copied the acts: Athanasius and Hilary have explained the divisions of this Arian synod; the other circumstances which are relative to it are carefully collected by Baronius and Tillemont.

[71] Fideli et pia intelligentia. * * * *De Synod.* c. 77, p. 1193. In his short apologetical notes (first published by the Benedictines from a MS. of Chartres) he observes, that he used this cautious expression, qui-intelligerem et impiam, p. 1206. See p. 1146. Philostorgius, who saw those objects through a different medium, is inclined to forget the difference of the important dipthong. See in particular, viii. 17, and *Godefroy*, p. 352.

*"The fierce contention concerning the *Homousios* and *Homoiousios*," says Feuerbach, in *Essence of Christianity*, p. 73, "was not an empty one, although "it turned upon a letter. The point in question was the co-equality and divine "dignity of the second Person, and therefore the honor of the Christian religion "itself; for its essential, characteristic object is the second Person; and that "which is essentially the object of a religion is truly, essentially its God. The "real God of any religion is the so-called Mediator, because he alone is the "immediate object of religion. He who, instead of applying to God, applies to a "saint, does so only on the assumption that the saint has all power with God, "that what he prays for, *i. e.*, wishes and wills, God readily performs; that thus "God is entirely in the hands of the saint. Supplication is the means, under the "guise of humility and submission, of exercising one's power and superiority "over another being. That to which my mind first turns, is also in truth the "first being to me. I turn to the saint, not because the saint is dependent on "God, but because God is dependent on the saint, because God is determined "and ruled by the prayers, *i. e.*, by the wish or heart of the saint."—E.

controversy. The familiar study of the Platonic system, a vain and argumentative disposition, a copious and flexible idiom, supplied the clergy and people of the East with an inexhaustible flow of words and distinctions; and, in the midst of their fierce contentions, they easily forgot the doubt which is recommended by philosophy, and the submission which is enjoined by religion. The inhabitants of the West were of a less inquisitive spirit; their passions were not so forcibly moved by invisible objects, their minds were less frequently exercised by the habits of dispute; and such was the happy ignorance of the Gallican church, that Hilary himself, above thirty years after the first general council, was still a stranger to the Nicene creed.[72] The Latins had received the rays of divine knowledge through the dark and doubtful medium of a translation. The poverty and stubbornness of their native tongue was not always capable of affording just equivalents for the Greek terms, for the technical words of the Platonic philosophy,[73] which had been consecrated, by the gospel or by the church, to express the mysteries of the Christian faith; and a verbal defect might introduce into the Latin theology a long train of error or perplexity.[74] But as the western provincials had the good fortune of deriving their religion from an orthodox source they preserved with steadiness the doctrine which they had accepted with docility; and when the Arian pestilence approached their frontiers, they were supplied with the seasonable preservative of the Homoousion, by the paternal care of the Roman pontiff. Their sentiments and their temper were displayed in the memorable synod of Rimini, which surpassed in numbers the council of Nice, since it was composed of above four hundred bishops of Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Illyricum. From the first debates it appeared, that only fourscore prelates adhered to the party, though *they* affected to anathematize the name and memory of Arius. But this inferiority was compensated by

Council of Rimini. A. D. 360.

[72] Testor Deum cœli atque terræ me cum neutrum audissem, semper tamen utrumque sensisse. * * * Regeneratus pridem et in episcopatu aliquantisper manens fidem Nicenam nunquam nisi exsulaturua audivi. *Hilars. de Synodis*, c. xci p. 1205. The Benedictines are persuaded that he governed the diocese of Poitiers several years before his exile.

[73] Seneca (*Epist.* lviii.) complains that even the τὸ ὄν of the Platonists, (the *ens* of the bolder schoolmen) could not be expressed by a Latin noun.

[74] The preference which the fourth council of the Lateran at length gave to a *numerical* rather than a *generical* unity (see *Petav.* tom. ii. l. iv. c. 13. p. 424) was favored by the Latin language; τρίας seems to excite the idea of substance *trinitas* of qualities.

the advantages of skill, of experience, and of discipline; and the minority was conducted by Valens and Ursacius, two bishops of Illyricum, who had spent their lives in the intrigues of courts and councils, and who had been trained under the Eusebian banner, in the religious wars of the East. By their arguments and negotiations, they embarrassed, they confounded, they at last deceived, the honest simplicity of the Latin bishops, who suffered the palladium of the faith to be extorted from their hands by fraud and importunity, rather than by open violence.* The council of Rimini was not allowed to separate, till the members had imprudently subscribed a captious creed, in which some expressions, susceptible of an heretical sense, were inserted in the room of the Homoousion. It was on this occasion, that, according to Jerome, the world was surprised to find itself Arian.[75] But the bishops of the Latin provinces had no sooner reached their respective dioceses, than they discovered their mistake, and repented of their weakness. The ignominious capitulation was rejected with disdain and abhorrence; and the Homoousian standard, which had been shaken, but not overthrown, was more firmly replanted in all the churches of the West.[76]

Conduct of the emperors in the Arian controversy.

Such was the rise and progress, and such were the natural revolutions of those theological disputes, which disturbed the peace of Christianity under the reigns of Constantine and of his sons. But as those princes presumed to extend their despotism

[75] Ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est. *Hieronym. adv. Lucifer*, tom. i. p. 145.

[76] The story of the council of Rimini is very elegantly told by Sulpicius Severus (*Hist. Sacra.* l. ii. pp. 419-430, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647), and by Jerom, in his dialogue against the Luciferians. The design of the latter is to apologize for the conduct of the Latin bishops, who were deceived, and who repented.

* All lovers of truth must regret, whatever belief they may entertain, that the fathers of the early Christian church should thus descend to disgraceful misrepresentation and positive fraud. And this wicked conduct was not the exception in this particular council at Rimini, but the established and universal custom. Creeds were invented and successfully established by means that would disgrace a modern political caucus. Scriptures were interpolated, authorities were forged, the venal were purchased, the ignorant were cajoled; and this was done in the name and for the advancement of Christianity. "Ecclesiastical history," says the English Churchman (when speaking of the *History of Christianity*, on page 365), "requires honest expositors and unprejudiced students."

"Ecclesiastical history," says Dean Milman, on page 292, "is a solemn and "melancholy lesson that the best, even the most sacred, cause will eventually "suffer by the least departure from truth."

On page 369, the bishop of Poitiers, the celebrated Hilary, sadly remarks: "Every year, nay every moon, we make new creeds to describe *invisible* mys- "teries. We repent of what we have done, we defend those who repent, we "anathematize those whom we defended, and reciprocally tearing one another "to pieces, we have been the cause of each other's ruin."—E.

over the faith, as well as over the lives and fortunes of their subjects, the weight of their suffrage sometimes inclined the ecclesiastical balance, and the prerogatives of the King of Heaven were settled, or changed, or modified, in the cabinet of an earthly monarch.

Indifference of Constantine. A. D. 324.

The unhappy spirit of discord which pervaded the provinces of the East interrupted the triumph of Constantine; but the emperor continued for some time to view, with cool and careless indifference, the object of the dispute. As he was yet ignorant of the difficulty of appeasing the quarrels of theologians, he addressed to the contending parties, to Alexander and to Arius, a moderating epistle;[77] which may be ascribed, with far greater reason, to the untutored sense of a soldier and statesman, than to the dictates of any of his episcopal counsellors. He attributes the origin of the whole controversy to a trifling and subtile question, concerning an incomprehensible point of the law, which was foolishly asked by the bishop, and imprudently resolved by the presbyter. He laments that the Christian people, who had the same God, the same religion, and the same worship, should be divided by such inconsiderable distinctions; and he seriously recommends to the clergy of Alexandria the example of the Greek philosophers; who could maintain their arguments without losing their temper, and assert their freedom without violating their friendship.‡ The indifference

[77] Eusebius, in *Vit. Constant.* l. ii. c. 64–72. The principles of toleration and religious indifference, contained in this epistle, have given great offence to Baronius, Tillemont, &c., who suppose that the emperor had some evil counsellor, either Satan or Eusebius, at his elbow.* See Jortin's *Remarks*, tom. ii. p. 183.†

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* "Without Eusebius," says the learned Tillemont, "we should scarcely have "any knowledge of the history of the first age of Christianity," and with him, it must be confessed, that we have very little that is reliable. "He had great zeal "for the Christian religion," says Dr. Lardner, and it seems erroneous for Christian writers to associate the name of Eusebius, the bishop of Cæsarea, with Satan, the arch enemy of mankind.—E.

† Heinichen (*Excursus*, xi.) quotes with approbation the term "golden words," applied by Ziegler to this moderate and tolerant letter of Constantine. May an English clergyman venture to express his regret that "the fine gold so soon "became dim" in the Christian Church?—MILMAN.

The worthy Dean deserves encouragement for his bashful and ingenuous apology. None can deny his modest request for permission to "express his "regret;" and all must admire his charming *naïveté*, while striving to conceal his blushes.—E.

‡ "Philosophers," says Voltaire, "will never form a religious sect; and why? "because they are without enthusiasm. Divide mankind into twenty parts; and "of these, nineteen consist of those who labor with their hands, and will never "know there has been such a person as Locke in the world. In the remaining "twentieth, how few will be found who read, and there are twenty who read "novels for one that studies philosophy. Those who think are excessively few, "and those few do not set themselves to disturb the world."—E.

and contempt of the sovereign would have been, perhaps, the most effectual method of silencing the dispute, if the popular current had been less rapid and impetuous, and if Constantine himself, in the midst of faction and fanaticism, could have preserved the calm possession of his own mind. But his ecclesiastical ministers soon contrived to seduce the impartiality of the magistrate, and to awaken the zeal of the proselyte. He was provoked by the insults which had been offered to his statues; he was alarmed by the real, as well as the imaginary, magnitude of the spreading mischief; and he extinguished the hope of peace and toleration, from the moment that he assembled three hundred bishops within the walls of the same palace. The presence of the monarch swelled the importance of the debate; his attention multiplied the arguments; and he exposed his person with a patient intrepidity, which animated the valor of the combatants. Notwithstanding the applause which has been bestowed on the eloquence and sagacity of Constantine,[78] a Roman general, whose religion might be still a subject of doubt, and whose mind had not been enlightened either by study or by inspiration, was indifferently qualified to discuss, in the Greek language, a metaphysical question, or an article of faith. But the credit of his favorite Osius, who appears to have presided in the council of Nice, might dispose the emperor in favor of the orthodox party; and a well-timed insinuation, that the same Eusebius of Nicomedia, who now protected the heretic, had lately assisted the tyrant,[79] might exasperate him against their adversaries. The Nicene creed was ratified by Constantine; and his firm declaration, that those who resisted the divine judgment of the synod, must prepare themselves for an immediate exile,* annihilated the murmurs of a feeble opposition, which, from seventeen, was almost instantly reduced

His zeal. A. D. 325.

[78] Eusebius in *Vit. Constantin.* l. iii. c. 13.

[79] Theodoret has preserved (l. i. c. 20) an epistle from Constantine to the people of Nicomedia, in which the monarch declares himself the public accuser of one his subjects; he styles Eusebius ὁ τῆς τυραννίγης ὡμοτήτος συμμύστης, and complains of his hostile behavior during the civil war.

* Belief or banishment, was the convincing "argument" used by this cruel tyrant, who, in the very year he presided at the council of Nice, inhumanly beheaded his own son, Crispus, after drowning, in a bath of boiling water, his wife, Fausta, and murdering many of his immediate relatives. "The prerogatives of the King of Heaven," says Gibbon, "were settled, or changed or modified in the cabinet of an earthly monarch." And deluded enthusiasts have died a martyr's death for believing or disbelieving this Nicene creed, which was promulgated during the reign, and essentially moulded and formed by the influence of this zealous and depraved Christian emperor.—E.

to two, protesting bishops.* Eusebius of Cæsarea yielded a reluctant and ambiguous consent to the Homoousion,[80] and the wavering conduct of the Nicomedian Eusebius served only to delay, about three months, his disgrace and exile.[81] The impious Arius was banished into one of the remote provinces of Illyricum; his person and disciples were branded, by law, with the odious name of Porphyrians; his writings were condemned to the flames, and a capital punishment was denounced against those in whose possession they should be found. The emperor had now imbibed the spirit of controversy, and the angry, sarcastic style of his edicts was designed to inspire his subjects with the hatred which he had conceived against the enemies of Christ.[82]†

He persecutes the Arians.

[80] See in *Socrates* (l. i. c. 8), or rather in *Theodoret* (l. i. c. 12), an original letter of Eusebius of Cæsarea, in which he attempts to justify his subscribing the Homoousion. The character of Eusebius has always been a problem; but those who have read the second critical epistle of Le Clerc (*Ars Critica*, tom. iii. pp. 30–69), must entertain a very unfavorable opinion of the orthodoxy and sincerity of the bishop of Cæsarea.

[81] *Athanasius*, tom. i. p. 727. *Philostorgius*, l. i. c. 10, and Godefroy's *Commentary*, p. 41.

[82] *Socrates*, l. i. c. 9. In his circular letters, which were addressed to the several cities, Constantine employed against the heretics the arms of ridicule and *comic* raillery.

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* "The great object of Constantine," says Voltaire, "was to be master in "everything. He was so in the church as well as in the state. We behold him "convoking and opening the Council of Nice; advancing into the midst of the "assembled fathers, covered over with jewels, and with the diadem upon his "head, seating himself in the highest place, and banishing, unconcernedly, "sometimes Arius and sometimes Athanasius. He put himself at the head of "Christianity without being a Christian; for at that time baptism was essential "to any person's becoming one. He was only a catechumen.

"It is believed that he put to death his eldest son, Crispus, and his own wife, "Fausta, the same year that he convened the council of Nice. He performed no "penance for his parricide. It was at Rome that he exercised that cruelty, and "from that time residence at Rome became hateful to him. He quitted it forever, "and went to lay the foundations of Constantinople. How durst he say, in one "of his rescripts, that he transferred the seat of empire to Constantinople by the "command of God himself? Is it anything but an impudent mockery of God "and man? If God had given him any command, would it not have been, not to "assassinate his wife and son?"—E.

† "The quarrel about the Trinity," says Voltaire, "existed long before Arius "took part in it, in the disputatious town of Alexandria, where it had been "beyond the power of Euclid to make men think calmly and justly.

"Is Jesus the Word? If he be the Word, did he emanate from God in Time or "before Time? If he emanated from God, is he co-eternal and consubstantial "with him, or is he of a similar substance? Is he distinct from him, or is he "not? Is he made or begotten? Can he beget in his turn? Has he paternity? "or productive virtue without paternity? Is the Holy Ghost made! or begotten? "or produced? or proceeding from the Father? or proceeding from the Son? or "proceeding from both? Can he beget? Can he produce? Is his hypostasis "consubstantial with the hypostasis of the Father and the Son? and how is it "that, having the same nature—the same essence as the Father and the Son, he "cannot do the same things done by those persons, who are himself?

"The Christians sophisticated, caviled, hated, and excommunicated one "another, for some of these dogmas, inaccessible to human intellect, before the "time of Arius and Athanasius. The Egyptian Greeks were remarkably clever; "they could split a hair into four; but on this occasion they split it only into three.

"St. Augustin himself, after advancing on this subject a thousand reasonings,

And the orthodox party. A. D. 328–337.

But, as if the conduct of the emperor had been guided by passion instead of principle, three years from the council of Nice were scarcely elapsed before he discovered some symptoms of mercy, and even of indulgence, towards the proscribed sect, which was secretly protected by his favorite sister. The exiles were recalled: and Eusebius, who gradually resumed his influence over the mind of Constantine, was restored to the episcopal throne, from which he had been ignominiously degraded. Arius himself was treated by the whole court with the respect which would have been due to an innocent and oppressed man. His faith was approved by the synod of Jerusalem; and the emperor seemed impatient to repair his injustice, by issuing an absolute command, that he should be solemnly admitted to the communion in the cathedral of Constantinople. On the same day which had been fixed for the triumph of Arius, he expired;—and the strange and horrid circumstances of his death might excite a suspicion, that the orthodox saints had contributed more efficaciously than by their prayers, to deliver the church from the most formidable of her enemies.[83] The three principal leaders of the Catholics, Athanasius of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, and Paul of Constanti-

[83] We derive the original story from *Athanasius* (tom. i. p. 670), who expresses some reluctance to stigmatize the memory of the dead. He might exaggerate; but the perpetual commerce of Alexandria and Constantinople would have rendered it dangerous to invent. Those who press the literal narrative of the death of Arius (his bowels suddenly burst out in a privy) must make their option between *poison* and *miracle*.

" was forced to confess that nothing intelligible could be said about the matter. " 'When it is asked,' said he, 'what are *the three*, the language of man fails, and " 'terms are wanting to express them.' '*Three persons*, has, however, been said " '—not for the purpose of expressing anything, but in order to say something, " 'and not remain mute.' 'Dictum est, tres personæ, non ut aliquid diceretur, " 'sed ne taceretur.' (*De Trinit.* l. v., cap. 9.)

" Whether Jesus was created or uncreated, in no way concerned morality, " which is the only thing essential. Whether Jesus was in time or before time, " it is not the less our duty to be honest. After much altercation, it was at last " decided that the Son was as old as the Father, and *consubstantial* with the " Father. This decision is not very easy of comprehension, which makes it but " the more sublime.

" After the first council of Nice, another was held at Rimini. These bishops, " after months of contention, took from Jesus his *consubstantiality*. It has since " been restored to him, except by the Socinians, so nothing is amiss.

" Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, a great persecutor of heretics, was him- " self condemned as a heretic, for having maintained that, although Jesus was " really God, yet his mother was not absolutely mother of God, but mother of " Jesus. St. Cyril procured the condemnation of Nestorius; but the partisans of " Nestorius also procured the deposition of St. Cyril, in the same council; which " put the Holy Ghost in considerable perplexity.

" Here, gentle reader, observe, that the gospel says not one syllable of the con- " substantiality of the Word, nor of Mary's having had the honor of being the " mother of God, no more than of the other disputed points which brought " together so many *infallible* councils."—E.

nople, were deposed on various accusations, by the sentence of numerous councils, and were afterwards banished into distant provinces by the first of the Christian emperors, who, in the last moments of his life, received the rites of baptism from the Arian bishop of Nicomedia. The ecclesiastical government of Constantine cannot be justified from the reproach of levity and weakness.* But the credulous monarch, unskilled in the stratagems of theological warfare, might be deceived by the modest and specious professions of the heretics whose sentiments he never perfectly understood; and while he protected Arius, and persecuted Athanasius, he still considered the council of Nice as the bulwark of the Christian faith, and the peculiar glory of his own reign.[84]

Constantius favors the Arians. A. D. 337–361.

The sons of Constantine must have been admitted from their childhood into the rank of catechumens, but they imitated, in the delay of their baptism, the example of their father. Like him, they presumed to pronounce their judgment on mysteries into which they had never been regularly initiated;[85] and the fate of the Trinitarian controversy depended, in a great measure, on the sentiments of Constantius, who inherited the provinces of the East, and acquired the possession of the whole empire. The Arian presbyter or bishop, who had secreted for his own use the testament of the deceased emperor, improved the fortunate occasion which had introduced him to the familiarity of a prince whose public councils were always swayed by his domestic favor-

[84] The change in the sentiments, or at least in the conduct, of Constantine, may be traced in Eusebius (in *Vit. Constant.* l. iii c. 23, l. iv. c. 41), *Socrates* (l. i. c. 23–39), *Sozomen* (l. ii. c. 16–34), *Theodoret* (l. i. c. 14–34), and *Philostorgius* (l. ii. c. 1–17). But the first of these writers was too near the scene of action, and the others were too remote from it. It is singular enough, that the important task of continuing the history of the church should have been left for two laymen and a heretic.

[85] Quia etiam tum catechumenus sacramentum fidei merito videretur potuisse nescire. Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacra.* l. ii. p. 410.

* "Constantine," says Voltaire, "triumphed over all, changed the religion of the "empire, and was not merely the author of that great revolution, but of all those "which have since occurred in the west. What was his character? Ask it of "Julian, of Zosimus, of Sozomen, and of Victor; they will tell you that he acted "at first like a great prince, afterwards as a public robber, and that the last stage "of his life was that of a sensualist, a trifler, and a prodigal. They will describe "him as ever ambitious, cruel, and sanguinary. Ask his character of Eusebius, "of Gregory Nazianzen, and Lactantius; they will inform you that he was a "perfect man. Between these two extremes, authentic facts alone can enable us "to obtain the truth. He had a father-in-law, whom he impelled to hang him-"self; he had a brother-in-law, whom he ordered to be strangled; he had a "nephew, twelve or thirteen years of age, whose throat he ordered to be cut; he "had an eldest son, whom he beheaded; he had a wife, whom he ordered to be "suffocated in a bath. An old Gallic author said, that 'he loved to make a clear "'house.'"—E.

ites. The eunuchs and slaves diffused the spiritual poison through the palace, and the dangerous infection was communicated by the female attendants to the guards, and by the empress to her unsuspicious husband.[86] The partiality which Constantius always expressed towards the Eusebian faction, was insensibly fortified by the dexterous management of their leaders; and his victory over the tyrant Magnentius increased his inclination, as well as ability, to employ the arms of power in the cause of Arianism. While the two armies were engaged in the plains of Mursa, and the fate of the two rivals depended on the chance of war, the son of Constantine passed the anxious moments in a church of the martyrs, under the walls of the city. His spiritual comforter, Valens, the Arian bishop of the diocese, employed the most artful precautions to obtain such early intelligence as might secure either his favor or his escape. A secret chain of swift and trusty messengers informed him of the vicissitudes of the battle; and while the courtiers stood trembling round their affrighted master, Valens assured him that the Gallic legions gave way; and insinuated with some presence of mind, that the glorious event had been revealed to him by an angel. The grateful emperor ascribed his success to the merits and intercession of the bishop of Mursa, whose faith had deserved the public and miraculous approbation of heaven.[87] The Arians, who considered as their own the victory of Constantius, preferred his glory to that of his father.[88] Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, immediately composed the description of a celestial cross, encircled with a splendid rainbow; which during the festival of Pentecost, about the third hour of the day, had appeared

[86] *Socrates*, l. i. c. 2. *Sozomen*, l. iii. c. 18. *Athanas.* tom. i. pp. 813, 834. He observes that the eunuchs are the natural enemies of the *Son*. Compare Dr. Jortin's *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv. p. 3, with a certain genealogy in *Candide* (ch. iv.), which ends with one of the first companions of Christopher Columbus.*

[87] Sulpicius Severus in *Hist. Sacra*, l. ii. pp. 405, 406.

[88] Cyril (apud *Baron.* A. D. 353, No. 26) expressly observes that in the reign of Constantine, the cross had been found in the bowels of the earth; but that it had appeared, in the reign of Constantius, in the midst of the heavens. This opposition evidently proves, that Cyril was ignorant of the stupendous miracle to which the conversion of Constantine is attributed; and this ignorance is the more surprising, since it was no more than twelve years after his death that Cyril was consecrated bishop of Jerusalem, by the immediate successor of Eusebius of Cæsarea. See Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. viii. p. 715.

* Without endorsing the genealogy of the witty Frenchman, we may credit his remark that, "persons of this unfortunate description are meddling, malignant, " and plotting. Ignatius and Photius, who disputed the chair of Constantinople " [were both patriarchs and] were both emasculated. This mutilation, depriving " them of the power of becoming natural fathers, they could become fathers only " of the church, and they kept the whole Greek court in a state of turbulence."—E.

over the Mount of Olives, to the edification of the devout pilgrims, and the people of the holy city.[89] The size of the meteor was gradually magnified; and the Arian historian has ventured to affirm that it was conspicuous to the two armies in the plains of Pannonia; and that the tyrant, who is purposely represented as an idolater, fled before the auspicious sign of orthodox Christianity.[90]

Arian councils. A. D. 360.

The sentiments of a judicious stranger, who has impartially considered the progress of civil or ecclesiastical discord, are always entitled to our notice; and a short passage of Ammianus, who served in the armies, and studied the character of Constantius, is perhaps of more value than many pages of theological invectives. "The Christian religion, which, in itself," says that moderate historian, "is plain and simple, *he* confounded "by the dotage of superstition. Instead of reconciling the "parties by the weight of his authority, he cherished and "propagated, by verbal disputes, the differences which his "vain curiosity had excited. The highways were covered "with troops of bishops galloping from every side to the "assemblies, which they call synods; and while they "labored to reduce the whole sect to their own peculiar "opinions, the public establishment of the posts was almost "ruined by their hasty and repeated journeys."[91] Our more intimate knowledge of the ecclesiastical transactions of the reign of Constantius would furnish an ample commentary on this remarkable passage; which justifies the rational apprehensions of Athanasius, that the restless activity of the clergy, who wandered round the empire in search of the true faith, would excite the contempt and laughter of the unbelieving world.[92] As soon as the emperor was relieved from the terrors of the civil war, he

[89] It is not easy to determine how far the ingenuity of Cyril might be assisted by some natural appearances of a solar halo.

[90] *Philostorgius*, l. iii. c. 26. He is followed by the author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, by Cedrenus, and by Nicephorus. (See Gothofred. *Dissert.* p. 188). They could not refuse a miracle.. even from the hand of an enemy.

[91] So curious a passage well deserves to be transcribed. Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem, anili superstitione confundens; in qua scrutanda perplexius, quam componenda gravius excitaret discidia plurima; quæ progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum, ut catervis antistium jumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus, per synodos (quas appellant) dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conantur (*Valesius* reads *conatur*) rei vehicularie consideret nervos. *Ammianus*, xxxi. 16.*

[92] *Athanas.* tom. i. p. 870.

* The drain upon the treasury thus caused (fere ærarium deficeret) is assigned among the circumstances that assisted in alienating the mind of Julian from Christianity. Eckhel. *De Num. Vet.* vol. viii, p. 130.—ENG. CH.

devoted the leisure of his winter quarters at Arles, Milan, Sirmium, and Constantinople, to the amusement or toils of controversy; the sword of the magistrate, and even of the tyrant, was unsheathed, to enforce the reasons of the theologian; and as he opposed the orthodox faith of Nice, it is readily confessed that his incapacity and ignorance were equal to his presumption.[93] The eunuchs, the women, and the bishops, who governed the vain and feeble mind of the emperor, had inspired him with an insuperable dislike to the Homoousion; but his timid conscience was alarmed by the impicty of Ætius. The guilt of that Atheist was aggravated by the suspicious favor of the unfortunate Gallus; and even the deaths of the imperial ministers, who had been massacred at Antioch, were imputed to the suggestions of that dangerous sophist. The mind of Constantius which could neither be moderated by reason, nor fixed by faith, was blindly impelled to either side of the dark and empty abyss, by his horror of the opposite extreme; he alternately embraced and condemned the sentiments, he successively banished and recalled the leaders, of the Arian and Semi-Arian factions.[94] During the season of public business or festivity, he employed whole days, and even nights, in selecting the words, and weighing the syllables, which composed his fluctuating creeds. The subject of his meditations still pursued and occupied his slumbers: the incoherent dreams of the emperor were received as celestial visions, and he accepted with complacency the lofty title of bishop of bishops, from those ecclesiastics who forgot the interest of their order for the gratification of their passions.* The design of establishing a uniformity of doctrine, which had engaged him to convene so many synods in Gaul, Italy, Illyricum, and Asia, was repeatedly baffled by his own

[93] *Socrates*, l. ii. c. 35–47 *Sozomen*, l. iv. c. 12–30. *Theodoret*, l. ii. c. 18–32. *Philostorg.* l. iv. c. 4–12, l. v. c. 1–4, l. vi. c. 1–5.

[94] *Sozomen*, l. iv. c. 23. *Athanas* tom. i. p. 831. Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles* tom. vii. p. 947) has collected several instances of the haughty fanaticism of Constantius from the detached treatises of Lucifer of Cagliari. The very titles of these treatises inspire zeal and terror; "Moriendum pro Dei Filio." "De Regibus Apostaticis." "De non conveniendo cum Hæretico." "De non parcendo in Deum deliquentibus."

* Gibbon here treats too lightly and ironically the growing evil, from which the darkness and misery of future ages were even then looming. The aspiring hierarchy never saw anything in "the interest of their order," but "the gratification of their passions." For the former they demanded power only as a means of grasping wealth to satisfy the latter. This object was ever before them, amid the pretences of sanctity and the strife of disputation. Whether they intimidated and crushed the general intellect, or intrigued in the palace and flattered the sovereign, they sought alike only the security or augmentation of their revenues. —ENG. CH.

levity, by the divisions of the Arians, and by the resistance of the Catholics; and he resolved, as the last and decisive effort, imperiously to dictate the decrees of a general council. The destructive earthquake of Nicomedia, the difficulty of finding a convenient place, and perhaps some secret motives of policy, produced an alteration in the summons. The bishops of the East were directed to meet at Seleucia, in Isaueia; while those of the west held their deliberations at Rimini, on the coast of the Adriatic; and, instead of two or three deputies from each province, the whole episcopal body was ordered to march. The Eastern council, after consuming four days in fierce and unavailing debate, separated without any definitive conclusion. The council of the West was protracted till the seventh month. Taurus, the Prætorian præfect, was instructed not to dismiss the prelates till they should all be united in the same opinion; and his efforts were supported by a power of banishing fifteen of the most refractory, and a promise of the consulship if he achieved so difficult an adventure. His prayers and threats, the authority of the sovereign, the sophistry of Valens and Ursacius, the distress of cold and hunger, and the tedious melancholy of a hopeless exile, at length extorted the reluctant consent of the bishops of Rimini. The deputies of the East and of the West attended the emperor in the palace of Constantinople, and he enjoyed the satisfaction of imposing on the world a profession of faith which established the *likeness*, without expressing the *consubstantiality*, of the Son of God.[95] But the triumph of Arianism had been preceded by the removal of the orthodox clergy, whom it was impossible either to intimidate or to corrupt; and the reign of Constantius was disgraced by the unjust and ineffectual persecution of the great Athanasius.

A. D. 360.

Character and adventures of Athanasius.

We have seldom an opportunity of observing, either in active or speculative life, what effect may be produced, or what obstacles may be surmounted, by the force of a single mind, when it is inflexibly applied to the pursuit of a single object. The immortal name of Athanasius[96] will never be separated from

[95] Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacra.* l. ii. pp. 418–430. The Greek historians were very ignorant of the affairs of the West.

[96] We may regret that Gregory Nazianzen composed a panegyric instead of a life of Athanasius; but we should enjoy and improve the advantage of drawing our most authentic materials from the rich fund of his own epistles and apologies (tom. i. pp. 670–951). I shall not imitate the example of Socrates (l. ii. c. 1), who published the first edition of his history without giving himself the trouble to

the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, to whose defence he consecrated every moment and every faculty of his being. Educated in the family of Alexander, he had vigorously opposed the early progress of the Arian heresy: he exercised the important functions of secretary under the aged prelate; and the fathers of the Nicene council beheld with surprise and respect the rising virtues of the young deacon. In a time of public danger, the dull claims of age and of rank are sometimes superseded; and within five months after his return from Nice, the deacon Athanasius was seated on the archiepiscopal throne of Egypt. He filled that eminent station above forty-six years, and his long administration was spent in a perpetual combat against the powers of Arianism. Five times was Athanasius expelled from his throne; twenty years he passed as an exile or a fugitive; and almost every province of the Roman empire was successively witness to his merit, and his sufferings in the cause of the Homoousion, which he considered as the sole pleasure and business, as the duty, and as the glory of his life. Amidst the storms of persecution, the archbishop of Alexandria was patient of labor, jealous of fame, careless of safety; and although his mind was tainted by the contagion of fanaticism, Athanasius displayed a superiority of character and abilities, which would have qualified him, far better than the degenerate sons of Constantine, for the government of a great monarchy. His learning was much less profound and extensive than that of Eusebius of Cæsarea, and his rude eloquence could not be compared with the polished oratory of Gregory of Basil; but whenever the primate of Egypt was called upon to justify his sentiments, or his conduct, his unpremeditated style, either of speaking or writing, was clear, forcible, and persuasive. He has always been revered, in the orthodox school, as one of the most accurate masters of the Christian theology; and he was supposed to possess two profane sciences, less adapted to the episcopal character, the knowledge of jurisprudence,[97] and that of divination.[98]

A. D. 326–373.

consult the writings of Athanasius. Yet even Socrates, the more curious Sozomen, and the learned Theodoret, connect the life of Athanasius with the series of ecclesiastical history. The diligence of Tillemont (tom. viii.), and of the Benedictine editors, has collected every fact and examined every difficulty.

[97] Sulpicius Severus (*Hist. Sacra*, l. ii. p. 396) calls him a lawyer, a jurisconsult. This character cannot now be discovered either in the life or writings of Athanasius.

[98] Dicebatur enim fatidicarum sortium fidem, quæve augurales portenderen alites scientissime callens aliquoties prædixisse futura. *Ammianus*, xv. 7. A prophecy, or rather a joke, is related by *Sozomen* (l. iv. c. 10), which evidently proves (if the crows speak Latin) that Athanasius understood the language of the crows.

Some fortunate conjectures of future events, which impartial reasoners might ascribe to the experience and judgment of Athanasius, were attributed by his friends to heavenly inspiration, and imputed by his enemies to infernal magic.

But as Athanasius was continually engaged with the prejudices and passions of every order of men, from the monk to the emperor, the knowledge of human nature was his first and most important science. He preserved a distinct and unbroken view of a scene which was incessantly shifting; and never failed to improve those decisive moments which are irrecoverably past before they are perceived by a common eye. The archbishop of Alexandria was capable of distinguishing how far he might boldly command, and where he must dexterously insinuate; how long he might contend with power, and when he must withdraw from persecution; and while he directed the thunders of the church against heresy and rebellion, he could assume, in the bosom of his own party, the flexible and indulgent temper of a prudent leader. The election of Athanasius has not escaped the reproach of irregularity and precipitation;[99] but the propriety of his behavior conciliated the affections both of the clergy and of the people. The Alexandrians were impatient to rise in arms for the defence of an eloquent and liberal pastor. In his distress he always derived support, or at least consolation, from the faithful attachment of his parochial clergy; and the hundred bishops of Egypt adhered, with unshaken zeal, to the cause of Athanasius. In the modest equipage which pride and policy would affect, he frequently performed the episcopal visitation of his provinces, from the mouth of the Nile to the confines of Æthiopia; familiarly conversing with the meanest of the populace, and humbly saluting the saints and hermits of the desert.[100] Nor was it only in ecclesiastical assemblies, among men whose education and manners were similar to his own, that Athanasius displayed the ascendancy of his genius. He appeared with easy and respectful firmness in the courts of princes; and in the various turns of his pros-

[99] The irregular ordination of Athanasius was slightly mentioned in the councils which were held against him. See *Philostorg.* l. ii. c. 11, and *Godefroy*, p. 71; but it can scarcely be supposed that the assembly of the bishops of Egypt would solemnly attest a *public* falsehood. *Athanas.* tom. i. p. 726.

[100] See the histories of the *Fathers of the Desert*, published by Rosweide; and Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. vii., in the lives of Antony, Pachomius, &c. Athanasius himself, who did not disdain to compose the life of his friend Antony, has carefully observed how often the holy monk deplored and prophesied the mischiefs of the Arian heresy. *Athanas*, tom. ii. pp. 492, 498, &c.

perous and adverse fortune, he never lost the confidence of his friends, or the esteem of his enemies.

Persecution against Athanasius. A. D. 330.

In his youth, the primate of Egypt resisted the great Constantine, who had repeatedly signified his will, that Arius should be restored to the Catholic communion.[101] * The emperor respected, and might forgive, this inflexible resolution, and the faction who considered Athanasius as their most formidable enemy, were constrained to dissemble their hatred, and silently to prepare an indirect and distant assault. They scattered rumors and suspicions, represented the archbishop as a proud and oppressive tyrant, and boldly accused him of violating the treaty which had been ratified in the Nicene council, with the schismatic followers of Meletius.[102] ‡ Athanasius had openly disapproved that ignominious peace, and the emperor was disposed to believe that he had abused his ecclesiastical and civil power, to persecute those odious sectaries; that he had sacrilegiously broken a chalice in one of their churches of Mareotis; that he had whipped or imprisoned six of their bishops; and that Arsenius, a seventh bishop of the same party, had

101 At first Constantine threatened in *speaking*, but requested in *writing*, καὶ ἀλράφως μὲν ἠπείλει, γράφων δὲ, ἠξίου. His letters gradually assumed a menacing tone; but while he required that the entrance of the church should be open to *all*, he avoided the odius name of Arius. Athanasius, like a skillful politician, has accurately marked these distinctions, (tom. i. p. 788), which allowed him some scope for excuse and delay.

102 The Meletians in Egypt, like the Donatists in Africa, were produced by an episcopal quarrel which arose from the persecution. I have not leisure to pursue the obscure controversy, which seems to have been misrepresented by the partiality of Athanasius and the ignorance of Epiphanius. See Mosheim's *General History of the Church*, vol. i. p. 201.†

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* "St. Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria," says Voltaire, "would not admit "Arius, whom the emperor Constantine had sent thither, into the town, saying "that 'Arius was excommunicated; that an excommunicated man ought no "'longer to have either home or country; that he could neither eat nor sleep "'anywhere; and that it was better to obey God than man.'"—E.

† Melitus was bishop of Lycopolis, in the Thebaid, at the commencement of the fourth century. Not even the rigors of Diocletian's persecution could repress his polemical tendencies; for, while in confinement, he had angry disputations with his fellow-prisoners. Having regained his liberty, he mixed up these sentiments with his claim to exercise the authority of Peter, archbishop of Alexandria, who had fled from danger and sought safety in concealment. His evident object was, to displace and succeed the fugitive primate of Egypt. Each had numerous adherents, and their fierce contests produced a schism, which for more than a century added to the other distractions of the church. *Neander* (vol. iii., sec. 2, edit. Bohn), has given an account of this heresy, correcting Epiphanius by documents, which Maffei published from a MS. in the chapter of the cathedral at Verona.—Eng. Ch.

‡ "The two factions," says Voltaire, "alike employed artifice, fraud and "calumny according to the old and eternal usage. Constantine left them to "dispute and cabal, for he had other occupations. It was at that time that this "*good prince* assassinated his son, his wife, and his nephew, the young Licinius, "the hope of the empire, who was not yet twelve years old."—E.

been murdered, or at least, mutilated, by the cruel hand of the primate.[103] These charges, which affected his honor and his life, were referred by Constantine to his brother Dalmatius the censor, who resided at Antioch; the synods of Cæsarea and Tyre were successively convened; and the bishops of the East were instructed to judge the cause of Athanasius before they proceeded to consecrate the new church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem. The primate might be conscious of his innocence; but he was sensible that the same implacable spirit which had dictated the accusation, would direct the proceeding, and pronounce the sentence. He prudently declined the tribunal of his enemies; despised the summons of the synod of Cæsarea; and, after a long and artful delay, submitted to the peremptory commands of the emperor, who threatened to punish his criminal disobedience if he refused to appear in the council of Tyre.[104] Before Athanasius, at the head of fifty Egyptian prelates, sailed from Alexandria, he had wisely secured the alliance of the Meletians; and Arsenius himself, his imaginary victim, and his secret friend, was privately concealed in his train. The synod of Tyre was conducted by Eusebius of Cæsarea, with more passion, and with less art, than his learning and experience might promise; his numerous faction repeated the names of homicide and tyrant; and their clamors were encouraged by the seeming patience of Athanasius, who expected the decisive moment to produce Arsenius alive and unhurt in the midst of the assembly. The nature of the other charges did not admit of such clear and satisfactory replies; yet the archbishop was able to prove, that in the village, where he was accused of breaking a consecrated chalice, neither church, nor altar, nor chalice could really exist. The Arians, who had secretly determined the guilt and condemnation of their enemy, attempted, however,

A. D. 335.

103 The treatment of the six bishops is specified by *Sozomen* (l. ii. c. 25); but Athanasius himself, so copious on the subject of Arsenius and the chalice, leaves this grave accusation without a reply.*

104 *Athanas.* tom. i. p. 788. *Socrates*, l. i. c. 28. *Sozomen*, l. ii. c. 25. The emperor, in his *Epistle of Convocation* (Euseb. in *Vit. Constant.* l. iv. c. 42), seems to prejudge some members of the clergy, and it was more than probable that the synod would apply those reproaches to Athanasius.

* This grave charge, if made (and it rests entirely on the authority of Sozomen), seems to have been silently dropped by the parties themselves; it is never alluded to in the subsequent investigations. From Sozomen himself, who gives the unfavorable report of the commission of inquiry sent to Egypt concerning the cup, it does not appear that they noticed this accusation of personal violence.—M.

to disguise their injustice by the imitation of judicial forms: the synod appointed an episcopal commission of six delegates to collect evidence on the spot; and this measure, which was vigorously opposed by the Egyptian bishops, opened new scenes of violence and perjury.[105] After the return of the deputies from Alexandria, the majority of the council pronounced the final sentence of degradation and exile against the primate of Egypt. The decree, expressed in the fiercest language of malice and revenge, was communicated to the emperor and the Catholic church; and the bishops immediately resumed a mild and devout aspect, such as became their holy pilgrimage to the sepulchre of Christ.[106]

His first exile, A. D. 336.

But the injustice of these ecclesiastical judges had not been countenanced by the submission, or even by the presence, of Athanasius. He resolved to make a bold and dangerous experiment, whether the throne was inaccessible to the voice of truth; and before the final sentence could be pronounced at Tyre, the intrepid primate threw himself into a bark which was ready to hoist sail for the imperial city. The request of a formal audience might have been opposed or eluded; but Athanasius concealed his arrival, watched the moment of Constantine's return from an adjacent villa, and boldly encountered his angry sovereign as he passed on horseback through the principal street of Constantinople. So strange an apparition excited his surprise and indignation; and the guards were ordered to remove the importunate suitor; but his resentment was subdued by involuntary respect; and the haughty spirit of the emperor was awed by the courage and eloquence of a bishop, who implored his justice and awakened his conscience.[107] Constantine listened to the complaints of Athanasius with impartial and even gracious attention; the members of the synod of Tyre were summoned to justify their proceedings; and the arts of the Eusebian faction would have been confounded, if they had not aggravated the guilt of the primate, by the dexterous supposition of an unpardonable offence; a criminal design

[105] See, in particular, the second *Apology* of Athanasius (tom. i. pp. 763–808), and his *Epistles to the Monks* (pp. 808–866). They are justified by original and authentic documents; but they would inspire more confidence if he appeared less innocent, and his enemies less absurd.

[106] Eusebius in *Vit. Constantin.* l. iv. c. 41–47.

[107] *Athanas.* tom. i. p. 804. In a church dedicated to St. Athanasius, this situation would afford a better subject for a picture than most of the stories of miracles and martyrdoms.

to intercept and detain the corn-fleet of Alexandria, which supplied the subsistence of the new capital.[108] The emperor was satisfied that the peace of Egypt would be secured by the absence of a popular leader; but he refused to fill the vacancy of the archiepiscopal throne; and the sentence, which, after a long hesitation, he pronounced, was that of a jealous ostracism, rather than of an ignominious exile. In the remote province of Gaul, but in the hospitable court of Treves, Athanasius passed about twenty-eight months. The death of the emperor changed the face of public affairs; and, amidst the general indulgence of a young reign, the primate was restored to his country by an honorable edict of the younger Constan-

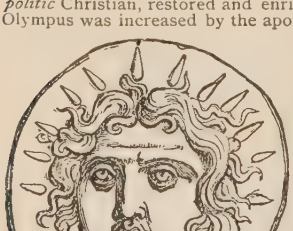
Restoration. A. D. 338.

[108] *Athanas.* tom. i. p. 729. Eunapius has related (in *Vit. Sophist.* pp. 36, 37, edit. Commelin,) a strange example of the cruelty and credulity of Constantine on a similar occasion. The eloquent Sopater, a Syrian philosopher, enjoyed his friendship, and provoked the resentment of Ablavius, his Prætorian præfect. The corn-fleet was detained for want of a south wind; the people of Constantinople were discontented; and Sopater was beheaded on a charge that he had *bound* the winds by the power of magic.* Suidas adds, that Constantine wished to prove, by this execution, that he had absolutely renounced the superstition of the Gentiles.

* In a note on page 295, it is stated, on the authority of Taylor, that Sopater was beheaded "for refusing the consolations of heathenism to the conscience of "the royal murderer." This refusal would undoubtedly have excited the tyrant's anger; but this Christian emperor was always ready, with or without a reason, to demonstrate his Christianity by the exercise of his brutality.

Whether Constantine really believed in the Christian religion, as he professed, or whether he simply used the credulity of the masses to enhance his power, seems difficult to determine; but it is not difficult to perceive that a more selfish, cruel, and wicked tyrant never disgraced the human race; although we must admit that Christianity owes its establishment to his influence, and it cannot be denied that he has the honor of being the first Christian emperor.

At forty years of age, as may be seen by reference to page 279, this *discreet* and *politic* Christian, restored and enriched the temples of the gods. The council of Olympus was increased by the apotheosis of his father Constantius. Helios, or the Sun, the Apollo of Greek and Roman mythology, was celebrated as the guide and patron of this Christian emperor. And the credulous were taught to believe that this glorious divinity held frequent converse with Constantine, and honored him with a heavenly *vision*, announcing a long and victorious reign. He next perceived the figure of a *cross* in the heavens,—at least he so asserted,—and this emblem of peace on earth and good will to man, was promptly adopted by this Christian warrior, as the emblem of victory and conquest. Had his army contained Egyptian or Assyrian or Chaldean soldiers, whose religious zeal could have been inflamed by an appeal to their fanaticism, Constantine would doubtless have proved equal to the occasion, and espied, in the shifting clouds of the firmament, the horns of the sacred bull Apis, or the winged figures of Assyria, or the sacred onion of Egypt, or the mysterious triad, represented by the lotus flower; or, indeed, any other symbol that priestcraft has invented and superstition consecrated, to govern and control the credulous multitude.—E.



Helios, or the Sun.

tine, who expressed a deep sense of the innocence and merit of his venerable guest.[109]

His second exile. A. D. 341.

The death of that prince exposed Athanasius to a second persecution; and the feeble Constantius, the sovereign of the East, soon became the secret accomplice of the Eusebians. Ninety bishops of that sect or faction assembled at Antioch, under the specious pretence of dedicating the cathedral. They composed an ambiguous creed, which is faintly tinged with the colors of Semi-Arianism, and twenty-five canons, which still regulate the discipline of the orthodox Greeks.[110] It was decided, with some appearance of equity, that a bishop, deprived by a synod, should not resume his episcopal functions, till he had been absolved by the judgment of an equal synod: the law was immediately applied to the case of Athanasius; the council of Antioch pronounced, or rather confirmed, his degradation: a stranger, named Gregory, was seated on his throne, and Philagrius,[111] the prefect of Egypt, was instructed to support the new primate with the civil and military powers of the province. Oppressed by the conspiracy of the Asiatic prelates, Athanasius withdrew from Alexandria, and passed three [112] years as an exile and a suppliant on the holy threshold of the Vatican.[113] By the assiduous study of

[109] In his return he saw Constantius twice at Viminiacum, and at Cæsarea in Cappadocia (*Athanas.* tom. i. p. 676). Tillemont supposes that Constantine introduced him to the meeting of the three royal brothers in Pannonia (*Mémoires Eccles.* tom. viii. p. 69).

[110] See Beveridge, *Pandect.* tom. i. pp. 429–552. and tom. ii. *Annotation*, p. 182. Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. vi. pp. 310–324. St. Hilary of Poitiers has mentioned this synod of Antioch with too much favor and respect. He reckons ninety-seven bishops.

[111] This magistrate, so odious to Athanasius, is praised by Gregory Nazianzen, tom. i. *Orat.* xxi. pp. 390, 391.

Sæpe premente Deo fert Deus alter opem.

For the credit of human nature, I am always pleased to discover some good qualities in those men whom party has represented as tyrants and monsters.

[112] The chronological difficulties which perplex the residence of Athanasius at Rome are strenuously agitated by Valesius (*Observat. ad Calcem.* tom. ii. *Hist. Eccles.* l. i. c. 1–5), and Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. viii. p. 674, &c.). I have followed the simple hypothesis of Valesius, who allows only one journey, after the intrusion of Gregory.*

[113] I cannot forbear transcribing a judicious observation of Wetstein, (*Prolegomen. N. T.* p. 19): Si tamen Historiam Ecclesiasticam velimus consulere, patebit jam inde a seculo quarto, cum, ortis controversiis, ecclesiæ Græciæ doctores in duas partes scinderentur, ingenio, eloquentia, numero, tantum non æquales, eam partem quæ vincere cupiebat Romam confugisse, majestatemque pontificis comiter coluisse, eoque pacto oppressis per pontificem et episcopos Latinos adversariis prævaluisse, atque orthodoxiam in conciliis stabilivisse. Eam ob causam Athanasius, non sine, comitatu, Romam petiit, pluresque annos ibi hæsit.

* Clinton has removed all obscurity on this subject. Athanasius arrived at Rome in the beginning of May, 341. He remained there three years, and then went to Milan and Gaul. Thence he accompanied Osius, in 347, to the synod of Sardica, and returned to Alexandria in the middle of the year 349. (*Fasti Rom.* i, 403, 411, 415.)—ENG. CH.

the Latin language, he soon qualified himself to negotiate with the western clergy; his decent flattery swayed and directed the haughty Julius: the Roman pontiff was persuaded to consider his appeal as the peculiar interest of the apostolic see, and his innocence was unanimously declared in a council of fifty bishops of Italy. At the end of three years, the primate was summoned to the court of Milan by the emperor Constans, who, in the indulgence of unlawful pleasures, still professed a lively regard for the orthodox faith. The cause of truth and justice was promoted by the influence of gold,[114] and the ministers of Constans advised their sovereign to require the convocation of an ecclesiastical assembly, which might act as the representatives of the Catholic church. Ninety-four bishops of the West, seventy-six bishops of the East, encountered each other at Sardica, on the verge of the two empires, but in the dominions of the protector of Athanasius. Their debates soon degenerated into hostile altercations; the Asiatics, apprehensive for their personal safety, retired to Philippopolis in Thrace; and the rival synods reciprocally hurled their spiritual thunders against their enemies, whom they piously condemned as the enemies of the true God.* Their decrees were published and ratified in their respective provinces: and Athanasius, who in the West was revered as a saint, was exposed as a criminal to the abhorrence of

A. D. 346.

114 *Philostorgius*, l. iii. c. 12. If any corruption was used to promote the interest of religion, an advocate of Athanasius might justify or excuse this questionable conduct, by the example of Cato and Sydney; the former of whom is *said* to have given, and the latter to have received, a bribe in the cause of liberty.

* These Christians all professed to believe in the same bible, and all worshiped the same God. They were "wise as serpents," but not quite as "harmless as "doves." On the contrary, they were bigoted, cruel and sanguinary, and the *weaker party of Christians* wisely fled to escape the holy zeal and fury of the *stronger Christian sect*. Jesus said, "Love your enemies," and each sect piously afforded an opportunity for its opponents to exercise their love. But there is nothing in the example or teachings of Jesus to warrant this atrocious, sectarian warfare, which has so often deluged the earth with blood. Voltaire has truly shown that, "Jesus was born under the Mosaic law; he was circumcised "according to that law; he fulfilled all its precepts; he kept all its feasts; he "did not reveal the mystery of his incarnation; he never told the Jews he was "born of a virgin; he received John's blessing in the waters of the Jordan, a "ceremony to which various of the Jews submitted; but he never baptised any "one; he never spoke of the seven sacraments; he instituted no ecclesiastical "hierarchy during his life. He concealed from his contemporaries that he was "the Son of God, begotten from all eternity, consubstantial with his Father; that "the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son. He did not say that "his person was composed of two natures and two wills. He left these mysteries "to be announced to men in the course of time, by those who were to be enlight-"ened by the Holy Ghost. So long as he lived, he departed in nothing from the "law of his fathers. In the eyes of men, he was no more than a just man, pleasing "to God, persecuted by the envious, and condemned to death by prejudiced magis-"trates. He left his holy church, established by him, to do all the rest."—E.

the East.[115] The council of Sardica reveals the first symptoms of discord and schism between the Greek and Latin churches which were separated by the accidental difference of faith, and the permanent distinction of language.

And restoration. A. D. 349.

During his second exile in the West, Athanasius was frequently admitted to the Imperial presence; at Capua, Lodi, Milan, Verona, Padua, Aquileia, and Treves. The bishop of the diocese usually assisted at these interviews; the master of the offices stood before the veil or curtain of the sacred apartment; and the uniform moderation of the primate might be attested by these respectable witnesses, to whose evidence he solemnly appeals.[116] Prudence would undoubtedly suggest the mild and respectful tone that became a subject and a bishop. In these familiar conferences with the sovereign of the West, Athanasius might lament the error of Constantius, but he boldly arraigned the guilt of his eunuchs and his Arian prelates; deplored the distress and danger of the Catholic church; and excited Constans to emulate the zeal and glory of his father. The emperor declared his resolution of employing the troops and treasures of Europe in the orthodox cause; and signified, by a concise and peremptory epistle to his brother Constantius, that unless he consented to the immediate restoration of Athanasius, he himself, with a fleet and army, would seat the archbishop on the throne of Alexandria.[117] But this religious war, so horrible to nature, was prevented by the timely compliance of Constantius; and the emperor of the East condescended to solicit a reconciliation with a subject whom he had injured. Athanasius waited with decent pride, till he had received three successive epistles full of the strongest assurances of the protection, the favor and the esteem of his sovereign; who invited him to resume his episcopal seat, and who added the humiliating precaution of engaging his principal ministers to attest the sincerity of his intentions. They were manifested in a still more public manner, by the strict orders which were

115 The canon which allows appeals to the Roman pontiffs has almost raised the council of Sardica to the dignity of a general council; and its acts have been ignorantly or artfully confounded with those of the Nicene synod. See *Tillemont*, tom. vii. p. 689, and Geddes' *Tracts*, vol. ii. pp. 419-460.

116 As Athanasius dispersed secret invectives against Constantius (see the *Epistle to the Monks*), at the same time that he assured him of his profound respect, we might distrust the professions of the archbishop. Tom. i. p. 677.

117 Notwithstanding the discreet silence of Athanasius, and the manifest forgery of a letter inserted by Socrates, these menaces are proved by the unquestionable evidence of Lucifer of Cagliari, and even of Constantius himself. See *Tillemont*, tom. viii. p. 693.

despatched into Egypt to recall the adherents of Athanasius, to restore their privileges, to proclaim their innocence, and to erase from the public registers the illegal proceedings which had been obtained during the prevalence of the Eusebian faction. After every satisfaction and security had been given, which justice or even delicacy could require, the primate proceeded, by slow journeys, through the provinces of Thrace, Asia, and Syria; and his progress was marked by the abject homage of the Oriental bishops, who excited his contempt without deceiving his penetration.[118] At Antioch he saw the emperor Constantius; sustained, with modest firmness, the embraces and protestations of his master, and eluded the proposal of allowing the Arians a single church at Alexandria, by claiming, in the other cities of the empire, a similar toleration for his own party; a reply which might have appeared just and moderate in the mouth of an independent prince. The entrance of the archbishop into his capital was a triumphal procession; absence and persecution had endeared him to the Alexandrians; his authority, which he exercised with rigor, was more firmly established; and his fame was diffused from Æthiopia to Britain, over the whole extent of the Christian world.[119]

Resentment of Constantius. A. D. 351.

But the subject who has reduced his prince to the necessity of dissembling, can never expect a sincere and lasting forgiveness, and the tragic fate of Constans soon deprived Athanasius of a powerful and generous protector. The civil war between the assassin and the only surviving brother of Constans, which afflicted the empire above three years, secured an interval of repose to the Catholic church; and the two contending parties were desirous to conciliate the friendship of a bishop, who, by the weight of his personal authority, might determine the fluctuating resolutions of an important prov-

[118] I have always entertained some doubts concerning the retraction of Ursacius and Valens (*Athanas.* tom. i. p. 776). Their epistles to Julius, bishop of Rome, and to Athanasius himself, are of so different a cast from each other, that they cannot both be genuine. The one speaks the language of criminals who confess their guilt and infamy; the other of enemies, who solicit on equal terms an honorable reconciliation.*

[119] The circumstances of his second return may be collected from Athanasius himself, tom. i. pp. 769, and 822, 843. *Socrates*, l. ii. c. 18. *Sozomen*, l. iii. c. 19. *Theodoret*, l. ii. c. 11, 12. *Philostorgius*, l. iii. c. 12.

* I cannot quite comprehend the ground of Gibbon's doubts. Athanasius distinctly asserts the fact of their retraction. (*Athan. Op.* i. p. 124, edit. Benedict.) The epistles are apparently translations from the Latin, of, in fact, more than the substance of the epistles. That to Athanasius is brief, almost abrupt. Their retraction is likewise mentioned in the address of the orthodox bishops of Rimini to Constantius. *Athan. de Synodis.* Op. t. p. 723.—MILMAN.

ince. He gave audience to the ambassadors of the tyrant, with whom he was afterward accused of holding a secret correspondence;[120] and the emperor Constantius repeatedly assured his dearest father, the most reverend Athanasius, that, notwithstanding the malicious rumors which were circulated by their common enemies, he had inherited the sentiments, as well as the throne of his deceased brother.[121] Gratitude and humanity would have disposed the primate of Egypt to deplore the untimely fate of Constans, and to abhor the guilt of Magnentius; but as he clearly understood that the apprehensions of Constantius were his only safeguard, the fervor of his prayers for the success of the righteous cause might perhaps be somewhat abated. The ruin of Athanasius was no longer contrived by the obscure malice of a few bigoted or angry bishops, who abused the authority of a credulous monarch. The monarch himself avowed the resolution, which he had so long suppressed, of avenging his private injuries;[122] and the first winter after his victory, which he passed at Arles, was employed against an enemy more odious to him than the vanquished tyrant of Gaul.

Councils of Arles and Milan. A. D. 353–355.

If the emperor had capriciously decreed the death of the most eminent and virtuous citizen of the republic, the cruel order would have been executed without hesitation, by the ministers of open violence, or of specious injustice. The caution, the delay, the difficulty with which he proceeded in the condemnation and punishment of a popular bishop, discovered to the world that the privileges of the church had already revived a sense of order and freedom in the Roman government. The sentence which was pronounced in the synod of Tyre, and subscribed by a large majority of the eastern bishops, had never been expressly repealed; and as Athanasius had been once degraded from his episcopal dignity by the judgment of his brethren, every subsequent act might be considered as irregular, and even criminal. But the memory of the firm and effectual support which the primate of Egypt

[120] Athanasius (tom. i. pp. 677, 678) defends his innocence by pathetic complaints, solemn assertions, and specious arguments. He admits that letters had been forged in his name, but he requests that his own secretaries and those of the tyrant may be examined, whether those letters had been written by the former, or received by the latter.

[121] *Athanas.* tom. i. pp. 825–844.

[122] *Athanas.* tom. i. p. 861. *Theodoret*, l. ii. c. 16. The emperor declared, that he was more desirous to subdue Athanasius, than he had been to vanquish Magnentius or Sylvanus.

had derived from the attachment of the western church, engaged Constantius to suspend the execution of the sentence till he had obtained the concurrence of the Latin bishops. Two years were consumed in ecclesiastical negotiations; and the important cause between the emperor and one of his subjects, was solemnly debated, first in the synod of Arles, and afterward in the great council of Milan,[123] which consisted of above three hundred bishops. Their integrity was gradually undermined by the arguments of the Arians, the dexterity of the eunuchs, and the pressing solicitations of a prince, who gratified his revenge at the expense of his dignity; and exposed his own passions, whilst he influenced those of the clergy. Corruption, the most infallible symptom of constitutional liberty, was successfully practiced; honors, gifts, and immunities, were offered and accepted as the price of an episcopal vote;[124] and the condemnation of the Alexandrian primate was artfully represented as the only measure which could restore the peace and union of the Catholic church. The friends of Athanasius were not, however, wanting to their leader, or to their cause. With a manly spirit, which the sanctity of their character rendered less dangerous, they maintained, in public debate, and in private conference with the emperor, the eternal obligation of religion and justice. They declared, that neither the hope of his favor, nor the fear of his displeasure, should prevail on them to join in the condemnation of an absent, an innocent, a respectable brother.[125] They affirmed, with apparent reason, that the illegal and obsolete decrees of the council of Tyre had long since been tacitly abolished by the imperial edicts, the honorable re-establishment of the archbishop of Alexandria, and the silence or recantation of his most clamorous adversaries. They alleged, that his innocence had been attested by the unanimous bishops of Egypt, and

123 The affairs of the council of Milan are so imperfectly and erroneously related by the Greek writers, that we must rejoice in the supply of some letters of Eusebius, extracted by Baronius from the archives of the church of Vercellæ, and of an old life of Dionysius of Milan, published by Bollandus. See *Baronius*, A. D. 355, and *Tillemont*, tom. vii. p. 1415.

124 The honors, presents, feasts, which seduced so many bishops, are mentioned with indignation by those who were too pure or too proud to accept them. "We "combat" says Hilary of Poitiers "against Constantius the Antichrist; who "strokes the belly* instead of scourging the back;" qui non dorsa cædit; sed ventrem palpat. *Hilarius contra Constant.* c. 5, p. 1240.

125 Something of this opposition is mentioned by *Ammianus* (xv. 7), who had a very dark and superficial knowledge of ecclesiastical history. Liberius * * * perseveranter renitebatur, nec visum hominem, nec auditum damnare, nefas ultimum sæpe exclamans; aperte scilicet recalcitrans Imperatoris arbitrio. Id enim ille Athanasio semper infestus, &c.

*St. Paul (*Titus* i, 12) classes these "slow bellies" with "liars and evil beasts."—E.

had been acknowledged in the councils of Rome and Sardica,[126] by the impartial judgment of the Latin church. They deplored the hard condition of Athanasius, who, after enjoying so many years his seat, his reputation, and the seeming confidence of his sovereign, was again called upon to confute the most groundless and extravagant accusations. Their language was specious; their conduct was honorable; but in this long and obstinate contest, which fixed the eyes of the whole empire on a single bishop, the ecclesiastical factions were prepared to sacrifice truth and justice to the more interesting object of defending, or removing, the intrepid champion of the Nicene faith. The Arians still thought it prudent to disguise in ambiguous language, their real sentiments and designs: but the orthodox bishops armed with the favor of the people, and the decrees of a general council, insisted on every occasion, and particularly at Milan, that their adversaries should purge themselves from the suspicion of heresy, before they presumed to arraign the conduct of the great Athanasius.[127]

Condemnation of Athanasius. A. D. 355.

But the voice of reason (if reason was indeed on the side of Athanasius) was silenced by the clamors of a factious or venal majority; and the councils of Arles and Milan were not dissolved, till the archbishop of Alexandria had been solemnly condemned and deposed by the judgment of the western, as well as of the eastern, church. The bishops who had opposed, were required to subscribe, the sentence, and to unite in religious communion with the suspected leaders of the adverse party. A formulary of consent was transmitted by the messengers of state to the absent bishops; and all those who refused to submit their private opinion to the public and inspired wisdom of the councils of Arles and Milan were immediately banished by the emperor, who affected to execute the decrees of the Catholic church. Among those prelates who led the honorable band of confessors and exiles, Liberius of Rome, Osius of Cordova, Paulinus of Treves, Dionysius of Milan, Eusebius of Vercellæ, Lucifer of Cagliari, and Hilary of Poitiers, may deserve to be particularly distinguished. The eminent

126 More properly by the orthodox part of the council of Sardica. If the bishops of both parties had fairly voted, the division would have been 94 to 76. M. de Tillemont (see tom. viii. pp. 1147–1158) is justly suprised that so small a majority should have proceeded so vigorously against their adversaries, the principal of whom they immediately deposed.

127 Sulp. Severus in *Hist. Sacra.* l. ii. p. 412.

station of Liberius, who governed the capital of the empire; the personal merit and long experience of the venerable Osius, who was revered as the favorite of the great Constantine, and the father of the Nicene faith; placed those prelates at the head of the Latin church: and their example, either of submission or resistance, would probably be imitated by the episcopal crowd. But the repeated attempts of the emperor, to seduce or to intimidate the bishops of Rome and Cordova, were for some time ineffectual. The Spaniard declared himself ready to suffer under Constantius, as he had suffered threescore years before under his grandfather Maximian. The Roman, in the presence of his sovereign, asserted the innocence of Athanasius, and his own freedom. When he was banished to Beræa in Thrace, he sent back a large sum which had been offered for the accommodation of his journey; and insulted the court of Milan by the haughty remark, that the emperor and his eunuchs might want that gold to pay their soldiers and their bishops.[128] The resolution of Liberius and Osius was at length subdued by the hardships of exile and confinement. The Roman pontiff purchased his return by some criminal compliances; and afterward expiated his guilt by a seasonable repentance. Persuasion and violence were employed to extort the reluctant signature of the decrepit bishop of Cordova, whose strength was broken, and whose faculties were perhaps impaired, by the weight of a hundred years; and the insolent triumph of the Arians provoked some of the orthodox party to treat with inhuman severity the character, or rather the memory, of an unfortunate old man, to whose former services Christianity itself was so deeply indebted.[129]

Exiles.

The fall of Liberius and Osius reflected a brighter lustre on the firmness of those bishops who still adhered with unshaken fidelity to the cause of Athanasius and religious truth. The ingenious malice of their enemies had deprived them of the benefit of mutual comfort and advice, separated those illustrious exiles into distant provinces, and carefully selected the most inhospitable

128 The exile of Liberius is mentioned by *Ammianus*, xv. 7. See *Theodoret*, l. ii. c. 16. *Athanas.* tom. i. pp. 834–837. *Hilar.* Fragment i.

129 The life of Osius is collected by Tillemont (tom. vii. pp. 524–561), who in the most extravagant terms first admires, and then reprobates, the bishop of Cordova. In the midst of their lamentations on his fall, the prudence of Athanasius may be distinguished from the blind and intemperate zeal of Hilary.

spots of a great empire.[130] Yet they soon experienced that the deserts of Libya, and the most barbarous tracts of Cappadocia were less inhospitable, than the residence of those cities in which an Arian bishop could satiate, without restraint, the exquisite rancor of theological hatred.[131] * Their consolation was derived from the consciousness of rectitude and independence; from the applause, the visits, the letters, and the liberal alms of their adherents;[132] and from the satisfaction which they soon enjoyed of observing the intestine divisions of the adversaries of the Nicene faith. Such was the nice and capricious taste of the emperor Constantius; and so easily was he offended by the slightest deviation from his imaginary standard of Christian truth, that he persecuted, with equal zeal, those who defended the *consubstantiality*, those who asserted the *similar substance*, and those who denied the *likeness*, of the Son of God. Three bishops, degraded and banished for those adverse opinions, might possibly meet in the same place of exile; and according to the difference of their temper, might either pity or insult the blind enthusiasm of their antagonists, whose present sufferings would never be compensated by future happiness.

Third expulsion of Athanasius from Alexandria, A. D. 356.

The disgrace and exile of the orthodox bishops of the West were designed as so many preparatory steps to the ruin of Athanasius himself.[133] Six-and-twenty months had elapsed, during which the imperial court secretly labored, by the most insidious arts, to remove him from Alexandria, and to withdraw the allowance which supplied his popular liberality. But when the primate of Egypt, deserted and proscribed by the Latin church, was left destitute of any

130 The confessors of the West were successively banished to the deserts of Arabia or Thebais, the lonely places of Mount Taurus, the wildest parts of Phrygia, which were in the possession of the impious Montanists, &c. When the heretic Ætius was too favorably entertained at Mopsuestia in Cilicia, the place of his exile was changed, by the advice of Acacius, to Amblada, a district inhabited by savages, and infested by war and pestilence. *Philostorg.* l. v. c. 2.

131 See the cruel treatment and strange obstinacy of Eusebius, in his own letters, published by Baronius, A. D. 356, No. 92–102.

132 Cæterum exules satis constat, totius orbis studiis celebratos, pecuniasque eis in sumptum affatim congestas, legationibus quoque eos plebis Catholicæ ex omnibus fere provinciis frequentatos. Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacra*, p. 414. *Athanas.* tom. i. pp. 836 840.

133 Ample materials for the history of this third persecution of Athanasius may be found in his own works. See particularly his very able *Apology* to Constantius (tom. i. p. 673), his first *Apology* for his flight (p. 701), his prolix *Epistle to the Solitaries* (p. 808), and the original protest of the people of Alexandria against the violences committed by Syrianus (p. 866). *Sozomen* (l. iv. c. 9) has thrown into the narrative two or three luminous and important circumstances.

* "These things I command you," said Jesus, "that ye love one another."—E.

foreign support, Constantius dispatched two of his secretaries with a verbal commission to announce and execute the order of his banishment. As the justice of the sentence was publicly avowed by the whole party, the only motive which could restrain Constantius from giving his messengers the sanction of a written mandate, must be imputed to his doubt of the event; and to a sense of the danger to which he might expose the second city, and the most fertile province, of the empire, if the people should persist in the resolution of defending, by force of arms, the innocence of their spiritual father. Such extreme caution afforded Athanasius a specious pretence respectfully to dispute the truth of an order, which he could not reconcile, either with the equity, or with the former declarations, of his gracious master. The civil powers of Egypt found themselves inadequate to the task of persuading or compelling the primate to abdicate his episcopal throne; and they were obliged to conclude a treaty with the popular leaders of Alexandria, by which it was stipulated, that all proceedings and all hostilities should be suspended till the emperor's pleasure had been more distinctly ascertained. By this seeming moderation, the Catholics were deceived into a false and fatal security; while the legions of the Upper Egypt, and of Libya, advanced, by secret orders and hasty marches, to besiege, or rather to surprise, a capital habituated to sedition, and inflamed by religious zeal.[134] The position of Alexandria, between the sea and the lake Mareotis, facilitated the approach and landing of the troops; who were introduced into the heart of the city, before any effectual measures could be taken either to shut the gates, or to occupy the important posts of defence. At the hour of midnight, twenty-three days after the signature of the treaty, Syrianus, duke of Egypt, at the head of five thousand soldiers, armed and prepared for an assault, unexpectedly invested the church of St. Theonas, where the archbishop, with a part of his clergy and people, performed their nocturnal devotions. The doors of the sacred edifice yielded to the impetuosity of the attack, which was accompanied with every horrid circumstance of tumult and bloodshed; but, as the bodies of the slain, and the fragments of military weapons, remained

[134] Athanasius had lately sent for Antony, and some of his chosen monks. They descended from their mountain, announced to the Alexandrians the sanctity of Athanasius, and were honorably conducted by the archbishop as far as the gates of the city. *Athanas.* tom. ii. pp. 491, 492. See likewise *Rufinus*, iii. 164, in *Vit. Patr.* p. 254.

the next day an unexceptionable evidence in the possession of the Catholics, the enterprise of Syrianus may be considered as a successful irruption, rather than as an absolute conquest. The other churches of the city were profaned by similar outrages; and, during at least four months, Alexandria was exposed to the insults of a licentious army, stimulated by the ecclesiastics of a hostile faction. Many of the faithful were killed, who may deserve the name of martyrs, if their deaths were neither provoked nor revenged; bishops and presbyters were treated with cruel ignominy; consecrated virgins were stripped naked, scourged, and violated; the houses of wealthy citizens were plundered; and, under the mask of religious zeal, lust, avarice, and private resentment, were gratified with impunity, and even with applause.* The Pagans of Alexandria, who still formed a numerous and discontented party, were easily persuaded to desert a bishop whom they feared and esteemed. The hopes of some peculiar favors, and the apprehension of being involved in the general penalties of rebellion, engaged

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*While admitting the truth and fidelity of this dark and dismal picture of early Christian brutality, Dean Milman, the eminent Christian apologist, in the preface to his edition of *Gibbon's Rome*, attempts to criticise the great historian, and complains that Gibbon, by commencing his history "below the apostolic times," and exposing the failings and follies of the succeeding ages, threw a shadow of doubt and suspicion upon the primitive period of Christianity. But in reality Gibbon has recorded, with unquestioned ability and singular impartiality, the true history of the establishment of Christianity. It is foreign to the subject to discuss the teachings of Jesus, and the results that should have followed from those teachings. It was the province of the historian to record facts in the order of their occurrence, and the accuracy with which Gibbon has performed this task, has made his history the acknowledged authority upon the subject.

Jesus was a reformer. He devoted his life to doing good. He labored among the poor, the ignorant, and the debased. He strove to elevate the human race, and sacrificed his life in noble efforts to achieve that end. He lived with his disciples on terms of perfect equality. They had all things in common. Communism was the doctrine his example has illustrated; and love and mercy and justice and human brotherhood, the principles he sought to inculcate.

His doctrines, however, have no relation to the Church of Rome, which was established for other purposes than the welfare of mankind, and which, even in its infancy, strove to attain supreme power and absolute dominion. It is the history of this church which Gibbon has written, and if the picture be forbidding and repulsive, we must not blame the historian for recording the unwelcome truth.

As a matter of fact, Christianity, from the period of its inception, has consisted, and still consists, in the observance of certain forms, and in the belief of certain dogmas. These forms and these dogmas have descended to us, not from Jesus of Nazareth, but from the bishops and early fathers of the church.

In regard to the fundamental principles of morality, all sects of Christians, Pagans, and infidels, agree. The Christians differ from each other and from freethinkers, in their professed belief in certain creeds; which creeds have no relation to morality, and have no affinity with human reason.

These cherished but incomprehensible dogmas, which have survived the dark ages in which they originated, are composed of an incongruous conglomerate of ideas, of which the philosophy of Plato, the Pagan Mythology, and vague Jewish traditions, form the principal ingredients. It was from this mass of allegory and fable—from the contentions of angry synods, and the wranglings and discussions of corrupt councils,—that creeds were born. It was here that Arianism, Tritheism,

them to promise their support to the destined successor of Athanasius, the famous George of Cappadocia. The usurper, after receiving the consecration of an Arian synod, was placed on the episcopal throne by the arms of Sebastian, who had been appointed count of Egypt for the execution of that important design. In the use, as well as in the acquisition of power, the tyrant George disregarded the laws of religion, of justice, and of humanity; and the same scenes of violence and scandal which had been exhibited in the capital, were repeated in more than ninety episcopal cities of Egypt. Encouraged by success, Constantius ventured to approve the conduct of his ministers. By a public and passionate epistle, the emperor congratulates the deliverance of Alexandria from a popular tyrant, who deluded his blind votaries by the magic of his eloquence; expatiates on the virtues and piety of the most reverend George, the elected bishop; and aspires, as the patron and benefactor of the city, to surpass the fame of Alexander himself. But he solemnly declares his unalterable resolution, to pursue with fire and sword the seditious adherents of the wicked Athanasius, who, by flying from justice, has confessed his guilt, and escaped the ignominious death which he had so often deserved.[135]

[135] *Athanas.* tom. i. p. 694. The emperor, or his Arian sectaries, while they express their resentment, betray their fears and esteem of Athanasius.

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and Sabellianism originated; and the seeds of faction and sectarianism were implanted, which have since germinated and blossomed into the numerous conflicting sects which now perplex the earnest enquirer.

Enchained by Fanaticism and Superstition.

When the Church of Rome became supreme, and the Nicene creed — the creed of Athanasius — ruled the European world; when humanity was enchained by superstition and fanaticism, — those twin jailors of the mind, — freedom was expelled, reason was dethroned, and the light of intellect was quenched in the Cimmerian gloom of faith. The dark centuries of Catholicism succeeded the learning and civilization developed under the freedom and toleration of ancient Paganism. Superstition governed the human intellect. The Holy Inquisition was established. The stake claimed the noblest and bravest for its victims; and the victory of the cross was illumined and celebrated by the light of burning fagots and the groans of dying heretics. It was then that Protestantism was born, and with it returned freedom and knowledge to bless and elevate humanity. The art of printing was discovered, thought was stimulated, creeds were questioned, and reason again resumed her benignant sway. Philosophy and superstition once more joined issue and struggled for supremacy in modern Europe, as reason and faith—as Paganism and Christianity—had formerly contended for victory in ancient Rome.—E.

His behavior.

Athanasius had indeed escaped from the most imminent dangers; and the adventures of that extraordinary man deserve and fix our attention. On the memorable night when the church of St. Theonas was invested by the troops of Syrianus, the archbishop, seated on his throne, expected, with calm and intrepid dignity, the approach of death. While the public devotion was interrupted by shouts of rage and cries of terror, he animated his trembling congregation to express their religious confidence, by chanting one of the psalms of David, which celebrates the triumph of the God of Israel over the haughty and imperious tyrant of Egypt. The doors were at length burst open; a cloud of arrows was discharged among the people; the soldiers, with drawn swords, rushed forward into the sanctuary; and the dreadful gleam of their armor was reflected by the holy luminaries which burnt round the altar.[136] Athanasius still rejected the pious importunity of the monks and presbyters, who were attached to his person; and nobly refused to desert his episcopal station, till he had dismissed in safety the last of the congregation. The darkness and tumult of the night favored the retreat of the archbishop; and though he was oppressed by the waves of an agitated multitude, though he was thrown to the ground, and left without sense or motion, he still recovered his undaunted courage, and eluded the eager search of the soldiers, who were instructed by their Arian guides, that the head of Athanasius would be the most acceptable present to the emperor. From that moment the primate of Egypt disappeared from the eyes of his enemies, and remained above six years concealed in impenetrable obscurity.[137]

His retreat, A. D. 356–362.

The despotic power of his implacable enemy filled the whole extent of the Roman world; and the exasperated monarch had endeavored, by a very pressing epistle to the Christian princes of Ethiopia,* to exclude Athanasius from the most remote and

[136] These minute circumstances are curious, as they are literally transcribed from the protest, which was publicly presented three days afterwards by the Catholics of Alexandria. See *Athanas.* tom. 1, p. 867.

[137] The Jansenists have often compared Athanasius and Arnauld, and have expatiated with pleasure on the faith and zeal, the merit and exile, of those celebrated doctors. This concealed parallel is very dexterously managed by the Abbé de la Bleterie, *Vie de Jovien.* tom. i. p. 130.

* The princes were called Aeizanas and Saiazanas. Athanasius calls them the kings of Axum (*οἱ ἐν Αὐξουμει Τύραννοι*). In the superscription of his letter, Constantius gives them no title, *Νικήτης Κονστάντιος μέγιστος σέβαστος Αιξανᾷ καὶ Σαζανᾷ.* Mr. Salt, during his first journey in Ethiopia (in 1806),

sequestered regions of the earth. Counts, præfects, tribunes, whole armies, were successively employed to pursue a bishop and a fugitive; the vigilance of the civil and military powers was excited by the imperial edicts; liberal rewards were promised to the man who should produce Athanasius, either alive or dead; and the most severe penalties were denounced against those who should dare to protect the public enemy.[138] But the deserts of Thebais were now peopled by a race of wild, yet submissive fanatics, who preferred the commands of their abbot to the laws of their sovereign. The numerous disciples of Antony and Pachomius received the fugitive primate as their father, admired the patience and humility with which he conformed to their strictest institutions, collected every word which dropped from his lips as the genuine effusions of inspired wisdom; and persuaded themselves, that their prayers, their fasts, and their vigils, were less meritorious than the zeal which they expressed, and the dangers which they braved, in the defence of truth and innocence.[139] The monasteries of Egypt were seated in lonely and desolate places, on the summit of mountains, or in the islands of the Nile; and the sacred horn or trumpet of Tabenne was the well-known signal which assembled several thousand robust and determined monks, who, for the most part, had been the peasants of the adjacent country. When their dark retreats were invaded by a military force, which it was impossible to resist, they silently stretched out their necks to the executioner; and supported their national character, that tortures could never wrest from an Egyptian the confession of a secret which he was resolved not to disclose.[140] The

138 Hinc jam toto orbe profugus Athanasius, nec ullus ei tutus ad latendum supererat locus. Tribuni, præfecti, comites, exercitus quoque, ad pervestigandum eum moventur edictis Imperialibus; præmia delatoribus proponuntur, si quis eum vivum, si id minus, caput certe Athanasii detulisset. *Rufin.* l. i. c. 16.

139 *Gregor. Nazianzen.* tom. i. *Orat.* xxi. pp. 384, 385. See Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. vii. pp 176–410, 820–880.

140 Et nulla tormentorem vis invenir adhuc potuit; quæ odurato illius tractus latroni invito elicere potuit, ut nomen proprium dicat. *Ammian.* xxii. 16, and *Valesius ad locum.*

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discovered, in the ruins of Axum, a long and very interesting inscription relating to these princes. It was erected to commemorate the victory of Aeizanas over the Bougaitæ (St. Martin considers them the Blemmyes, whose true name is Bedjah or Bodjah). Aeizanas is styled king of the Axumites, the Homerites, of Raeidan, of the Ethiopians, of the Sabarites, of Silea, of Tiamo, of the Bougaites, and of Kaei. It appears that at this time the king of the Ethiopians ruled over the Homerites, the inhabitants of Yemen. He was not yet a Christian, as he calls himself son of the invincible Mars, *υἱὸς θεοῦ ἀνικήτου Ἄρεως*. Another brother besides Saiazanas, named Adephas, is mentioned, though Aeizanas seems to have been sole king. See St. Martin, note on Le Beau, ii. 151, Salt's *Travels.* Silv. de Sacy, note in *Annales des Voyages*, xi. p. 53.—MILMAN.

archbishop of Alexandria, for whose safety they eagerly devoted their lives, was lost among a uniform and well-disciplined multitude; and on the nearer approach of danger, he was swiftly removed, by their officious hands, from one place of concealment to another, till he reached the formidable deserts, which the gloomy and credulous temper of superstition had peopled with demons and savage monsters. The retirement of Athanasius, which ended only with the life of Constantius, was spent, for the most part, in the society of the monks, who faithfully served him as guards, as secretaries, and as messengers; but the importance of maintaining a more intimate connexion with the catholic party tempted him, whenever the diligence of the pursuit was abated, to emerge from the desert, to introduce himself into Alexandria, and to trust his person to the discretion of his friends and adherents. His various adventures might have furnished the subject of a very entertaining romance. He was once secreted in a dry cistern, which he had scarcely left before he was betrayed by the treachery of a female slave;[141] and he was once concealed in a still more extraordinary asylum, the house of a virgin, only twenty years of age, and who was celebrated in the whole city for her exquisite beauty. At the hour of midnight, as she related the story many years afterwards, she was surprised by the appearance of the archbishop in a loose undress, who, advancing with hasty steps, conjured her to afford him the protection which he had been directed by a celestial vision* to seek under her hospitable roof. The pious maid accepted and preserved the sacred pledge which was intrusted to her prudence and courage. Without imparting the secret to any one, she instantly conducted Athanasius into her most secret chamber, and watched over his safety with the tenderness of a friend and the assiduity of a servant. As long as the danger continued, she regularly supplied him with books and provisions, washed his

141 *Rufin.* l. i. c. 18. *Sozomen*, l. iv. c. 10. This and the following story will be rendered impossible if we suppose that Athanasius always inhabited the asylum which he accidentally or occasionally had used.

* Christians must admire the good taste of this *vision celestial* in recommending to the good Athanasius so charming a retreat the veritable earthly Eden to which the saint aspired—and the higher orders of the clergy may envy the orthodox bishop so fascinating a companion to solace his seclusion. But is it not sad to reflect that since the advent of the materialistic doctrine of "the survival "of the fittest," these good genii have deserted the earth, and no longer direct the affairs of pious Christian emperors like Constantine, or holy orthodox bishops like Athanasius?—E.

feet, managed his correspondence, and dexterously concealed from the eye of suspicion, this familiar and solitary intercourse, between a saint whose character required the most unblemished chastity, and a female whose charms might excite the most dangerous emotions.[142] During the six years of persecution and exile, Athanasius repeated his visits to his fair and faithful companion; and the formal declaration, that he *saw* the councils of Rimini and Seleucia,[143] forces us to believe that he was secretly present at the time and place of their convocation. The advantage of personally negotiating with his friends, and of observing and improving the divisions of his enemies, might justify, in a prudent statesman, so bold and dangerous an enterprise; and Alexandria was connected by trade and navigation with every sea-port of the Mediterranean. From the depth of his inaccessible retreat, the intrepid primate waged an incessant and offensive war against the protector of the Arians; and his seasonable writings, which were diligently circulated, and eagerly perused, contributed to unite and animate the orthodox party. In his public apologies, which he addressed to the emperor himself, he sometimes affected the praise of moderation; whilst at the same time, in secret and vehement invectives, he exposed Constantius as a weak and wicked prince, the executioner of his family, the tyrant of the republic, and the antichrist of the church. In the height of his prosperity, the victorious monarch, who had chastised the rashness of Gallus, and suppressed the revolt of Sylvanus, who had taken the diadem from the head of Vetranio, and vanquished in the field the legions of Magnentius, received from an invisible hand a wound, which he could neither heal nor revenge; and the son of Constantine was the first of the Christian princes who experienced the strength of those principles, which, in the cause of religion, could resist the most violent exertions of the civil power.[144]

142 Palladius (*Hist. Lausiac.* c. 136, in *Vit. Patrum*, p. 776), the original author of this anecdote, had conversed with the damsel, who in her old age still remembered with pleasure so pious and honorable a connection. I cannot indulge the delicacy of Baronius, Valesius, Tillemont, &c., who almost reject a story so unworthy, as they deem it, of the gravity of ecclesiastical history.

143 *Athanas.* tom. i. p. 869. I agree with Tillemont (tom. viii. p. 1197), that his expressions imply a personal, though perhaps secret visit to the synods.

144 The epistle of Athanasius to the monks is filled with reproaches, which the public must feel to be true (vol. i. pp. 834, 856); and, in compliment to his readers, he has introduced the comparisons of Pharaoh, Ahab, Belshazzar, &c. The boldness of Hilary was attended with less danger, if he published his invective in Gaul, after the revolt of Julian; but Lucifer sent his libels to Constantius, and almost challenged the reward of martyrdom. See *Tillemont*, tom. vii. p. 905.

Arian bishops.

The persecution of Athanasius, and of so many respectable bishops, who suffered for the truth of their opinions, or at least for the integrity of their conscience, was a just subject of indignation and discontent to all Christians, except those who were blindly devoted to the Arian faction. The people regretted the loss of their faithful pastors, whose banishment was usually followed by the intrusion of a stranger,[145] into the episcopal chair; and loudly complained that the right of election was violated, and that they were condemned to obey a mercenary usurper, whose person was unknown, and whose principles were suspected. The Catholics might prove to the world, that they were not involved in the guilt and heresy of their ecclesiastical governor, by publicly testifying their dissent, or by totally separating themselves from his communion. The first of these methods was invented at Antioch, and practiced with such success, that it was soon diffused over the Christian world. The doxology, or sacred hymn, which celebrates the *glory* of the Trinity, is susceptible of very nice, but material, inflections; and the substance of an orthodox, or an heretical, creed, may be expressed by the difference of a disjunctive, or a copulative particle. Alternate responses, and a more regular psalmody,[146] were introduced into the public service by Flavianus and Diodorus, two devout and active laymen, who were attached to the Nicene faith. Under their conduct, a swarm of monks issued from the adjacent desert, bands of well-disciplined singers were stationed in the cathedral of Antioch, the glory to the Father, *and* the Son, *and* the Holy Ghost,[147] was triumphantly chanted by a full chorus of voices; and the Catholics insulted, by the purity

Divisions.

[145] Athanasius (tom. i. p. 811) complains in general of this practice, which he afterwards exemplifies (p. 861) in the pretended election of Fælix. Three eunuchs represented the Roman people, and three prelates, who followed the court, assumed the functions of the bishops of the Suburbicarian provinces.

[146] Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. l. ii. c. 72, 73, pp. 966–984) has collected many curious facts concerning the origin and progress of church singing, both in the East and West.*

[147] *Philostorgius*, l. iii. c. 13. Godefroy has examined this subject with singular accuracy (p. 147, &c.). There were three heterodox forms: "To the Father *by* "the Son, *and* in the Holy Ghost"; "To the Father, *and* the Son *in* the Holy "Ghost"; and "To the Father *in* the Son *and* the Holy Ghost."

*Arius appears to have been the first to avail himself of this means of impressing his doctrines on the popular ear; he composed songs for sailors, millers, and travelers, and set them to common airs; "beguiling the ignorant, by the sweetness of his music, into the impiety of his doctrines." *Philostorgius*, ii. 2. Arian singers used to parade the streets of Constantinople by night, till Chrysostom arrayed against them a band of orthodox choristers. *Sozomen*, viii.—MILMAN.

of their doctrine, the Arian prelate, who had usurped the throne of the venerable Eustathius. The same zeal which inspired their songs, prompted the more scrupulous members of the orthodox party to form separate assemblies, which were governed by the presbyters, till the death of their exiled bishop allowed the election and consecration of a new episcopal pastor.[148] The revolutions of the court multiplied the number of pretenders; and the same city was often disputed, under the reign of Constantius, by two or three, or even four bishops, who exercised their spiritual jurisdiction over their respective followers, and alternately lost and regained the temporal possessions of the church. The abuse of Christianity introduced into the Roman government new causes of tyranny and sedition; the bands of civil society were torn asunder by the fury of religious factions; and the obscure citizen who might calmly have surveyed the elevation and fall of successive emperors, imagined and experienced, that his own life and fortune were connected with the interests of a popular ecclesiastic. The example of the two capitals, Rome and Constantinople, may serve to represent the state of the empire, and the temper of mankind, under the reign of the sons of Constantine.

Rome.

I. The Roman pontiff, as long as he maintained his station and his principles, was guarded by the warm attachment of a great people; and could reject with scorn the prayers, the menaces, and the oblations of an heretical prince. When the eunuchs had secretly pronounced the exile of Liberius, the well-grounded apprehension of a tumult engaged them to use the utmost precautions in the execution of the sentence. The capital was invested on every side, and the præfect was commanded to seize the person of the bishop, either by stratagem, or by open force. The order was obeyed, and Liberius, with the greatest difficulty, at the hour of midnight, was swiftly conveyed beyond the reach of the Roman people, before their consternation was turned into rage. As soon as they were informed of his banishment into Thrace, a general assembly was convened, and the clergy of Rome bound themselves,

[148] After the exile of Eustathius, under the reign of Constantine, the rigid party of the orthodox formed a separation which afterwards degenerated into a schism, and lasted above fourscore years. See Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. vii. pp. 35–54, 1137–1158, tom. viii. pp. 537–632, 1314–1332. In many churches, the Arians and Homoousians, who had renounced each other's *communion*, continued for some time to join in prayer. *Philostorgius*, l. iii. c. 14.

by a public and solemn oath, never to desert their bishop, never to acknowledge the usurper Fælix; who, by the influence of the eunuchs, had been irregularly chosen and consecrated within the walls of a profane palace. At the end of two years, their pious obstinacy subsisted entire and unshaken; and when Constantius visited Rome, he was assailed by the importunate solicitations of a people, who had preserved, as the last remnant of their ancient freedom, the right of treating their sovereign with familiar insolence. The wives of many of the senators and most honorable citizens, after pressing their husbands to intercede in favor of Liberius, were advised to undertake a commission, which in their hands would be less dangerous, and might prove more successful. The emperor received with politeness these female deputies, whose wealth and dignity were displayed in the magnificence of their dress and ornaments: he admired their inflexible resolution of following their beloved pastor to the most distant regions of the earth; and consented that the two bishops, Liberius and Fælix, should govern in peace their respective congregations. But the ideas of toleration were so repugnant to the practice, and even to the sentiments, of those times, that when the answer of Constantius was publicly read in the circus of Rome, so reasonable a project of accommodation was rejected with contempt and ridicule. The eager vehemence which animated the spectators in the decisive moment of a horse-race, was now directed towards a different object; and the circus resounded with the shout of thousands, who repeatedly exclaimed, "One God, one Christ, one bishop!" The zeal of the Roman people in the cause of Liberius was not confined to words alone; and the dangerous and bloody sedition which they excited soon after the departure of Constantius determined that prince to accept the submission of the exiled prelate, and to restore him to the undivided dominion of the capital. After some ineffectual resistance, his rival was expelled from the city by the permission of the emperor and the power of the opposite faction; the adherents of Felix were inhumanly murdered in the streets, in the public places, in the baths, and even in the churches;* and

* The assurance and impudence of these sectarians can never be excelled. They professed all the virtues and practiced all the vices—they preached the glad tidings of "Peace on earth and good will to man," and practiced the most relentless cruelty. "Ye are like unto whited sepulchres," said Jesus, "which indeed "appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones and of all "uncleanness."—E.

the face of Rome, upon the return of a Christian bishop, renewed the horrid image of the massacres of Marius, and the proscriptions of Sylla.[149]

Constantinople.

II. Notwithstanding the rapid increase of Christians under the reign of the Flavian family, Rome, Alexandria, and the other great cities of the empire, still contained a strong and powerful faction of infidels, who envied the prosperity, and who ridiculed, even on their theatres, the theological disputes of the church. Constantinople alone enjoyed the advantage of being born and educated in the bosom of the faith. The capital of the East had never been polluted by the worship of idols; and the whole body of the people had deeply imbibed the opinions, the virtues, and the passions, which distinguished the Christians of that age from the rest of mankind. After the death of Alexander, the episcopal throne was disputed by Paul and Macedonius.† By their zeal and abilities they both deserved the eminent station to which they aspired; and if the moral character of Macedonius was less exceptionable, his competitor had the advantage of a prior election and a more orthodox doctrine. His firm attachment to the Nicene creed, which has given Paul a place in the calendar among saints and martyrs, exposed him to the resentment of the Arians. In the space of fourteen years, he was five

[149] See, on this ecclestical revolution of Rome, *Ammianus*, xv. 7. *Athanas.* tom. i. pp. 834, 861. *Sozomen*, l. iv. c. 15. *Theodoret*, l. ii. c. 17. Sulp. Sever. *Hist. Sacra*, l. ii. p. 413. *Hieronym. Chron. Marcellin. et Faustin. Libell.* pp. 3, 4. Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. vi. p. 336.*

* Neander has given some farther particulars, omitted by Gibbon, but which illustrate strikingly the spirit of the age and the tendency of hierarchial action. To regain possession of his diocese, Liberius, in the year 358, subscribed a creed, drawn up by Arian prelates at Sirmium. But in the meantime, a presbyter, named Eusebius, had gathered a congregation at Rome, who assembled in a private house, and refused to hold communion with those who were favored by the court. On the return of Liberius, these Eusebians refused to recognize him as bishop, on account of his recantation, and continued their separate meetings, till they were suppressed by force, and their leader confined to a room in his own house. Then followed twenty years of strife and bloodshed, disgraced by the tragic scenes that will be found noticed in another chapter. To terminate these contests, Gratian was obliged to issue a particular decree, when the haughty and ostentatious Damasus was left in quiet possession of the rich prize, for which he had sacrificed his own character, the peace of Rome, and the lives of some hundred desperate fanatics. "In this schism," says Neander, "we observe the "corrupting influence of worldly prosperity and abundance on the church of "Rome, and how spiritual concerns were confounded with secular. We see "what a mighty interest of profane passions was already existing there." But neither the triumph of Damasus, nor the banishment of his competitor, nor the decree of Gratian, could at once restore tranquility; the division was still prolonged, and other bishops joined in the agitation. *Hist. of Christianity*, vol. iii, p. 313—315.—ENG. CH.

† Eusebius of Nicomedia succeeded Alexander; he died in 342, after which the contest arose between Paul and Macedonius. Paul was put to death in 352. *Clin. F. R.* 1, 397, 407, 423.—ENG. CH.

times driven from his throne; to which he was more frequently restored by the violence of the people, than by the permission of the prince; and the power of Macedonius could be secured only by the death of his rival. The unfortunate Paul was dragged in chains from the sandy deserts of Mesopotamia to the most desolate places of Mount Taurus,[150] confined in a dark and narrow dungeon, left six days without food, and at length strangled, by the order of Philip, one of the principal ministers of the emperor Constantius.[151] The first blood which stained the new capital was spilt in this ecclesiastical contest; and many persons were slain on both sides, in the furious and obstinate seditions of the people. The commission of enforcing a sentence of banishment against Paul, had been intrusted to Hermogenes, the master-general of the cavalry; but the execution of it was fatal to himself. The Catholics rose in the defence of their bishop; the palace of Hermogenes was consumed; the first military officer of the empire was dragged by the heels through the streets of Constantinople, and, after he expired, his lifeless corpse was exposed to their wanton insults.[152] The fate of Hermogenes instructed Philip, the prætorian præfect, to act with more precaution on a similar occasion. In the most gentle and honorable terms he required the attendance of Paul in the baths of Zeuxippus, which had a private communication with the palace and the sea. A vessel, which lay ready at the garden stairs, immediately hoisted sail; and, while the people were still ignorant of the meditated sacrilege, their bishop was already embarked on his voyage to Thessalonica. They soon be-

150 Cucusus was the last stage of his life and sufferings. The situation of that lonely town, on the confines of Cappadocia, Cilicia, and the Lesser Armenia, has occasioned some geographical perplexity; but we are directed to the true spot by the course of the Roman road from Cæsarea to Anazarbus. See *Cellarii Geograph.* tom. ii. p. 213. *Wesseling ad Itinerar.* pp. 179, 703.

151 *Athanasius* (tom. i. pp. 703, 813, 814) affirms, in the most positive terms, that Paul was murdered; and appeals, not only to common fame, but even to the unsuspicious testimony of Philagrius, one of the Arian persecutors. Yet he acknowledges that the heretics attributed to disease the death of the bishop of Constantinople. Athanasius is servilely copied by Socrates (l. ii. c. 26); but Sozomen, who discovers a more liberal temper, presumes (l. iv. c. 2) to insinuate a prudent doubt.

152 *Ammianus* (xiv. 10) refers to his own account of this tragic event. but we no longer possess that part of his history.*

* The murder of Hermogenes took place at the first expulsion of Paul from the see of Constantinople.—Milman.

The sedition, in which Hermogenes fell, is accurately fixed by *Socrates* (ii. 12, 13) to the year 342. From various authorities, Clinton has shown (*F. R.* 1, 423), that the final exile and death of Paul, through the agency of Philippus, took place in 352. Between the two events related by Gibbon, ten years of strife intervened.—Eng. Ch.

held, with surprise and indignation, the gates of the palace thrown open, and the usurper, Macedonius seated by the side of the præfect on a lofty chariot, which was surrounded by troops of guards with drawn swords. The military procession advanced towards the cathedral; the Arians and the Catholics eagerly rushed to occupy that important post; and three thousand one hundred and fifty persons lost their lives in the confusion of the tumult. Macedonius, who was supported by a regular force, obtained a decisive victory; but his reign was disturbed by clamor and sedition; and the causes which appeared the least connected with the subject of dispute, were sufficient to nourish and to kindle the flame of civil discord. As the chapel in which the body of the great Constantine had been deposited was in a ruinous condition, the bishops transported those venerable remains into the church of St. Acacius. This prudent and even pious measure was represented as a wicked profanation, by the whole party which adhered to the Humoousian doctrine. The factions immediately flew to arms, the consecrated ground was used as their field of battle; and one of the ecclesiastical historians has observed, as a real fact, not as a figure of rhetoric, that the well before the church overflowed with a stream of blood,* which filled the porticos and the adjacent courts. The writer who should impute these tumults solely to a religious principle, would betray a very imperfect knowledge of human nature; yet it must be confessed, that the motives which misled the sincerity of zeal, and the pretence which disguised the licentiousness of passion, suppressed the remorse which, in another cause, would have succeeded to the rage of the Christians of Constantinople.[153]

[153] See *Socrates*, l. ii. c. 6, 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 26, 27, 38, and *Sozomen*, l. iii. 3, 4, 7, 9; l. iv. c. ii. 21. The acts of St. Paul of Constantinople, of which Photius has made an abstract (*Phot. Bibliot.* pp. 1419–1430), are an indifferent copy of these historians; but a modern Greek, who could write the life of a saint without adding fables and miracles, is entitled to some commendation.†

* Religion! "what unnumbered crimes have been committed in thy holy name!" M. Guizot, who waxed so eloquent in former chapters at even the suggestion of Pagan persecution, offers here no remonstrance to this accumulated evidence of Christian intolerance, but remains as silent as the grave—as unconcerned and unfeeling as the stone image of the Egyptian sphinx.—E.

† Religion is profaned by the mere idea, that it can contain principles or inspire feelings, that prompt to such atrocities. The guilt rests with those, who give the name of religion to *that*, which they use only as the instrument of their ambition. The transactions, which occupy the late pages of this history, never would have disgraced human nature, had there been no hierarchial prizes, to inflame the cupidity of rival claimants, and hire the services of venal factions. Again, let the reader mark the advance of that pernicious influence, and observe, how it produced the irritations of enfeebled mind and the exhausting paroxysms of passion, which were the immediate causes and heralds of social decay.—E. C.

Cruelty of the Arians.

The cruel and arbitrary disposition of Constantius, which did not always require the provocation of guilt and resistance, was justly exasperated by the tumults of his capital, and the criminal behavior of a faction, which opposed the authority and religion of their sovereign. The ordinary punishments of death, exile, and confiscation, were inflicted with partial rigor; and the Greeks still revere the holy memory of two clerks, a reader and a sub-deacon, who were accused of the murder of Hermogenes, and beheaded at the gates of Constantinople. By an edict of Constantius against the Catholics, which has not been judged worthy of a place in the *Theodosian Code*, those who refused to communicate with the Arian bishops, and particularly with Macedonius, were deprived of the immunities of ecclesiastics, and of the rights of Christians; they were compelled to relinquish the possession of the churches; and were strictly prohibited from holding their assemblies within the walls of the city. The execution of this unjust law, in the provinces of Thrace and Asia Minor, was committed to the zeal of Macedonius; the civil and military powers were directed to obey his commands; and the cruelties exercised by this Semi-Arian tyrant in the support of the *Homoiousion*, exceeded the commission, and disgraced the reign, of Constantius. The sacraments of the church were administered to the reluctant victims, who denied the vocation, and abhorred the principles, of Macedonius. The rites of baptism were conferred on women and children, who, for that purpose, had been torn from the arms of their friends and parents; the mouths of the communicants were held open, by a wooden engine, while the consecrated bread was forced down their throats; the breasts of tender virgins were either burnt with red-hot egg-shells,* or inhumanly compressed between sharp and heavy boards.[154] The Novatians of Constantinople and the adjacent country, by their firm attachment to the Homoousian standard, deserved to be confounded with the Catholics themselves. Macedonius

[154] *Socrates*, l. ii. c. 27, 38. *Sozomen*, l. iv. c. 21. The principal assistants of Macedonius, in the work of persecution, were the two bishops of Nicomedia and Cyzicus, who were esteemed for their virtues, and especially for their charity. I cannot forbear reminding the reader, that the difference between the *Homoousion* and *Homoiousion*, is almost invisible to the nicest theological eye.

* The Indians of North America, who scalped their unresisting victims, and burned their living captives at the stake, could have taken lessons in brutality from these Christian fanatics, and learned from them methods of ingenious cruelty—exquisite refinements in torture—of which their savage natures had never conceived.—E.

was informed that a large district of Paphlagonia[155] was almost entirely inhabited by those sectaries. He resolved either to convert or to extirpate them: and as he distrusted, on this occasion, the efficacy of an ecclesiastical mission, he commanded a body of four thousand legionaries to march against the rebels, and to reduce the territory of Mantinium under his spiritual dominion. The Novatian peasants, animated by despair and religious fury, boldly encountered the invaders of their country; and though many of the Paphlagonians were slain, the Roman legions were vanquished by an irregular multitude, armed only with scythes and axes; and, except a few who escaped by an ignominious flight, four thousand soldiers were left dead on the field of battle. The successor of Constantius has expressed, in a concise but lively manner, some of the theological calamities which afflicted the empire, and more especially the East, in the reign of a prince who was the slave of his own passions, and of those of his eunuchs. "Many were imprisoned, and "persecuted, and driven into exile. Whole troops of those "who were styled heretics were massacred, particularly at "Cyzicus, and at Samosata. In Paphlagonia, Bithynia, "Galatia, and in many other provinces, towns and villages "were laid waste, and utterly destroyed."[156]

The revolt and fury of the Donatist Circumcellions. A. D. 345, &c.

While the flames of the Arian Controversy consumed the vitals of the empire, the African provinces were infested by their peculiar enemies the savage fanatics, who, under the name of *Circumcellions*, formed the strength and scandal of the Donatist party.[157] The severe execution of the laws of Constantine had excited a spirit of discontent and resistance; the strenuous efforts of his son Constans, to restore the unity of the church, exasperated the sentiments of mutual hatred, which had first occasioned the separation; and the methods of force and corruption employed by the two im-

[155] We are ignorant of the precise situation of Mantinium. In speaking of these *four* bands of legionaries, Socrates, Sozomen, and the author of the acts of St. Paul, use the indefinite terms of ἀριθμοι, φάλαγγες, τάγματα, which Nicephorus very properly translates *thousands*. *Vales. ad Socrat.* l. ii. c, 38.

[156] Julian. *Epistol.* l. ii. p. 436, edit. Spanheim.

[157] See *Optatus Milevitanus* (particularly iii. 4), with the Donatist history, by M. Dupin, and the original pieces at the end of his edition. The numerous circumstances which Augustin has mentioned, of the fury of the Circumcellions against others, and against themselves, have been laboriously collected by Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. vi. pp. 147–165; and he has often, though without design, exposed the injuries which had provoked those fanatics.*

* According to Neander (*Hist. of Christianity*, vol. iii, p. 272), who appeals to Augustine *Enarrat.* in ψ 132, s. 6), "it is clear that these people were called

perial commissioners, Paul and Macarius, furnished the schismatics with a specious contrast between the maxims of the apostles and the conduct of their pretended successors.[158] The peasants who inhabited the villages of Numidia and Mauritania, were a ferocious race, who had been imperfectly reduced under the authority of the Roman laws; who were imperfectly converted to the Christian faith; but who were actuated by a blind and furious enthusiasm in the cause of their Donatist teachers. They indignantly supported the exile of their bishops, the demolition of their churches, and the interruption of their secret assemblies. The violence of the officers of justice, who were usually sustained by a military guard, was sometimes repelled with equal violence; and the blood of some popular ecclesiastics, which had been shed in the quarrel, inflamed their rude followers with an eager desire of revenging the death of these holy martyrs. By their own cruelty and rashness, the ministers of persecution sometimes provoked their fate; and the guilt of an accidental tumult precipitated the criminals into despair and rebellion. Driven from their native villages, the Donatist peasants assembled in formidable gangs on the edge of the Getulian desert, and readily exchanged the habits of labor for a life of idleness and rapine,

158 It is amusing enough to observe the language of opposite parties, when they speak of the same men and things. Gratus, bishop of Carthage, begins the acclamations of an orthodox synod, "Gratias Deo omnipotenti et Christu Jesu * * * qui imperavit religiosissimo Constanti Imperatori, ut votum gereret unitatis, et mitteret ministros sancti operis *famulos Dei* Paulum et Macarium."* *Monument. Vet. ad Calcem Optati*, p. 313. "Ecce subito," says the Donatist author of the *Passion of Marculus*, "de Constantis regis tyrannica domo * * * "pollutum Marcarianæ persecutionis murmur increpuit, et *duabus bestiis* ad "Africam missis, eodem scilicet Macario et Paulo, execrandum prorsus ac "dirum ecclesiæ certamen indictum est; ut populus Christianus ad unionem "cum traditoribus faciendam, nudatis militum gladiis et draconum præsentibus "signis, et tubarum vocibus cogeretur." † *Monument*, p. 304.

"*circumcelliones* by their opponents alone, while they gave to themselves the "name of *agnostici*."‡ These once so violent, long extinct, and now almost forgotten, schismatics, are only worthy of notice, inasmuch as they hold up a mirror, wherein fanaticism of every kind may see its own image, and read the destiny of all the nonsense, for which its dupes so madly tear themselves and others to pieces.—ENG. CH.

* Thanks to Almighty God and Jesus Christ, who commanded the most religious Emperor Constans to issue an edict of uniformity, and send *the servants of God*, Paulus and Macarius, as ministers of the holy work.—Translation by ENG. CH.

† Then on a sudden was heard from the tyrannical palace of Constans, the cry of the Marcarian persecution, and *the two beasts*, Macarian and Paulus, were sent to Africa, to wage a dire and execrable war with the church, and force the people of Christ to unite with traitors, by the naked swords of soldiers, their frightful ensigns, and the clangor of their trumpets.—Translation by ENG. CH.

‡ It is curious to observe how the names of these old sects are frequently revived. The word *Agnostic* has again become popular as a designation for a numerous class of philosophers; and a liberal paper, by that name, is now published at Dallas, Texas.—E.

which was consecrated by the name of religion, and faintly condemned by the doctors of the sect. The leaders of the Circumcellions assumed the title of captains of the saints; their principal weapon, as they were indifferently provided with swords and spears, was a huge and weighty club, which they termed an *Israelite;* and the well-known sound of *Praise be to God*, which they used as their cry of war, diffused consternation over the unarmed provinces of Africa. At first their depredations were colored by the plea of necessity; but they soon exceeded the measure of subsistence, indulged without control their intemperance and avarice, burnt the villages which they had pillaged, and reigned the licentious tyrants of the open country. The occupations of husbandry, and the administration of justice, were interrupted; and as the Circumcellions pretended to restore the primitive equality of mankind, and to reform the abuses of civil society, they opened a secure asylum for the slaves and debtors, who flocked in crowds to their holy standard. When they were not resisted, they usually contented themselves with plunder, but the slightest opposition provoked them to acts of violence and murder; and some Catholic priests, who had imprudently signalized their zeal, were tortured by the fanatics with the most refined and wanton barbarity. The spirit of the Circumcellions was not always exerted against their defenceless enemies; they engaged, and sometimes defeated, the troops of the province; and in the bloody action of Bagai, they attacked in the open field, but with unsuccessful valor, an advanced guard of the imperial cavalry. The Donatists who were taken in arms, received, and they soon deserved, the same treatment which might have been shown to the wild beasts of the desert. The captives died, without a murmur either by the sword, the axe, or the fire; and the measures of retaliation were multiplied in a rapid proportion, which aggravated the horrors of rebellion, and excluded the hope of mutual forgiveness. In the beginning of the present century, the example of the Circumcellions has been renewed in the persecution, the boldness, the crimes, and the enthusiasm of the Camisards; and if the fanatics of Languedoc surpassed those of Numidia, by their military achievements, the Africans maintained their fierce independence with more resolution and preseverance.[169]

[169] The *Histoire des Camisards*, in 3 vols. 12mo. Villefranche, 1760, may be recommended as accurate and impartial. It requires some attention to discover the religion of the author.

Such disorders are the natural effects of religious tyranny; but the rage of the Donatists was inflamed by a frenzy of a very extraordinary kind; and which, if it really prevailed among them in so extravagant a degree, cannot surely be paralleled in any country or in any age. Many of these fanatics were possessed with the horror of life, and the desire of martyrdom; and they deemed it of little moment by what means, or by what hands, they perished, if their conduct was sanctified by the intention of devoting themselves to the glory of the true faith, and the hope of eternal happiness.[160] Sometimes they rudely disturbed the festivals, and profaned the temples, of Paganism, with the design of exciting the most zealous of the idolaters to revenge the insulted honor of their gods. They sometimes forced their way into the courts of justice, and compelled the affrighted judge to give orders for their immediate execution. They frequently stopped travelers on the public highways, and obliged them to inflict the stroke of martyrdom, by the promise of a reward, if they consented, and by the threat of instant death, if they refused to grant so very singular a favor. When they were disappointed of every other resource, they announced the day on which, in the presence of their friends and brethren, they should cast themselves headlong from some lofty rock; and many precipices were shown, which had acquired fame by the number of religious suicides.* In the actions of these desperate enthusiasts, who were admired by one party as the martyrs of God, and abhorred by the other as the victims of Satan, an impartial philosopher may discover the influence and the last abuse of that inflexible spirit, which was originally derived from the character and principles of the Jewish nation.

Their religious suicides.

The simple narrative of the intestine divisions, which distracted the peace, and dishonored the triumph, of the church, will confirm the remark of a Pagan historian, and justify the complaint of a venerable bishop. The experience of Am-

General character of the Christian sect. A. D. 312-361.

160 The Donatist suicides alleged in their justification the example of Razias, which is related in the 14th chapter of the second book of the Maccabees.

* Religious frenzy is a terrible infliction on the human race, and weak minds are often driven by it into insanity. We see, even in modern times, a fond father imitating the example of the patriarch Abraham, and sacrificing his beloved child to appease the anger of an offended God. We see a wretched fanatic assassinating the president of the republic, and claiming that the deed was inspired by the God he worshiped.—E.

mianus had convinced him, that the enmity of the Christians towards each other, surpassed the fury of savage beasts against man;[161] and Gregory Nazianzen most pathetically laments, that the kingdom of heaven was converted, by discord, into the image of chaos, of a nocturnal tempest, and of hell itself.[162] * The fierce and partial writers of the times, ascribing *all* virtue to themselves, and imputing *all* guilt to their adversaries, have painted the battle of the angels and demons. Our calmer reason will reject such pure and perfect monsters of vice or sanctity, and will impute an equal, or at least an indiscriminate, measure of good and evil to the hostile sectaries, who assumed and bestowed the appellations of orthodox and heretics. They had been educated in the same religion, and the same civil society. Their hopes and fears in the present, or in a future, life, were balanced in the same proportion. On either side, the error might be innocent, the faith sincere, the practice meritorious or corrupt. Their passions were excited by similar objects; and they might alternately abuse the favor of the court, or of the people. The metaphysical opinions of the Athanasians and the Arians could not influence their moral character; and they were alike actuated by the intolerant spirit, which has been extracted from the pure and simple maxims of the gospel.†

161 Nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum, expertus. *Ammian.* xxii. 5.

162 Gregor. Nazianzen, *Orat.* i. p. 33. See *Tillemont*, tom. vi. p. 501, quarto edit.

* One who believes, with these sectarians, in the miraculous conception of the Virgin Mary—who believes, with the ancient Pagans, in the amorous union of *Deus* and *Homo*,—may, by courtesy, be termed a Christian; but cannot claim to be inspired with the principles of the Jewish reformer, who mistakingly believed himself God, and who lovingly sacrificed his life to benefit his fellow-men. How discordantly sounds the language of these *Christians*, compared with the simple teachings of Jesus: "I say unto you, Love your enemies, do good to them "which hate you, bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despite-"fully use you." (*St. Luke*, vi: 27, 28.)—E.

† Is it necessary to repeat here the protest already made against the idea of that "intolerant spirit" having been "extracted from the pure and simple maxims of "the gospel," which emanated wholly from the selfish avidities of the pseudo-teachers by whom those maxims were neglected, perverted, or corrupted?—E. C.

The statement of Gibbon that "the metaphysical opinions of the Athanasians "and the Arians could not influence their moral character," is positively true. There is absolutely no connection whatever between morality and the professed belief in creeds. Morality consists in the observance of moral duties. Belief in creeds—creeds to which the credulous give credence—results from faith, (which is "the evidence of things not seen and the substance of things hoped for"), not from knowledge, not from experience, nor from the exercise of reason. Philosophers often disbelieve evidence which proves satisfactory to children and savages.

The exercise of the moral virtues never insures salvation. You cannot enter heaven by simply doing good. "Repent and believe," is the orthodox formula for admittance to the gates of Paradise. This belief without evidence, is considered as a merit in the Christian system of theology; and disbelief, even with evidence, is imputed to the honest heretic as a crime. It was formerly held that

Toleration of Paganism, by Constantine.

A modern writer, who, with a just confidence, has prefixed to his own history the honorable epithets of political and philosophical,[163] accuses the timid prudence of Montesquieu, for neglecting to enumerate, among the causes of the decline of the empire, a law of Constantine, by which the exercise of the Pagan worship was absolutely suppressed, and a considerable part of his subjects was left destitute of priests, of temples, and of any public religion. The zeal of the philosophical historian for the rights of mankind, has induced him to acquiesce in the ambiguous testimony of those ecclesiastics, who have too lightly ascribed to their favorite hero the *merit* of a general persecution.[164] Instead of alleging this imaginary law, which would have blazed in the front of the imperial codes, we may safely appeal to the original epistle, which Constantine addressed to the followers of the ancient religion; at a time when he no longer disguised his conversion, nor dreaded the rivals of his throne. He invites and exhorts, in the most pressing terms, the subjects of the Roman empire to imitate the example of their master; but he declares; that those who still refuse to open their eyes to the celestial light, may freely enjoy their temples, and their fancied gods. A report, that the cere-

163 *Histoire Politique et Philosophique des Etablissemens des Européens dans les deux Indes*, tom. i. p. 9.

164 According to Eusebius (in *Vit. Constantin.* l. ii. c. 45), the emperor prohibited, both in cities and in the country, τα μυσαρα * * * τῆς Εἰδωλολατρνίας; the abominable acts or parts of idolatry. *Socrates* (l. i. c. 17) and *Sozomen* (l. ii. c. 4, 5) have represented the conduct of Constantine with a just regard to truth and history, which has been neglected by *Theodoret* (l. v. c. 21) and *Orosius* (vii. 28). Tum deinde (says the latter) primus Constantinus *justo* ordine et *pio* vicem vertit edicto: siquidem statuit citra ullam hominum cædem, paganorum templa claudi.

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belief could be changed, without reason and without cause, by a simple effort of the will. Acting on this theory, the holy inquisition was inaugurated to coerce the perverse unbeliever, and to establish uniformity of belief by the convincing argument of the stake and the fagot. From this attempted coercion, religious warfare arose, and the battles of the saints have ever proved the most fierce, brutal and relentless in the history of crime.

Pagans recognized the merit of morality,—and, like philosophers, considered belief the result of evidence. They, therefore, did not persecute those who differed from their religion. Christians recognize a merit in belief, not in morality, and, being aggressive and intolerant, they have deluged the earth in blood. The Greeks and Romans—the same people who gave us laws, developed the arts, taught us painting and sculpture,—who were tolerant and civilized under Paganism, became monsters of persecution under Christianity. The English Churchman stands aghast at the crime, but he fails to recognize the criminal. He cannot believe with Gibbon that this "intolerant spirit has been extracted from the pure "and simple maxims of the gospel." "By their fruits ye shall know them," is a motto Christian historians cannot always endorse. Under Paganism, the Romans lived in religious amity and worshiped the gods in peace and harmony. Under Christianity, the demon of persecution was aroused, and the spirit of fanaticism still survives the lapse of eighteen centuries.—E.

monies of Paganism were suppressed, is formally contradicted by the emperor himself, who wisely assigns, as the principle of his moderation, the invincible force of habit, of prejudice, and of superstition.[165] Without violating the sanctity of his promise, without alarming the fears of the Pagans, the artful monarch advanced, by slow and cautious steps, to undermine the irregular and decayed fabric of polytheism. The partial acts of severity which he occasionally exercised, though they were secretly prompted by a Christian zeal, were colored by the fairest pretences of justice and the public good; and while Constantine designed to ruin the foundations, he seemed to reform the abuses, of the ancient religion. After the example of the wisest of his predecessors, he condemned, under the most rigorous penalties, the occult and impious arts of divination; which excited the vain hopes, and sometimes the criminal attempts, of those who were discontented with their present condition. An ignominious silence was imposed on the oracles, which had been publicly convicted of fraud and falsehood; the effeminate priests of the Nile were abolished; and Constantine discharged the duties of a Roman censor, when he gave orders for the demolition of several temples of Phœnicia; in which every mode of prostitution was devoutly practiced in the face of day, and to the honor of Venus.[166]* The im-

[165] See Eusebius in *Vit. Constantin.* l. ii. c. 56, 60. In the sermon to the assembly of saints, which the emperor pronounced when he was mature in years and piety, he declares to the idolaters (c. xii.) that they are permitted to offer sacrifices, and to exercise every part of their religious worship.

[166] See Eusebius, in *Vit. Constantin.* l. iii. c. 54–58, and l. iv. c. 23, 25. These acts of authority may be compared with the suppression of the Bacchanals, and the demolition of the temple of Isis, by the magistrates of Pagan Rome.

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* "The reverence, as well as worship, paid to the phallus in the early ages had "nothing in it which partook of indecency," says Hodder M. Westropp, in a paper on *Phallic Worship*, read before the Anthropological Society of London, 1870. "All ideas connected with it were of a reverential and religious kind. The "indecent ideas attached to the phallic symbol were the result of a more "advanced civilization, as we have evidence at Rome and Pompeii." (See Col. Fanin's *Secret Museum of Naples*, 4to, London, 1871.)

Constant remarks, in his work on Roman polytheism: "Indecent rites may be "practiced by a religious people with the greatest purity of heart, but when "incredulity has gained a footing among these peoples, these rites become then "the cause and pretext of the most revolting corruption."

Speaking of the worship of Priapus, Voltaire says: "Our ideas of propriety "lead us to suppose that a ceremony which appears to us so infamous could "only be invented by licentiousness; but it is impossible to believe that depravity "of manners would ever have led among any people to the establishment of "religious ceremonies. It is probable, on the contrary, that this custom was "first introduced in times of simplicity, that the first thought was to honor "the deity in the symbol of life which it has given us. Such a ceremony may "have excited licentiousness among youths, and have appeared ridiculous to men "of education in more refined, more corrupt, and more enlightened times." — E.

perial city of Constantinople was, in some measure, raised at the expence, and was adorned with the spoils, of the opulent temples of Greece and Asia; the sacred property was confiscated; the statues of gods and heroes were transported, with rude familiarity, among a people who considered them as objects, not of adoration, but of curiosity: the gold and silver were restored to circulation; and the magistrates, the bishops, and the eunuchs, improved the fortunate occasion of gratifying, at once, their zeal, their avarice, and their resentment. But these depredations were confined to a small part of the Roman world; and the provinces had been long since accustomed to endure the same sacrilegious rapine, from the tyranny of princes and proconsuls, who could not be suspected of any design to subvert the established religion.[167]

The sons of Constantine trod in the footsteps of their father, with more zeal, and with less discretion. The pretences of rapine and oppression were insensibly multiplied;[168] every indulgence was shown to the illegal behavior of the Christians; every doubt was explained to the disadvantage of Paganism; and the demolition of the temples was celebrated as one of the auspicious events of the reign of Constans and Constantius.[169] The name of Constantius is prefixed to a concise law, which might have superceded the necessity of any future prohibitions. "It is our pleasure, that in all places, "and in all cities, the temples be immediately shut, and "carefully guarded, that none may have the power of "offending. It is likewise our pleasure, that all our subjects "should abstain from sacrifices. If any one should be guilty "of such an act, let him feel the sword of vengeance, and "after his execution, let his property be confiscated to the "public use. We denounce the same penalties against the "governors of the provinces, if they neglect to punish the

And his sons.

167 Eusebius (in *Vit. Constantin.* l. iii. c. 54) and Libanius (*Orat. pro Templis*, pp. 9, 10, edit. Gothofred) both mention the pious sacrilege of Constantine, which they viewed in very different lights. The latter expressly declares that "he made use of the sacred money, but made no alteration in the legal worship; "the temples indeed were impoverished, but the sacred rites were performed "there." Lardner's *Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. p. 140.

168 *Ammianus* (xxii. 4) speaks of some court eunuchs who were spoliis templorum pasti. Libanius says (*Orat. pro Templ.* l. p. 23) that the emperor often gave away a temple, like a dog, or a horse, or a slave, or a gold cup; but the devout philosopher takes care to observe, that these sacrilegious favorites very seldom prospered.

169 See Gothofred. *Cod. Theodos.* tom. vi. p. 262. Liban. *Orat. Parental.* c. x. in Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* tom. vii. p. 235.

"criminals."[170] But there is the strongest reason to believe, that this formidable edict was either composed without being published, or was published without being executed. The evidence of facts, and the monuments which are still extant of brass and marble, continue to prove the public exercise of the Pagan worship during the whole reign of the sons of Constantine. In the East, as well as in the West, in cities, as well as in the country, a great number of temples were respected, or at least were spared; and the devout multitude still enjoyed the luxury of sacrifices, of festivals, and of processions, by the permission, or by the connivance, of the civil government. About four years after the supposed date of this bloody edict, Constantius visited the temples of Rome; and the decency of his behavior is recommended by a pagan orator as an example worthy of the imitation of succeeding princes. "That emperor," says Symmachus, "suffered the privileges of the vestal virgins to "remain inviolate; he bestowed the sacerdotal dignities on "the nobles of Rome, granted the customary allowance to "defray the expenses of the public rites and sacrifices; and, "though he had embraced a different religion, he never "attempted to deprive the empire of the sacred worship of "antiquity."[171] The senate still presumed to consecrate, by solemn decrees, the *divine* memory of their sovereigns; and Constantine himself was associated, after his death, to those gods whom he had renounced and insulted during his life. The title, the ensigns, the prerogatives, of SOVEREIGN PONTIFF, which had been instituted by Numa, and assumed by Augustus, were accepted, without hesitation, by seven Christian emperors; who were invested with a more absolute authority over the religion which they had deserted, than over that which they professed.[172]

170 Placuit omnibus locis atque urbibus universis claudi protinus templa, et accessu vetitis omnibus licentiam delinqendi perditis abnegari. Volumus etiam cunctos a sacrificiis abstinere. Quod siquis aliquid forte hujusmodi perpetraverit, gladio sternatur: facultates etiam perempti fisco decernimus vindicari: et similiter adfligi rectores provinciarum si facinora vindicare neglexerint. *Cod. Theodos.* l. xvi. tit. 10, leg. 4. Chronology has discovered some contradiction in the date of this extravagant law; the only one, perhaps, by which the negligence of magistrates is punished by death and confiscation. M. de la Bastie (*Mém. de l'Academie*, tom. xv. p. 98) conjectures, with a show of reason, that this was no more than the minutes of a law, the heads of an intended bill, which were found in *Scriniis Memoriæ*, among the papers of Constantius, and afterwards inserted, as a worthy model, in the *Theodosian Code.*

171 Symmach. *Epistol.* x. 54.

172 The fourth Dissertation of M. de la Bastie, *sur le Souverain Pontificat des Empereurs Romains* (in the *Mém. de l'Acad.* tom. xv. pp. 75–144), is a very learned and judicious performance, which explains the state, and proves the toleration, of Paganism from Constantine to Gratian. The assertion of Zosimus, that Gratian was the first who refused the pontifical robe, is confirmed beyond a doubt, and the murmurs of bigotry on that subject are almost silenced.

The divisions of Christianity suspended the ruin of *Paganism*;[173] and the holy war against the infidels was less vigorously prosecuted by princes and bishops, who were more immediately alarmed by the guilt and danger of domestic rebellion. The extirpation of *idolatry*[174] might have been justified by the established principles of intoler-

[173] As I have freely anticipated the use of *pagans* and *paganism*, I shall now trace the singular revolutions of those celebrated words. 1. Πάγη, in the Doric dialect, so familiar to the Italians, signifies a fountain; and the rural neighborhood, which frequented the same fountain, derived the common appellation of *pagus* and *pagans*. (*Festus sub voce*, and *Servius ad Virgil. Georgic.* ii. 382.) 2. By an easy extension of the word, *pagan* and rural became almost synonymous, (Plin. *Hist. Natur.* xxviii. 5); and the meaner rustics acquired that name, which has been corrupted into *peasants* in the modern languages of Europe. 3. The amazing increase of the military order introduced the necessity of a correlative term (Hume's *Essays*, vol. i. p. 555); and all the *people* who were not enlisted in the service of the prince were branded with the contemptuous epithets of pagans. (Tacit. *Hist.* iii. 24, 43, 77. Juvenal. *Satir.* 16. *Tertullian de Pallio*, c. 4.) 4. The Christians were the soldiers of Christ; their adversaries, who refused his *sacrament*, or military oath of baptism, might deserve the metaphorical name of pagans; and this popular reproach was introduced as early as the reign of Valentinian (A. D. 365) into imperial laws (*Cod. Theodos.* l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 18) and theological writings. 5. Christianity gradually filled the cities of the empire; the old religion, in the time of Prudentius (advers. *Symmachum*, l. i. ad fin.) and Orosius (in *Præfat Hist.*), retired and languished in obscure villages; and the word *pagans*, with its new signification, reverted to its primitive origin. 6. Since the worship of Jupiter and his family has expired, the vacant title of pagans has been successively applied to all the idolaters and polytheists of the old and new world. 7. The Latin Christians bestowed it, without scruple, on their mortal enemies, the Mahometans; and the purest *Unitarians* were branded with the unjust reproach of idolatry and paganism. See Gerard Vossius, *Etymologicon Linguæ Latinæ*, in his works, tom. i. p. 420; Godefroy's *Commentary on the Theodosian Code*, tom. vi. p. 250; and Ducange, *Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitat. Glossar.**

[174] In the pure language of Ionia and Athens, Εἴδωλον and Λατρεία were ancient and familiar words. The former expressed a likeness, an apparition (Homer. *Odys.* xi. 601), a representation, an *image*, created either by fancy or art. The latter denoted any sort of *service* or slavery. The Jews of Egypt, who translated the *Hebrew Scriptures*, restrained the use of these words (*Exod.* xx. 4, 5) to the religious worship of an image. The peculiar idiom of the Hellenists, or Grecian Jews, has been adopted by the sacred and ecclesiastical writers; and the reproach of idolatry (Εἰδωλολατρεία) has stigmatized that visible and abject mode of superstition, which some sects of Christianity should not hastily impute to the polytheists of Greece and Rome.†

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* In the very first stage of Roman polity, the country and city tribes were distinguished as *pagi* and *vici*. (Niebuhr's *Lectures*, vol. i. p. 174.) Beside the word which Gibbon has brought before us, *pagus* has furnished the root of many others, which, through the corrupt Latinity of the middle ages and French polish, have come to us in significations very remote from their origin. *Pagius*, first a villager, then a rural laborer, then a servant of any kind, ended as an attendant *page*. *Pagina*, first the inclosed square of cultivated land, near the village, graduated into the *page* of a book. *Pagare* from denoting the field service, that compensated the provider of food and raiment, was applied eventually to every form in which the changes of society required the benefited to *pay* for what they received. See Ducange ad *Voc.* Gibbon is right in making Etymology the handmaid of History.—ENG. CH.

† The Latin *Imago*, formed from or supplying the verb *imitari*, is the root of our *Imagination*, the creator of mental *images* of all kinds, out of the stores of memory. Hitherto this has been the most active and potential of our faculties, making too little way for its superior—Reason. The prevailing *worship* of *imaginary* good, is no less *Idolatry* than was that of the ancients for their inanimate statues; and like that, it will in time be superseded by advancing Religion. —ENG. CH.

ance: but the hostile sects, which alternately reigned in the imperial court, were mutually apprehensive of alienating and perhaps exasperating, the minds of a powerful though declining faction. Every motive of authority and fashion, of interest and reason, now militated on the side of Christianity: but two or three generations elapsed before their victorious influence was universally felt. The religion which had so long and so lately been established in the Roman empire was still revered by a numerous people, less attached indeed to speculative opinion than to ancient custom. The honors of the state and army were indifferently bestowed on all the subjects of Constantine and Constantius; and a considerable portion of knowledge and wealth and valor was still engaged in the service of polytheism. The superstition of the senator and of the peasant, of the poet and the philosopher, was derived from very different causes, but they met with equal devotion in the temples of the gods. Their zeal was insensibly provoked by the insulting triumph of a proscribed sect; and their hopes were revived by the well-grounded confidence, that the presumptive heir of the empire, a young and valiant hero, who had delivered Gaul from the arms of the barbarians, had secretly embraced the religion of his ancestors.

JUNO.

CYBELE.

422*a*

IN this foreign deity, (for she is of Phrygian origin,) says C. P. Moritz in his *Mythological Works*, "the fiction of Terra is renewed, who was the mother "of all creatures. The archetype of Cybele was likewise the great productive "power that gives rise to all formations on earth. She was conceived to be the "ruler of the elements, the beginning of all times, the highest goddess of the "heavens, as well as the queen of the lower world, and even the representative "of every deity; keeping the female character, because of her ever producing "power. Although this goddess is represented sitting in a chariot drawn by "lions, and bearing a mural, or tower-crown on her head, to indicate her all-"subduing power, together with her sovereignty of the earth overspread with "cities; yet this representation is but an external cover for her incomprehensible "formless nature, which appeared to the ancients most venerable in this very "formless character. In the temple of the great mother of life, at Pessinus, in "Galatia, it was a small stone, of a blackish color, and a rough, pointed outside, "with which the idea of any regular form could be least connected, that was to "represent the alma mater. It was the idea of this mysterious being, too, which "was hidden in the person of the Egyptian Isis, whose temple bore the inscription: "'I am all that is, that was, and that will be, and no mortal has lifted my veil.'"

"Cybele is generally represented," says Lempriere, "as a robust woman far "advanced in pregnancy, to intimate the fecundity of the earth," for she was "the Great Mother" or "the Mother of the Gods." She held keys in her hand, and her head was crowned with rising turrets, and sometimes with leaves of the oak. The remarkable representation of the goddess given on the preceding page, is from Montfaucon, and symbolizes the fruitful earth. "Sometimes Cybele "is represented," continues Lempriere, "with a sceptre in her hand, with her "head covered with a tower. From Phrygia the worship passed into Greece, and "was solemnly established at Eleusis, under the name of the Eleusinian mys-"teries." The Rev. Robt. Taylor, in chapter xxxii. of *The Diegesis*, argues that "the Eleusinian Mysteries are entirely the same as the Christian sacrament of "the Lord's supper—Bacchus, as the Sun, being the common object of worship in "both." Mosheim, (*Hist. of Christ.* vol. i. chap. i. pp. 19–20,) admits that the Christians adopted many Pagan rites—"that the highest veneration was enter-"tained by the people of every country for what were termed the mysteries; and "the Christians, perceiving this, were induced to make their religion conform "in many respects to this part of the heathen model. * * * * The mode of "preparatory examination also bore a strong resemblance, in many respects, to "the course of initiatory forms observed by the heathen nations, in regard to "their mysteries. In a word, many forms and ceremonies, to pass over other "things of the Christian worship, were evidently copied from these secret rites "of Paganism." In Cent. ii. sec. xxxvi. this great scholar and candid Christian writer further admits that, as the heathen worshipers "had certain secret and "most sacred rites, to which they gave the name of '*mysteries*,' and at the "celebration of which none, except persons of the most approved faith and dis-"cretion, were permitted to be present, the Alexandrian Christians first, and "after them others, were beguiled into a notion that they could not do better "than make the Christian discipline accommodate itself to this model. * * * It "came to pass, that many terms and phrases made use of in the heathen "mysteries were transferred and applied to different parts of the Christian wor-"ship, particularly to the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper."

Alexander Adams, LL.D. in his *Roman Antiquities*, p. 288, says "the Galli, the "priests of Cybele, were so called from Gallus, a river in Phyrgia, which was "supposed to make those who drank of it mad, so that they made themselves "eunuchs as the priests of Cybele did. They used to carry round the image of "Cybele and with the gestures of mad people, rolling their heads, beating their "breasts to the sound of the flute, making a great noise with drums and cymbals."

"We find little certainty about the priests of Cybele," says Basil Kennett, of C. C. C. Oxen, in his *Antiquities of Rome*, "only that they were all eunuchs, and "by nation Phrygians; and that in their solemn processions, they danced in armor, "making a confused noise with timbrels, pipes and cymbals, howling all the "while as if they were mad, and cutting themselves as they went along."

> "And Cybele's priests, an eunuch at their head,
> "About the streets a mad procession led;
> "His awkward clergymen about him prance,
> "And beat their timbrels to their mystic dance."
>
> — *Juvenal Sat., Dryden's version.*

The priests of Cybele were always eunuchs, none other being admitted to officiate at her sacred rites, while many of the early Christians also belonged to the same unfortunate class. "For there are some eunuchs, which were so born from "*their* mother's womb: and there are some eunuchs, which were made eunuchs "of men: and there be eunuchs, which have made themselves eunuchs for the "kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive *it*, let him receive *it*." (*St. Matthew*, ch. xix. 12.)—E.

Jupiter Pluvius.*

VI.

THE RELIGION OF JULIAN.—UNIVERSAL TOLERATION.—HE ATTEMPTS TO RESTORE AND REFORM THE PAGAN WORSHIP.—TO REBUILD THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM—HIS ARTFUL PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS.—MUTUAL ZEAL AND INJUSTICE.†

Religion of Julian.

THE character of Apostate has injured the reputation of Julian ;‡ and the enthusiasm which clouded his virtues has exaggerated the real and apparent magnitude of his faults. Our partial ignorance may represent him as a philosophic monarch, who studied to protect, with an equal hand, the religious factions of the empire ; and to allay the theological fever which had inflamed the minds of the people, from the edicts of Diocletian to the exile of Athanasius. A more accurate view of the character and conduct of Julian will remove this favorable prepossession for a prince who did not escape the general contagion of the times. We enjoy the singular advantage of comparing the pictures which have been de-

*The god Jupiter received various names and titles, derived from historical events, or from places dedicated to his worship. The above singular engraving, copied from a bas-relief found at Rome, represents the god as Jupiter Pluvialis, and was designed to commemorate his great mercy in sending a copious and refreshing rain in answer to prayers, sacrifices and oblations, during a period of extreme drouth: the ancient Pagans believing, like modern Christians that by continued and persistent prayer, the supreme deity could be coerced or cajoled into acquiescence with their desires; like a fond parent who often yields, in opposition to his better judgment, to the importunities of his beloved children.—E.

†Chap. XXIII. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

‡Eckhel has a curious note on this obnoxious epithet. He maintains that apostasy denotes simply a change of opinion, and is not in itself a contumelious term, but becomes so when used by those whom the convert forsakes. He, though a Christian, avers that Constantine was an apostate as well as Julian. "Non vererer Christianus ego, spectata ejus vocis natura, ipsum Constantinum "M. vocare apostatam, quippe qui, abjecto polytheismo, Christiana sacra "respexit." *Num. Vet.* vol. viii. p. 130. note.—ENG. CH.

lineated by his fondest admirers and his implacable enemies. The actions of Julian are faithfully related by a judicious and candid historian, the impartial spectator of his life and death. The unanimous evidence of his contemporaries is confirmed by the public and private declarations of the emperor himself; and his various writings express the uniform tenor of his religious sentiments, which policy would have prompted him to dissemble rather than to affect. A devout and sincere attachment for the gods of Athens and Rome constituted the ruling passion of Julian;[1] the powers of an enlightened understanding were betrayed and corrupted by the influence of superstitious prejudice; and the phantoms which existed only in the mind of the emperor, had a real and pernicious effect on the government of the empire. The vehement zeal of the Christians, who despised the worship and overturned the altars of those fabulous deities, engaged their votary in a state of irreconcilable hostility with a very numerous party of his subjects; and he was sometimes tempted by the desire of victory, or the shame of a repulse, to violate the laws of prudence, and even of justice. The triumph of the party, which he deserted and opposed, has fixed a stain of infamy on the name of Julian; and the unsuccessful apostate has been overwhelmed with a torrent of pious invectives, of which the signal was given by the sonorous trumpet[2] of Gregory Nazianzen.[3] The interesting nature of the events which were crowded into the short reign of this active emperor deserve a just and circumstantial narrative. His motives, his councils, and his actions, as far as they are connected with the history of religion, will be the subject of the present chapter.

[1] I shall transcribe some of his own expressions from a short religious discourse which the imperial pontiff composed to censure the bold impiety of a Cynic. Ἀλλ' ὅμως σῦτω δή τι τοὺς θεοὺς πέφρικα, καὶ φιλῶ, καὶ σέβω, καὶ ἄζομαι, καὶ πάνθ' ἁπγῶς τὰ τοιαῦταπρὸς αὐτοὺς πάσχω, ὅσαπερ ἂν τις καὶ οἷα πρὸς ἀγαθοὺς δεσπότας, πρὸς διδασκάλους, πρὸς πατέρας, πρὸς κηδεμόνας. *Orat.* vii. p. 212. The variety and copiousness of the Greek tongue seem inadequate to the fervor of his devotion.

[2] The orator, with some eloquence, much enthusiasm, and more vanity, addresses his discourse to heaven and earth, to men and angels, to the living and the dead; and above all to the great Constantius (εἴ τις αἰσθησις, an odd Pagan expression). He concludes with a bold assurance, that he has erected a monument not less durable, and much more portable, than the columns of Hercules. See Greg. Nazianzen, *Orat.* iii. p. 50, iv. p. 134.

[3] See this long invective, which has been injudiciously divided into two orations in Gregory's *Works*, tom. i. pp. 49–134, Paris, 1630. It was published by Gregory and his friend Basil (iv. p. 133), about six months after the death of Julian, when his remains had been carried to Tarsus (iv. p. 120); but while Jovian was still on the throne (iii. p. 54, iv. p. 117). I have derived much assistance from a French version and remarks, printed at Lyons, 1735.

The cause of his strange and fatal apostacy may be derived from the early period of his life, when he was left an orphan in the hands of the murderers of his family. The names of Christ and of Constantius, the ideas of slavery and of religion, were soon associated in a youthful imagination, which was susceptible of the most lively impressions. The care of his infancy was intrusted to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia,[4] who was related

His education and apostacy.

4 Nicomediæ ab Eusebio educatus Episcopo, quem genere longius contingebat (*Ammian.* xxii. 9). Julian never expresses any gratitude towards that Arian prelate; but he celebrates his preceptor, the eunuch Mardonius, and describes his mode of education, which inspired his pupil with a passionate admiration for the genius, and perhaps the religion, of Homer. *Misopogon.* pp. 351, 352.*

* Every incident in the education of so remarkable a man is interesting and important. Neander, both in his *Julian* and in his *History of the Christian Religion*, has devoted much attention to this subject; and as all his information is drawn from the highest sources, a few portions of it may be usefully employed, in correcting some errors into which Gibbon was betrayed, and supplying some of his omissions. In No. 11, of the Appendix to his *Julian*, Neander questions the correctness of the statement made by Ammianus, that Julian was educated at Nicomedia, by Eusebius, the bishop of that place, since "this prelate was ap-"pointed bishop of Constantinople, before the synod of Antioch, A. D. 341, and "died soon after;" and Julian did not reside at Nicomedia till the year 351. Still as a part of his childhood was passed at Constantinople, the bishop may have had, for a short time, some care of his education there. Neander, however, in his second section, says, that the emperor's young cousin was quite neglected by his relations, and intrusted to "an aged tutor, Mardonius, an hereditary "slave of his mother's family, whom her father had brought up and educated, in "order to instruct her in elegant literature." His mind thus received its first bent. But the boy was naturally endowed with a spirit that carried him to high thoughts. In after days, writing of himself, he said (*Hymn. ad Solem.* p. 130), "From my earliest age, a powerful attachment to the splendor of the god of "the sun (Helios) was implanted in me. The appearance of the heavenly light "used to carry me entirely out of myself, even in my childhood, so that I not only "strove to look upon it with a steady eye, but often went out into the open air, on "bright, cloudless nights, and careless of aught else, I gazed in admiration on the "beauty of the starry heavens, without thinking of myself, without hearing what "was said to me. I could say much more than this, if I attempted to relate, how at "such times I thought of the gods." Then trained for six years in the solitude of Macellum, he was there taught by Nicocles, a devoted admirer of the genius of ancient Greece, to study Homer, "through the medium of an allegorical "interpretation, as the guide to higher wisdom." At that period of life, when the feelings of youth are moulded into the principles of manhood, this ardent spirit was thus steeped in an enthusiasm, which effused a sublime, unearthly radiance over all the forms it pervaded. From this retirement, Julian was removed to Constantinople, where he was not permitted to attend the lectures of the first rhetorician of the day, Libanius, an avowed Pagan; but his tutor was Ekebolius, a man of inferior talent and no principle, who, "under Constantius, "was a zealous Christian and a violent antagonist of Paganism; then, under "Julian, became an equally zealous Pagan and antagonist of Christianity; and "after Julian's death, once more played the Christian and subjected himself to "the penances of the church, that he might be readmitted to its communion." When the emperor was called away to the West, he sent his cousin to Nicomedia. The young scholar, then twenty years of age, and so illustrious, as a member of the imperial family, was there courted by the philosophers, especially by the antichristian portion of the New Platonists, who had then many schools in Asia Minor. Their most celebrated teachers were Ædesius, Chrysanthius, Eusebius, and Maximus. The latter was "an adroit juggler," and pretended to have power over supernatural agents. Hearing of the distinguished visitor at Nicomedia, he went there and established himself in such credit, that he induced the susceptible prince to accompany him on his return to Ephesus, where the artifices and flatteries of the Ionian sophists, acting upon previous tendencies, effected Julian's secret conversion to Paganism. After the murder of his half-brother,

to him on the side of his mother; and till Julian reached the twentieth year of his age, he received from his Christian preceptors the education not of a hero but of a saint. The emperor, less jealous of a heavenly, than of an early crown, contented himself with the imperfect character of a catechumen, while he bestowed the advantages of baptism[5] on the nephews of Constantine.[6] They were even admitted to the inferior offices of the ecclesiastical order; and Julian publicly read the Holy Scriptures in the church of Nicomedia. The study of religion, which they assiduously cultivated, appeared to produce the fairest fruits of faith and devotion. They prayed, they fasted, they distributed alms

[5] *Greg. Naz.* iii. p. 70. He labored to effect that holy mark in the blood, perhaps, of a Taurobolium. Baron. *Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 361. No. 3, 4.

[6] Julian himself (*Epist.* li. p. 454, assures the Alexandrians that he had been a Christian (he must mean a sincere one) till the twentieth year of his age.

Gallus, he was twice called to the court at Milan, and twice permitted to reside at Athens. The fame of this place, its monuments of ancient glory, the graceful and majestic symbols of heroism and divinity, that surrounded him, the visible representations of all that he mentally believed, the conversations and homage of learned men, justly proud of their glorious ancestry, and indignant at the idea of such renown being superseded by what they deemed an upstart system of yesterday, —all these completed and confirmed in Julian's mind a change, if a gradually developed sentiment can be called a change, which it would have been fatal to him to avow during the life of Constantius. This is the substance of Neander's account in his *History of the Christian Religion* (vol. iii, sec. 1, p. 49-58) and in his *Emperor Julian* (sec. 2, p. 71-87).—ENG. CH.

"It is still a question among the learned," says Voltaire, "whether the Emperor Julian was really an apostate, and whether he was ever truly a Christian. "He was not six years old when the Emperor Constantius, still more barbarous "than Constantine, had his father, his brother, and seven of his cousins mur- "dered. He and his brother Gallus with difficulty escaped from this carnage; "but he was always very harshly treated by Constantius. His life was for a "long time threatened; and he soon beheld his only remaining brother assas- "sinated by the tyrant's order. The most barbarous of the Turkish sultans have "never, I am sorry to say it, surpassed in cruelty nor in villainy the Constantine "family. From his tenderest years, study was Julian's only consolation. He "communicated in secret with the most illustrious of the philosophers, who were "of the ancient religion of Rome. It is very probable that he professed that of "his uncle Constantius only to avoid assassination. Julian was obliged to con- "ceal his mental powers, as Brutus had done under Tarquin. He was the less "likely to be a Christian, as his uncle had forced him to be a monk, and to per- "form the office of reader in the church. A man is rarely of the religion of his "persecutor, especially when the latter wishes to be the ruler of his conscience.

"Another circumstance which renders this probable is, that he does not say, in "any of his works, that he had been a Christian. He never asks pardon for it of "the pontiffs of the ancient religion. He addresses them in his letters, as if he "had always been attached to the worship of the senate. It is not even proved "that he practiced the ceremonies of the Taurobolium, which might be regarded "as a sort of expiation, and that he desired to wash out with bull's blood that "which he so unfortunately called the stain of his baptism. However, this was "a pagan form of devotion, which is no more a proof than the assembling at the "mysteries of Ceres. In short, neither his friends nor his enemies relate any "fact, any words, which can prove that he ever believed in Christianity, and that "he passed from that sincere belief to the worship of the gods of the empire.

"If such be the case, they who do not speak of him as an apostate, appear very "excusable.

"Sound criticism being brought to perfection, all the world now acknowledges "that the Emperor Julian was a hero and a wise man—a stoic, equal to Marcus "Aurelius."—E.

to the poor, gifts to the clergy, and oblations to the tombs of the martyrs;[7] and the splendid monument of St. Mamas, at Cæsarea, was erected, or at least was undertaken, by the joint labor of Gallus and Julian.[8] They respectfully conversed with the bishops, who were eminent for superior sanctity, and solicited the benediction of the monks and hermits, who had introduced into Cappadocia the voluntary hardships of the ascētic life.[9] As the two princes advanced towards the years of manhood, they discovered, in their religious sentiments the difference of their characters. The dull and obstinate understanding of Gallus, embraced, with implicit zeal, the doctrines of Christianity; which never influenced his conduct, or moderated his passions. The mild disposition of the younger brother was less repugnant to the precepts of the gospel; and his active curiosity might have been gratified by a theological system which explains the mysterious essence of the Deity, and opens the boundless prospect of invisible and future worlds. But the independent spirit of Julian refused to yield the passive and unresisting obedience which was required, in the name of religion, by the haughty ministers of the church. Their speculative opinions were imposed as positive laws, and guarded by the terrors of eternal punishments; but while they prescribed the rigid formulary of the thoughts, the words, and the actions of the young prince; whilst they silenced his objections, and severely checked the freedom of his inquiries, they secretly provoked his impatient genius to disclaim the authority of his ecclesiastical guides. He was educated in the Lesser Asia, amidst the scandals of the Arian controversy.[10] The fierce contests of the eastern

[7] See his Christian, and even ecclesiastical education, in *Gregory* (iii. p. 58), *Socrates* (l. iii. c. 1), and *Sozomen* (l. v. c. 2). He escaped very narrowly from being a bishop, and perhaps a saint.

[8] The share of the work which had been allotted to Gallus, was prosecuted with vigor and success; but the earth obstinately rejected and subverted the structures which were imposed by the sacrilegious hand of Julian. *Greg.* iii. pp. 59, 60, 61. Such a partial earthquake, attested by many living spectators, would form one of the clearest miracles in ecclesiastical story.

[9] The *philosopher* (Fragment, p. 288), ridicules the iron chains, &c., of these solitary fanatics (see Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. ix. pp. 661, 662), who had forgot that man is by nature a gentle and social animal, *ἀνθρώπου φύσει πολιτικοῦ ζῴου καὶ ἡμέρου*. The *Pagan* supposes that, because they had renounced the gods, they were possessed and tormented by evil dæmons.

[10] See *Julian apud Cyril.* l. vi., p. 206; l. viii., pp. 253, 262. "You persecute," says he, "those heretics who do not mourn the dead man precisely in the way "which you approve." He shows himself a tolerable theologian; but he maintains that the Christian Trinity is not derived from the doctrine of Paul, of Jesus, or of Moses.*

* Julian's aversion to Christianity took a more decided form, when he saw the arrogance, ambition, and wealth-seeking cupidity of the hierarchy. A mind like

bishops, the incessant alterations of their creeds, and the profane motives which appeared to actuate their conduct, insensibly strengthened the prejudice of Julian, that they neither understood nor believed the religion for which they so fiercely contended. Instead of listening to the proofs of Christianity with that favorable attention which adds weight to the most respectable evidence, he heard with suspicion, and disputed with obstinacy and acuteness, the doctrines for which he already entertained an invincible aversion. Whenever the young princes were directed to compose declamations on the subject of the prevailing controversies, Julian always declared himself the advocate of Paganism; under the specious excuse that, in the defence of the weaker cause, his learning and ingenuity might be more advantageously exercised and displayed.

He embraces the mythology of Paganism.

As soon as Gallus was invested with the honors of the purple, Julian was permitted to breathe the air of freedom, of literature, and of Paganism.[11] The crowd of sophists, who were attracted by the taste and liberality of their royal pupil, had formed a strict alliance between the learning and the religion of Greece; and the poems of Homer, instead of being admired as the original productions of human genius, were

11 Libanius, *Orta. Parentalis*, c. 9, 10, p. 232, &c. Greg. Nazianzen, *Orat.* iii. p. 61. *Eunap. Vit. Sophist.* in *Maximo*, pp. 68, 69, 70, edit. Commelin.

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his, already prepossessed against the religion itself, was naturally disgusted by these characteristics of a body that had emanated from it, and towered by the very side of the throne, offensively obtruding rival pretensions and asserting a divine right to the allegiance of submissive believers. The dark coloring which this threw over his view of Christianity has not escaped the observation of some, who have studied his motives. Foremost among them, according to *Eckhel* (viii., 130), were his "ingestum odium episcoporum ejus ætatis," and "aliquorum "non ferenda ambitio." Neander, too (*Hist.* iii., 82), says, "Julian hated espe- "cially the bishops;" and (*Emp. Jul.* p. 132) marks the "especial distinction "between Julian's conduct to the Christians in general and his behavior to the "bishops," admitting also that the latter "forgot the duties which they owed to "the supreme magistrate." Even Warburton (*Julian*, p. 24) cannot deny, that "their turbulent and insolent manners deserved all the severity of his justice." Gibbon (c. 25) quotes from *Ammianus* (l. xxvii., c. 3) a description of their pomp and luxury, surpassing regal grandeur. To annihilate their power and humble their pride, was the chief object of Julian's proceedings. To weaken them, by affording more frequent opportunities for discord, he allowed those to return from banishment who had been expelled during the former predominance of an adverse sect; but he sent back into exile, Athanasius, who was ruling at Alexandria, with a sway more absolute than his own. Nor was it inconsistent with this, that in his epistle to the high-priest of the Galatians, he should recommend him and his colleagues to "take a lesson from the Christian bishops and assert a "dignity superior to all earthly rank." He saw daily before him the power acquired by a regularly organized priesthood, and his project was, to establish a countervailing influence, of which he, as Pontifex Maximus, would be the recognized and directing head. This confirmed his preconceived dislike of a church that could produce such chiefs, and aggravated in his eyes the folly of their verbal distinctions, the fury of their disputatious strife, and the ferocity of their mutual persecutions.—ENG. CH.

seriously ascribed to the heavenly inspiration of Apollo and the muses. The deities of Olympus, as they are painted by the immortal bard, imprint themselves on the minds which are the least addicted to superstitious credulity. Our familiar knowledge of their names and characters, their forms and attributes, *seems* to bestow on those airy beings a real and substantial existence; and the pleasing enchantment produces an imperfect and momentary assent of the imagination to those fables, which are the most repugnant to our reason and experience. In the age of Julian, every circumstance contributed to prolong and fortify the illusion; the magnificent temples of Greece and Asia; the works of those artists who had expressed, in painting or in sculpture, the divine conceptions of the poet; the pomp of festivals and sacrifices; the successful arts of divination; the popular traditions of oracles and prodigies; and the ancient practice of two thousand years. The weakness of polytheism was, in some measure, excused by the moderation of its claims; and the devotion of the Pagans was not incompatible with the most licentious skepticism.[12] Instead of an indivisible and regular system, which occupied the whole extent of the believing mind, the mythology of the Greeks was composed of a thousand loose and flexible parts, and the servant of the gods was at liberty to define the degree and measure of his religious faith. The creed which Julian adopted for his own use was of the largest dimensions; and by a strange contradiction, he disdained the salutary yoke of the gospel, whilst he made a voluntary offering of his reason on the altars of Jupiter and Apollo.* One of the orations of Julian is con-

12 A modern philosopher has ingeniously compared the different operation of theism and polytheism, with regard to the doubt or conviction which they produce in the human mind. See Hume's *Essays*, vol. ii. pp. 444-457, in 8vo, edit. 1777.

* Voltaire suggests that the reason why the emperor Julian preferred Paganism to Christianity was, that "The Pagan priests had no dogmas: they did not "compel men to believe that which was incredible, they required nothing but "sacrifices, and even sacrifices were not enjoined under rigorous penalties; they "did not set themselves up as the first order in the state, did not form a state "within a state, and did not mix in affairs of government. These might well be "considered motives to induce a man of Julian's character to declare himself on "their side; and if he had piqued himself upon being nothing besides a stoic, he "would have had against him the priests of both religions, and all the fanatics "of each. The common people would not at that time have endured a prince "who was content simply with the pure worship of a pure divinity and the strict "observance of justice. It was necessary to side with one of the opposing "parties. We must therefore believe, that Julian submitted to the pagan cere-"monies, as the majority of princes and great men attend the forms of worship "in the public temples. They are led thither by the people themselves, and are "often obliged to appear what in fact they are not; and to be in public the first "and greatest slaves of credulity. The Turkish sultan must bless the name of "Omar. The Persian sophi must bless the name of Ali. Marcus Aurelius him-"self was initiated in the mysteries of Eleusis."—E.

secrated to the honor of Cybele, the mother of the gods, who required from her effeminate priests the bloody sacrifice, so rashly performed by the madness of the Phrygian boy. The pious emperor condescends to relate, without a blush, and without a smile, the voyage of the goddess from the shores of Pergamus to the mouth of the Tyber; and the stupendous miracle, which convinced the senate and people of Rome that the lump of clay, which their ambassadors had transported over the seas, was endowed with life, and sentiment, and divine power.[13] For the truth of this prodigy, he appeals to the public monuments of the city; and censures, with some acrimony, the sickly and affected taste of those men, who impertinently derided the sacred traditions of their ancestors.[14]

The allegories.

But the devout philosopher, who sincerely embraced, and warmly encouraged, the superstition of the people, reserved for himself the privilege of a liberal interpretation; and silently withdrew from the foot of the altars into the sanctuary of the temple. The extravagance of the Grecian mythology proclaimed with a clear and audible voice, that the pious inquirer, instead of being scandalized or satisfied with the literal sense, should diligently explore the occult wisdom, which had been disguised, by the prudence of antiquity, under the mask of folly and fable.[15] The philosophers of the Platonic school,[16] Plotinus, Porphyry, and the divine Iamblichus, were admitted as the most skillful masters of this allegorical science, which labored to soften and harmonize the deformed features of Paganism. Julian himself, who was directed in the mysterious pursuit by Ædesius, the venerable successor

[13] The Idæan mother landed in Italy about the end of the second Punic war. The miracle of Claudia, either virgin or matron, who cleared her fame by disgracing the graver modesty of the Roman ladies, is attested by a cloud of witnesses. Their evidence is collected by Drakenborch (*ad Silium Italicum*, xvii. 33); but we may observe that *Livy* (xxix. 14) slides over the transaction with discreet ambiguity.

[14] I cannot refrain from transcribing the emphatical words of Julian: ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ ταῖς πόλεσι πιστεύειν μάλλον τὰ τοιαῦτα ἢ τουτοισι τοῖς κομψοῖς, ὧν τὸ ψυχάριον ὁριμὺ μὲν, ὕγιὲς δὲ οὐδὲ ἓν βλέπει. *Orat.* v. p. 161. Julian likewise declares his firm belief in the *ancilia*, the holy shields, which dropped from heaven on the Quirinal hill; and pities the strange blindness of the Christians, who preferred the *cross* to these celestial trophies. Apud *Cyril.* l. vi. p. 194.

[15] See the principles of allegory, in *Julian* (*Orat.* vii. pp. 216, 222). His reasoning is less absurd than that of some modern theologians, who assert that an extravagant or contradictory doctrine *must* be divine; since no man alive could have thought of inventing it.

[16] Eunapius has made these sophists the subject of a partial and fanatical history; and the learned Brucker (*Hist. Philosoph.* tom. ii. pp. 217–303) has employed much labor to illustrate their obscure lives and incomprehensible doctrine.

of Iamblichus, aspired to the possession of a treasure, which he esteemed, if we may credit his solemn asseverations, far above the empire of the world.[17] It was indeed a treasure, which derived its value only from opinion; and every artist, who flattered himself that he had extracted the precious ore from the surrounding dross, claimed an equal right of stamping the name and figure the most agreeable to his peculiar fancy. The fable of Atys and Cybele had been already explained by Porphyry; but his labors served only to animate the pious industry of Julian, who invented and published his own allegory of that ancient and mystic tale. This freedom of interpretation, which might gratify the pride of the Platonists, exposed the vanity of their art. Without a tedious detail, the modern reader could not form a just idea of the strange allusions, the forced etymologies, the solemn trifling, and the impenetrable obscurity of these sages, who professed to reveal the system of the universe. As the traditions of Pagan mythology were variously related, the sacred interpreters were at liberty to select the most convenient circumstances; and as they translated an arbitrary cypher, they could extract from *any* fable *any* sense which was adapted to their favorite system of religion and philosophy. The lascivious form of a naked Venus was tortured into the discovery of some moral precept, or some physical truth; and the castration of Atys explained the revolution of the sun between the tropics, or the separation of the human soul from vice and error.[18]

Theological system of Julian.

The theological system of Julian appears to have contained the sublime and important principles of natural religion. But as the faith, which is not founded on revelation, must remain destitute of any firm assurance, the disciple of Plato imprudently relapsed into the habits of vulgar superstition; and the popular and philosophic notion of the Deity seems to have been confounded in the practice, the writings, and even in the mind of Julian.[19] The pious emperor acknowledged and adored

17 Julian, Orat. vii. p. 222. He swears with the most fervent and enthusiastic devotion; and trembles, lest he should betray too much of these holy mysteries, which the profane might deride with an impious Sardonic laugh.

18 See the fifth oration of Julian. But all the allegories which ever issued from the Platonic school are not worth the short poem of Catullus on the same extraordinary subject. The transition of Atys, from the wildest enthusiasm to sober, pathetic complaint, for his irretrievable loss, must inspire a man with pity, a eunuch with despair.

19 The true religion of Julian may be deduced from the *Cæsars*, p. 308, with Spanheim's notes and illustrations, from the fragments in *Cyril*, l. ii. pp. 57, 58, and especially from the theological oration in *Solem Regem*. pp. 130–158, addressed, in the confidence of friendship, to the præfect Sallust.

the eternal cause of the universe, to whom he ascribed all the perfections of an infinite nature, invisible to the eyes, and inaccessible to the understanding, of feeble mortals. The supreme God had created, or rather, in the Platonic language, had generated, the gradual succession of dependent spirits, of gods, of demons, of heroes, and of men; and every being which derived its existence immediately from the first cause, received the inherent gift of immortality. That so precious an advantage might not be lavished upon unworthy objects, the Creator had intrusted to the skill and power of the inferior gods the office of forming the human body, and of arranging the beautiful harmony of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms. To the conduct of these divine ministers he delegated the temporal government of this lower world; but their imperfect administration is not exempt from discord or error. The earth and its inhabitants are divided among them, and the characters of Mars or Minerva, of Mercury or Venus, may be distinctly traced in the laws and manners of their peculiar votaries. As long as our immortal souls are confined in a mortal prison, it is our interest, as well as our duty, to solicit the favor, and to deprecate the wrath, of the powers of heaven; whose pride is gratified by the devotion of mankind; and whose grosser parts may be supposed to derive some nourishment from the fumes of sacrifice.[20] The inferior gods might sometimes condescend to animate the statues, and to inhabit the temples, which were dedicated to their honor. They might occasionly visit the earth, but the heavens were the proper throne and symbol of their glory. The invariable order of the sun, moon, and stars, was hastily admitted by Julian, as a proof of their *eternal* duration; and their eternity was a sufficient evidence that they were the workmanship, not of an inferior deity, but of the Omnipotent King. In the system of of the Platonists, the visible was a type of the invisible world. The celestial bodies, as they were informed by a divine spirit, might be considered as the objects the most worthy of religious worship. THE SUN, whose genial influence pervades and sustains the universe, justly claimed the adoration of mankind, as the bright representative of

[20] Julian adopts this gross conception by ascribing it to his favorite Marcus Antoninus (*Cæsares* p. 333). The Stoics and Platonists hesitated between the analogy of bodies and the purity of spirits; yet the gravest philosophers inclined to the whimsical fancy of Aristophanes and Lucian, that an unbelieving age might starve the immortal gods. See *Observations de Spanheim*, pp. 284, 444, &c.

the Logos, the lively, the rational, the beneficent image of the intellectual Father.[21]

Fanaticism of the philosophers.

In every age, the absence of genuine inspiration is supplied by the strong illusions of enthusiasm and the mimic arts of imposture. If, in the time of Julian, these arts had been practiced only by the Pagan priests, for the support of an expiring cause, some indulgence might perhaps be allowed to the interest and habits of the sacerdotal character. But it may appear a subject of surprise and scandal, that the philosophers themselves should have contributed to abuse the superstitious credulity of mankind,[22] and that the Grecian mysteries

[21] "Ηλιον λέγω, τὸ ζῶν ἄγαλμα καὶ ἔμψυχον, καὶ ἔννουν, καὶ ἀγαθοεργὸν τοῦ νοητοῦ πατρος. *Julian, Epist.* 51. In another place (*apud Cyril.* l. 2. p. 69,) he calls the sun God, and the throne of God. Julian believed the Platonician Trinity; and only blames the Christians for preferring a mortal to an immortal *Logos.* *

[22] The Sophists of Eunapius perform as many miracles as the saints of the desert: and the only circumstance in their favor is, that they are of a less gloomy complexion. Instead of devils with horns and tails, Iamblichus evoked the genii of love, Eros and Anteros, from two adjacent fountains. Two beautiful boys issued from the water, fondly embraced him as their father, and retired at his command, pp. 26, 27.

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* The assistance given by philosophy to early Christianity, is not contradicted by its opposite influence in the case of Julian. Rightly apprehended, the two facts are perfectly consistent with each other. First, the essential character of Christianity itself was altogether changed. Instead of a religion, supplying the two great wants of the age, a spiritual worship and a settled conviction of the immortality of the soul, it had merged into a politico-hierarchical, temporal empire over the fears, the thoughts, the resources and the treasures of subjugated crowds. It had almost discarded the philosophy, which had been its ally, and used only its vaguest words as war-cries in the struggles of factions, contending for profitable power. This picture is copied from that drawn by Neander, in his *Emp. Jul.* p. 118 and 134, and in his *Hist.* p. 49 and 140. The following passage brings the whole into one point of view. "Worldly-minded bishops, who by their "proceedings caused the name of the Lord to be blasphemed among the Gentiles, "raged against Paganism and stood ready to reward, with everything which their "powerful influence at court enabled them to procure, especially the favor of the "prince and titles and stations of honor, the hypocrisy of those, who accounted "earthly things of more value than divine." Then the same writer describes the encouragement, which such corruptions gave, for an attempted reaction of Paganism to recover from its depression. The various habits and passions, that are averse to change, had kept many from deserting the religion of their fathers; and these, seeing how philosophy had aided the introduction and progress of a rival faith, conceived, as has been before observed, the idea of employing the same means for the renovation of their own. The revived Platonism of Ammonius Saccas was not designed for this purpose; but some of its tenets, carried out to an extravagant length, suited the attempt and were fanatically adapted or dishonestly perverted, to this end. "The religious symbolism, derived from the "Neo-Platonic philosophy, was the most important means resorted to, for dressing out Paganism as a rival of Christianity, and for imparting an artificial life "into that, which was already effete Speculative ideas and mystical intuitions "were to infuse into the old insipid institution a higher meaning. Theurgy and "the low traffic in boastful mysteries contributed greatly also to attract and enchain, by their deceptive arts, many minds influenced more by a vain curiosity, "which would penetrate into what lies beyond the province of the human mind, "than by any true religious need." (*Neander Hist.* vol. iii. p, 51.) There can be no stronger evidence of what had been the previous services of philosophy, than this desperate effort to misemploy them, for the support of a sinking and hopeless cause. Its total failure makes all comment unnecessary, except to point out its

should have been supported by the magic or theurgy of the modern Platonists. They arrogantly pretended to control the order of nature, to explore the secrets of futurity, to command the service of the inferior demons, to enjoy the view and conversation of the superior gods, and by disengaging the soul from her material bands, to reunite that immortal particle with the Infinite and Divine Spirit.

Initiation and fanaticism of Julian.

The devout and fearless curiosity of Julian tempted the philosophers with the hopes of an easy conquest; which, from the situation of their young proselyte, might be productive of the most important consequences.[23] Julian imbibed the first rudiments of the Platonic doctrines from the mouth of Ædesius, who had fixed at Pergamus his wandering and persecuted school. But as the declining strength of that venerable sage was unequal to the ardor, the diligence, the rapid conception of his pupil, two of his most learned disciples, Chrysanthes and Eusebius, supplied at his own desire, the place of their aged master. These philosophers seem to have prepared and distributed their respective parts; and they artfully contrived, by dark hints and affected dis-

[23] The dexterous management of these sophists, who played their credulous pupil into each other's hands, is fairly told by Eunapius (pp. 69—76) with unsuspecting simplicity. The Abbé de la Bleterie understands, and neatly describes, the whole comedy (*Vie de Julien*, pp. 61—67.)

utter inefficacy, even in the hands of Julian, to reanimate so childish a superstition. An excitable mind, motived and educated like his, would afford a natural facility for the admission of such impressions. Yet neither his undoubted talent, his fervent enthusiasm, his imperial power, nor the vantage-ground, which his adversaries gave him by their dereliction of principle, enabled him to resuscitate, what the spirit of the age had extinguished.—ENG. CH.

"If Julian had lived only ten years longer," says Voltaire, "there is great probability that he would have given a different form to Europe from that which it bears at present. The Christian religion depended upon his life: the efforts he made for its destruction rendered his name execrable to the nations who have embraced it. The Christian priests, who were his contemporaries, accused him of almost every crime, because he had committed what in their eyes was the greatest of all,—he had lowered and humiliated them"

As an example of this abuse, Voltaire quotes an absurd and discredited story from a theological dictionary compiled in France by an ex-jesuit named Paulian, which states "that the emperor Julian, after being mortally wounded in a battle "with the Persians, threw some of his blood toward heaven, exclaiming, 'Gali-"'lean, thou hast conquered;'—a fable which destroys itself, as Julian was con-"queror in the battle, and Jesus Christ certainly was not the God of the Persians.

"If we consider Julian in his military character, we see him ever victorious in "all his expeditions, even to the last moment of his life, and at length dying at "the glorious crisis when the Persians were routed. His death was that of a "hero, and his last words were those of a philosopher: 'I submit,' says he, 'will-"'ingly to the eternal decrees of heaven, convinced that he who is captivated "'with life, when his last hour has arrived, is more weak and pusillanimous than "'he who would rush to voluntary death when it is his duty to live.' He con-"verses to the last moment on the immortality of the soul; manifests no regrets, "shows no weakness, and speaks only of his submission to the will of providence. "Let it be remembered that this is the death of an emperor at the age of thirty-"two, and let it then be decided whether his memory should be insulted."—E.

putes, to excite the impatient hopes of the *aspirant*, till they delivered him into the hands of their associate, Maximus, the boldest and most skillful master of the Theurgic science. By his hands, Julian was secretly initiated at Ephesus, in the twentieth year of his age. His residence at Athens confirmed this unnatural alliance of philosophy and superstition. He obtained the privilege of a solemn initiation into the mysteries of Eleusis, which, amidst the general decay of the Grecian worship, still retained some vestiges of their primæval sanctity ; and such was the zeal of Julian, that he afterwards invited the Eleusinian pontiff to the court of Gaul, for the sole purpose of consummating, by mystic rites and sacrifices, the great work of his sanctification. As these ceremonies were performed in the depth of caverns, and in the silence of the night, and as the inviolable secret of the mysteries was preserved by the discretion of the initiated, I shall not presume to describe the horrid sounds, and fiery apparitions, which were presented to the senses, or the imagination, of the credulous aspirant,[24] till the visions of comfort and knowledge broke upon him in a blaze of celestial light.[25] In the caverns of Ephesus and Eleusis, the mind of Julian was penetrated with sincere, deep and unalterable enthusiasm ; though he might sometimes exhibit the vicissitudes of pious fraud and hypocrisy, which may be observed, or at least suspected, in the characters of the most conscientious fanatics. From that moment he consecrated his life to the service of the gods ; and while the occupations of war, of government, and of study, seemed to claim the whole measure of his time, a stated portion of the hours of the night was invariably reserved for the exercise of private devotion. The temperance which adorned the severe manners of the soldier and the philosopher, was connected with some strict and frivolous rules of religious abstinence ; and it was in honor of Pan or Mercury, of Hecate or Isis, that Julian on particular days denied himself the use of some particular food, which might have been offensive to his tutelar deities. By these voluntary fasts, he prepared

[24] When Julian, in a momentary panic, made the sign of the cross, the dæmons instantly disappeared (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iii. p. 71). Gregory supposes that they were frightened, but the priests declared that they were indignant. The reader, according to the measure of his faith, will determine this profound question.

[25] A dark and distant view of the terrors and joys of initiation is shown by Dion. Chrysostom, Themistius, Proclus, and Stobæus. The learned author of the *Divine Legation* has exhibited their words, (vol. i. pp. 239, 247, 248, 280, edit. 1765), which he dexterously or forcibly applies to his own hypothesis.

his senses and his understanding for the frequent and familiar visits with which he was honored by the celestial powers. Notwithstanding the modest silence of Julian himself, we may learn from his faithful friend, the orator Libanius, that he lived in a perpetual intercourse with the gods and godesses; that they descended upon earth to enjoy the conversation of their favorite hero; that they gently interrupted his slumbers by touching his hand or his hair; that they warned him of every impending danger, and conducted him by their infallible wisdom, in every action of his life; and that he had acquired such an intimate knowledge of his heavenly guests, as readily to distinguish the voice of Jupiter from that of Minerva, and the form of Apollo from the figure of Hercules.[26]* These sleeping or waking visions, the ordinary effects of abstinence and fanaticism, would almost degrade the emperor to the level of an Egyptian monk. But the useless lives of Antony or Pachomius were consumed in these vain occupations. Julian could break from the dream of superstition to arm himself for battle; and after vanquishing in the field the enemies of Rome, he calmly retired into his tent, to dictate the wise and salutary laws of an empire, or to indulge his genius in the elegant pursuits of literature and philosophy.

His religious dissimulation.

The important secret of the apostasy of Julian was intrusted to the fidelity of the initiated, with whom he was united by the sacred ties of friendship and religion.[27] The pleasing rumor was cautiously circulated among the adherents of the ancient worship; and his future greatness became the object of the hopes, the prayers, and the predictions of the Pagans, in every province of the empire. From the zeal and virtues of their royal proselyte, they fondly expected the cure of every evil, and the restoration of every blessing; and, instead of disapproving of the ardor of their pious wishes, Julian ingenuously confessed that he was ambitious to attain a situation, in which

[26] Julian's modesty confined him to obscure and occasional hints; but Libanius expatiates with pleasure on the fasts and visions of the religious hero. (*Legat. ad. Julian*, p. 157. and *Orat Parental.* c. lxxxiii. pp. 309, 310).

[27] Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. x. pp. 233, 234. Gallus had some reason to suspect the secret apostasy of his brother; and in a letter, which may be received as genuine, he exhorts Julian to adhere to the religion of their *ancestors;* an argument which, as it should seem, was not yet perfectly ripe. See Julian. *Op.* p. 454, and *Hist. de Jovien.* tom. ii. p. 141.†

* Modern spiritualists claim frequent intercourse with the illustrious sages of antiquity.—E.

† Julian had confided his secret to Oribasius, the physician of Pergamus. *Clin F. R.* i, 431.—ENG. CH.

he might be useful to his country and to his religion. But this religion was viewed with a hostile eye by the successor of Constantine, whose capricious passions alternately saved and threatened the life of Julian. The arts of magic and divination were strictly prohibited under a despotic government, which condescended to fear them; and if the Pagans were reluctantly indulged in the exercise of their superstition, the rank of Julian would have excepted him from the general toleration. The apostate soon became the presumptive heir of the monarchy, and his death could alone have appeased the just apprehensions of the Christians.[28] But the young prince, who aspired to the glory of a hero rather than of a martyr, consulted his safety by dissembling his religion; and the easy temper of polytheism permitted him to join in the public worship of a sect which he inwardly despised. Libanius has considered the hypocrisy of his friend as a subject not of censure, but of praise. "As the "statues of the gods," says that orator, "which have been "defiled with filth, are again placed in a magnificent temple; "so the beauty of truth was seated in the mind of Julian, "after it had been purified from the errors and follies of his "education. His sentiments were changed; but as it would "have been dangerous to have avowed his sentiments, his "conduct still continued the same. Very different from the "ass in Æsop, who disguised himself with a lion's hide, our "lion was obliged to conceal himself under the skin of an "ass; and, while he embraced the dictates of reason, to "obey the laws of prudence and necessity."[29] The dissimulation of Julian lasted above ten years, from his secret initiation at Ephesus to the beginning of the civil war; when he declared himself at once the implacable enemy of Christ and of Constantius. This state of constraint might contribute to strengthen his devotion; and as soon as he had satisfied the obligation of assisting, on solemn festivals, at the assemblies of the Christians, Julian returned, with the impatience of a lover, to burn his free and voluntary incense

[28] Gregory (iii. p. 50), with inhuman zeal, censures Constantius for sparing the infant apostate, (κάκως σώθεντα.) His French translator (p. 265) cautiously observes, that such expressions must not be prises à la lettre.*

[29] Libanius, *Orat. Parental.* c. ix. p. 233.

* The most literal version of Gregory's homicidal expression, cannot, however, be conscientiously disavowed by his most devoted apologist, nor can it be consistently condemned by a tolerator of that unscrupulous papal despotism which directed the swords of Alva and Tilly, and sanctioned the truculent barbarities of St. Bartholomew's eve.—ENG. CH.

on the domestic chapels of Jupiter and Mercury. But as every act of dissimulation must be painful to an ingenuous spirit, the profession of Christianity increased the aversion of Julian for a religion which oppressed the freedom of his mind, and compelled him to hold a conduct repugnant to the noblest attributes of human nature, sincerity and courage.

He writes against Christianity.

The inclination of Julian might prefer the gods of Homer, and of the Scipios, to the new faith, which his uncle had established in the Roman empire; and in which he himself had been sanctified by the sacrament of baptism. But, as a philosopher, it was incumbent on him to justify his dissent from Christianity, which was supported by the number of its converts, by the chain of prophecy, the splendor of miracles, and the weight of evidence. The elaborate work,[30] which he composed amidst the preparations of the Persian war, contained the substance of those arguments which he had long revolved in his mind. Some fragments have been transcribed and preserved, by his adversary, the vehement Cyril of Alexandria;[31] and they exhibit a very singular mixture of wit and learning, of sophistry and fanaticism. The elegance of the style, and the rank of the author, recommended his writings to the public attention;[32] and in the impious list of the enemies of Christianity, the celebrated name of Porphyry was effaced by the superior merit or reputation of Julian. The minds of the faithful were either seduced, or scandalized, or alarmed; and the Pagans, who sometimes presumed to engage in the unequal dispute, derived, from the popular work of their imperial missionary, an inexhaustible supply of fallacious objections. But in the assiduous prosecution of these theological studies, the emperor of the Romans imbibed the illiberal prejudices and passions of a polemic divine. He contracted an irrevocable obligation to maintain and propagate his religious opinions; and whilst he secretly applauded the strength and dexterity

[30] Fabricius (*Biblioth. Græc.* l. v. c. viii. pp. 88—90) and Lardner (*Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. pp. 44—47) have accurately compiled all that can now be discovered of Julian's work against the Christians.

[31] About seventy years after the death of Julian, he executed a task which had been feebly attempted by Philip of Side, a prolix and contemptible writer. Even the work of Cyril has not entirely satisfied the most favorable judges; and the Abbé, de la Bleterie (*Preface à l'Hist. de Jovien.* pp. 30, 32) wishes that some *theologien philosophe* (a strange centaur) would undertake the refutation of Julian.

[32] Libanius (*Orat. Parental.* c. lxxxvii p. 313), who has been suspected of assisting his friend, prefers this divine vindication (*Orat.* ix. *in necem Julian* p. 255, edit. *Morel.*), to the writings of Porphyry. His judgment may be arraigned (*Socrates*, l. iii. c. 23), but Libanius cannot be accused of flattery to a dead prince.

with which he wielded the weapons of controversy, he was tempted to distrust the sincerity, or to despise the understandings, of his antagonists, who could obstinately resist the force of reason and eloquence.

Universal toleration.

The Christians who beheld with horror and indignation the apostasy of Julian, had much more to fear from his power than from his arguments. The Pagans, who were conscious of his fervent zeal, expected, perhaps with impatience, that the flames of persecution should be immediately kindled against the enemies of the gods; and that the ingenious malice of Julian would invent some cruel refinements of death and torture, which had been unknown to the rude and inexperienced fury of his predecessors. But the hopes, as well as the fears of the religious factions were apparently disappointed, by the prudent humanity of a prince,[33] who was careful of his own fame, of the public peace, and of the rights of mankind. Instructed by history and reflection, Julian was persuaded, that if the diseases of the body may sometimes be cured by salutary violence, neither steel nor fire can eradicate the erroneous opinions of the mind. The reluctant victim may be dragged to the foot of the altar; but the heart still abhors and disclaims the sacrilegious act of the hand. Religious obstinacy

[33] Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. lvii. pp. 283, 284) has eloquently explained the tolerating principles and conduct of his imperial friend. In a very remarkable epistle to the people of Bostra, Julian himself (*Epist.* lii.) professes his moderation, and betrays his zeal, which is acknowledged by Ammianus, and exposed by Gregory (*Orat.* iii. p. 72).*

* This letter may have been covertly dictated by his zeal for Paganism; but it is an open maifestation of the hostile feelings which he entertained towards the Christian priesthood. Bostra has already been noticed as the birth-place of the emperor Philip. It was a Colony, situated in Arabia, on the confines of Judæa, and not far from Pella, the early seat of Jewish Christianity. The inhabitants appear to have caught or inherited, the contentious spirit of their Hebrew neighbors. As they were almost equally divided between the gospel and heathenism, their discord led to scenes of violence, which attracted official notice. Julian remonstrated with the bishop, Titus, and held him responsible for the public tranquility. The prelate and his clergy replied by a memorial, asserting that the disorders of the people were restrained by their admonitions. On this the emperor addressed a letter to the citizens generally, of both parties, exhorting them to live in peace. But he adroitly took the opportunity of telling the Christian laity, that their priesthood accused them of being disposed to turbulence. He, however, acquitted them, and imputed all disturbance to the arts of the clergy, whom he described as irritated by their loss of power and immunities, and as therefore instigating the people to despise the authority of the state. These agitators he recommended them to expel from their city, so that concord might prevail among them, and all quietly practice that form of worship which he left them at perfect liberty to choose for themselves. Neander (*Hist.* vol. iii., p. 83), censures Julian for his conduct to the bishop of Bostra. Yet we find it previously admitted by the same writer (*Emp. Jul.* p. 154), that the monarch thought he ought to be severe with the bishops, since "he looked upon them as "disturbers of the public peace, who paid no regard to human authority; and in "that spirit he wrote to the citizens of Bostra."—ENG. CH.

is hardened and exasperated by oppression ; and as soon as the persecution subsides, those who have yielded are restored as penitents, and those who have resisted are honored as saints and martyrs. If Julian adopted the unsuccessful cruelty of Diocletian and his colleagues, he was sensible that he should stain his memory with the name of a tyrant, and add new glories to the Catholic church, which had derived strength and increase from the severity of the Pagan magistrates. Actuated by these motives, and apprehensive of disturbing the repose of an unsettled reign, Julian surprised the world by an edict, which was not unworthy of a statesman or a philosopher. He extended to all the inhabitants of the Roman world, the benefits of a free and equal toleration ; and the only hardship which he inflicted on the Christians, was to deprive them of the power of tormenting their fellow-subjects, whom they stigmatized with the odious titles of idolaters and heretics.* The Pagans received a gracious permission, or rather an express order, to open ALL their temples ;[34] and they were at once delivered from the oppressive laws and arbitrary vexations, which they had sustained under the reign of Constantine, and of his sons. At the same time, the bishops and clergy, who had been banished by the Arian monarch, were recalled from exile, and restored to their respective churches ; the Donatists, the Novatians, the Macedonians, the Eunomians, and those who, with a more prosperous fortune, adhered to the doctrine of the Council of Nice. Julian, who understood

[34] In Greece, the temples of Minerva were opened by his express command, before the death of Constantius (Liban. *Orat. Parent.* c. 55, p. 280) ; and Julian declares himself a Pagan in his public manifesto to the Athenians. This unquestionable evidence may correct the hasty assertion of Ammianus, who seems to suppose Constantinople to be the place where he discovered his attachment to the gods.†

* Another example of Pagan toleration! Had Christianity but possessed this charitable spirit, which seems inherent in Paganism, mankind would have escaped centuries of oppression, and Christians might have learned to live happier and nobler lives, "doing unto others as they would that others should do unto them."

"Julian," says Voltaire, "never put any Christians to death ; he granted them "no favors, but he never persecuted them. He permitted them, like a just "sovereign, to keep their own property ; and he wrote in opposition to them "like a philosopher. He forbade their teaching in the schools the profane "authors, whom they endeavored to decry—this was not persecuting them ; and "he prevented them from tearing one another to pieces in their outrageous "hatred and quarrels—this was protecting them. They had in fact therefore "nothing with which they could reproach him, but with having abandoned them, "and with not being of their opinion."—E.

† This was not till after he had been proclaimed Augustus, and while he was on his march to attack Constantius ; it can have preceded only by a few days his entrance into the eastern metropolis. His opinions were never publicly avowed till he had lost all hope of maintaining amicable relations with his cousin. How carefully they were concealed, was proved by his conduct at the feast of the Epiphany that same year.—ENG. CH.

and derided their theological disputes, invited to the palace the leaders of the hostile sects, that he might enjoy the agreeable spectacle of their furious encounters. The clamor of controversy sometimes provoked the emperor to exclaim, "Hear me! the Franks have heard me, and the Alemanni;" but he soon discovered that he was now engaged with more obstinate and implacable enemies; and though he exerted the powers of oratory to persuade them to live in concord, or at least in peace, he was pefectly satisfied, before he dismissed them from his presence, that he had nothing to dread from the union of the Christians. The impartial Ammianus has ascribed this affected clemency to the desire of fomenting the intestine divisions of the church; and the insidious design of undermining the foundations of Christianity, was inseparably connected with the zeal which Julian professed, to restore the ancient religion of the empire.[35]

Zeal and devotion of Julian in the restoration of Paganism.

As soon as he ascended the throne, he assumed, according to the custom of his predecessors, the character of supreme pontiff; not only as the most honorable title of imperial greatness, but as a sacred and important office; the duties of which he was resolved to execute with pious diligence. As the business of the state prevented the emperor from joining every day in the public devotion of his subjects, he dedicated a domestic chapel to his tutelar deity the Sun; his gardens were filled with statues and altars of the gods; and each apartment of the palace displayed the appearance of a magnificent temple. Every morning he saluted the parent of light with a sacrifice; the blood of another victim was shed at the moment when the sun sank below the horizon; and the moon, the stars, and the genii of the night, received their respective and seasonable honors from the indefatigable devotion of Julian. On solemn festivals, he regularly visited the temple of the god or goddess to whom the day was peculiarly consecrated, and endeavored to excite the religion of the magistrates and people by the example of his own zeal. Instead of maintaining the lofty state of a monarch, distinguished by the splendor of his purple, and encompassed by the golden

[35] *Ammianus*, xxii. 5. *Sozomen*, l. v. c. 5. Bestia moritur, tranquilitas redit * * * omnes episcopi qui de propriis sedibus fuerant exterminati per indulgentiam novi principis ad ecclesias redeunt. *Jerom. adversus Luciferianos*, tom ii. p. 143. Optatus accuses the Donatists for owing their safety to an apostate (l. ii. c. 16, pp. 36, 37, edit. Dupin.).

shields of his guards, Julian solicited, with respectful eagerness, the meanest offices which contributed to the worship of the gods. Amidst the sacred but licentious crowd of priests, of inferior ministers, and of female dancers, who were dedicated to the service of the temple, it was the business of the emperor to bring the wood, to blow the fire, to handle the knife, to slaughter the victim, and, thrusting his bloody hands into the bowels of the expiring animal, to draw forth the heart or liver, and to read, with the consummate skill of an haruspex, the imaginary signs of future events. The wisest of the Pagans censured this extravagant superstition, which affected to despise the restraints of prudence and decency. Under the reign of a prince, who practiced the rigid maxims of economy, the expense of religious worship consumed a very large portion of the revenue; a constant supply of the scarcest and most beautiful birds was transported from distant climates, to bleed on the altars of the gods; an hundred oxen were frequently sacrificed by Julian on one and the same day; and it soon became a popular jest, that if he should return with conquest from the Persian war, the breed of horned cattle must infallibly be extinguished. Yet this expense may appear inconsiderable, when it is compared with the splendid presents which were offered, either by the hand, or by order, of the emperor, to all the celebrated places of devotion in the Roman world; and with the sums allotted to repair and decorate the ancient temples, which had suffered the silent decay of time, or the recent injuries of Christian rapine. Encouraged by the example, the exhortations, the liberality, of their pious sovereign, the cities and families resumed the practice of their neglected ceremonies. "Every part of the "world," exclaims Libanius, with devout transport, "displayed the triumph of religion; and the grateful prospect "of flaming altars, bleeding victims, the smoke of incense, "and a solemn train of priests and prophets, without fear "and without danger. The sound of prayer and of music "was heard on the tops of the highest mountains; and the "same ox afforded a sacrifice for the gods, and a supper for "their joyous votaries."[36]

[36] The restoration of the Pagan worship is described by Julian (*Misopogon*, p. 346), Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. 60, pp. 286, 287, and *Orat. Consular. ad Julian.* pp. 245, 246, edit. Morel.), *Ammianus* (xxii. 12), and Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* iv. p. 121). These writers agree in the essential, and even minute, facts; but the different lights in which they view the extreme devotion of Julian are expressive of the gradations of self-applause, passionate admiration, mild reproof, and partial invective.

Reformation of Paganism.

But the genius and power of Julian were unequal to the enterprise of restoring a religion, which was destitute of theological principles, of moral precepts, and of ecclesiastical discipline ; which rapidly hastened to decay and dissolution, and was not susceptible of any solid or consistent reformation. The jurisdiction of the supreme pontiff, more especially after that office had been united with the imperial dignity, comprehended the whole extent of the Roman empire. Julian named for his vicars in the several provinces, the priests and philosophers, whom he esteemed the best qualified to coöperate in the execution of his great design ; and his pastoral letters,[37] if we may use that name, still represent a very curious sketch of his wishes and intentions. He directs, that in every city the sacerdotal order should be composed, without any distinction of birth or fortune, of those persons who were the most conspicuous for the love of the gods and of men. "If they are guilty," continues he, "of any "scandalous offence, they should be censured or degraded "by the superior pontiff ; but, as long as they retain their "rank, they are entitled to the respect of the magistrates "and people. Their humility may be shown in the plainness "of their domestic garb ; their dignity, in the pomp of holy "vestments. When they are summoned in their turn to "officiate before the altar, they ought not, during the ap"pointed number of days, to depart from the precincts of "the temple ; nor should a single day be suffered to elapse, "without the prayers and the sacrifice which they are obliged "to offer for the prosperity of the state and of individuals. "The exercise of their sacred functions requires an immacu"late purity, both of mind and body ; and even when they are "dismissed from the temple to the occupations of common "life, it is incumbent on them to excel in decency and virtue "the rest of their fellow-citizens. The priest of the gods "should never be seen in theatres or taverns. His conversa"tion should be chaste, his diet temperate, his friends of "honorable reputation ; and if he sometimes visits the forum "or the palace, he should appear only as the advocate of "those who have vainly solicited either justice or mercy. "His studies should be suited to the sanctity of his profes-

[37] See Julian. *Epistol.* xlix. lxii. lxiii., and a long and curious fragment, without beginning or end (pp. 288–305). The supreme pontiff derides the Mosaic history and the Christian discipline, prefers the Greek poets to the Hebrew prophets, and palliates with the skill of a Jesuit, the *relative* worship of images.

" sion. Licentious tales, or comedies, or satires, must be " banished from his library, which ought solely to consist of " historical and philosophical writings ; of history which is " founded in truth, and of philosophy which is connected with " religion. The impious opinions of the Epicureans and " Skeptics deserve his abhorrence and contempt ;[38] but he " should diligently study the systems of Pythagoras, of " Plato, and of the Stoics, which unanimously teach that " there *are* gods ; that the world is governed by their provi- " dence ; that their goodness is the source of every temporal " blessing ; and that they have prepared for the human soul a " future state of reward or punishment."* The imperial pontiff inculcates, in the most persuasive language, the duties of benevolence and hospitality ; exhorts his inferior clergy to recommend the universal practice of those virtues ; promises to assist their indigence from the public treasury ; and declares his resolution of establishing hospitals in every city, where the poor should be received without any invidious distinction of country or of religion. Julian beheld with envy the wise and humane regulations of the church ; and he very frankly confesses his intention to deprive the Christians of the applause, as well as advantage, which they had acquired by the exclusive practice of charity and beneficence.[39] The same spirit of imitation might dispose the emperor to adopt several ecclesiastical institutions, the use and importance of which were approved by the success of his enemies.[40] But if these imaginary plans of reformation had been realized, the forced and imperfect copy would have been less bene-

[38] The exultation of Julian (p. 301) that these impious sects, and even their writings, are extinguished, may be consistent enough with the sacerdotal character; but it is unworthy of a philosopher to wish that any opinions and arguments the most repugnant to his own, should be concealed from the knowledge of mankind.

[39] Yet he insinuates, that the Christians, under the pretence of charity, inveigled children from their religion and parents, conveyed them on shipboard, and devoted those victims to a life of poverty or servitude in a remote country (p. 305). Had the charge been proved, it was his duty, not to complain, but to punish.

[40] Gregory Nazianzen is facetious, ingenious, and argumentative (*Orat.* iii. pp. 101, 102, &c.). He ridicules the folly of such vain imitation ; and amuses himself with inquiring, what lessons, moral or theological, could be extracted from the Grecian fables.

* In these letters, Julian gives the idea of a Paganism, very unlike the mythologies of Hesiod, Homer, Numa, and Ovid. His instructions to his priests are an amplifying commentary on those of Paul to Titus, in his choice of bishops. The most remarkable feature in these extraordinary productions is, that while as Pontifex Maximus he affects to restore idolatry, as emperor and philosopher he endeavors to provide what he clearly perceives to be most required for the satisfaction of his age, by giving a more spiritual character to Pagan worship, and combining with it the belief of a future state. He even points out Platonism as the philosophy which had produced these impressions and created these wants. —ENG. CH.

ficial to Paganism, than honorable to Christianity. The Gentiles, who peaceably followed the customs of their ancestors, were rather surprised than pleased with the introduction of foreign manners; and, in the short period of his reign, Julian had frequent occasions to complain of the want of fervor of his own party.[41]

The philosophers.

The enthusiasm of Julian prompted him to embrace the friends of Jupiter as his personal friends and brethren; and though he partially overlooked the merit of Christian constancy, he admired and rewarded the noble perseverance of those Gentiles who had preferred the favor of the gods to that of the emperor.[42] If they cultivated the literature, as well as the religion, of the Greeks, they acquired an additional claim to the friendship of Julian, who ranked the muses in the number of his tutelar deities. In the religion which he had adopted, piety and learning were almost synonymous;[43] and a crowd of poets, of rhetoricians, and of philosophers, hastened to the imperial court, to occupy the vacant places of the bishops, who had seduced the credulity of Constantius. His successor esteemed the ties of common initiation as far more sacred than those of consanguinity; he chose his favorites among the sages, who were deeply skilled in the occult sciences of magic and divination, and every impostor, who pretended to reveal the secrets of futurity, was assured of enjoying the present hour in honor and affluence.[44] Among the philosophers, Maximus obtained the most eminent rank in the friendship of his royal disciple, who communicated, with unreserved confidence, his actions, his sentiments, and his religious designs, during the anxious suspense of the civil war.[45] As soon as Julian had taken possession of the palace of Constantinople, he dispatched an honorable and pressing invitation to Maximus, who then resided at Sardis

[41] He accuses one of his pontiffs of a secret confederacy with the Christian bishops and presbyters (*Epist.* lxii.). Ὁρῶν οὖν πολλὴν μὲν ὀλιγωρίαν οὖσαν ἡμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, and again, ἡμᾶς δὲ οὕτω ῥαθύμως, &c. *Epist.* lxiii.

[42] He praises the fidelity of Callixene, priestess of Ceres, who had been twice as constant as Penelope, and rewards her with the priesthood of the Phyrgian goddess at Pessinus (Julian. *Epist.* xxi.). He applauds the firmness of Sopater of Hierapolis, who had been repeatedly pressed by Constantius and Gallus to *apostatize* (*Epist.* xxvii. p. 401).

[43] Ὁ δὲ νομίζων ἀδελφα λόγους τε καὶ θεῶν ἱερα. *Orat. Parent.* c. 77, p. 302. The same sentiment is frequently inculcated by Julian, Libanius, and the rest of their party.

[44] The curiosity and credulity of the emperor, who tried every mode of divination, are fairly exposed by *Ammianus*, xxii. 12.

[45] Julian. *Epist.* xxxviii. Three other epistles (xv. xvi. xxxix.), in the same style of friendship and confidence, are addressed to the philosopher Maximus.

in Lydia, with Chrysanthius, the associate of his art and studies. The prudent and superstitious Chrysanthius refused to undertake a journey which showed itself, according to the rules of divination, with the most threatening and malignant aspect: but his companion, whose fanaticism was of a bolder cast, persisted in his interrogations, till he had extorted from the gods a seeming consent to his own wishes, and those of the emperor. The journey of Maximus through the cities of Asia displayed the triumph of philosophic vanity; and the magistrates vied with each other in the honorable reception which they prepared for the friend of their sovereign. Julian was pronouncing an oration before the senate, when he was informed of the arrival of Maximus. The emperor immediately interrupted his discourse, advanced to meet him, and after a tender embrace, conducted him by the hand into the midst of the assembly, where he publicly acknowledged the benefits which he had derived from the instructions of the philosopher. Maximus,[46] who soon acquired the confidence, and influenced the councils, of Julian, was insensibly corrupted by the temptations of a court. His dress became more splendid, his demeanor more lofty, and he was exposed, under a succeeding reign, to a disgraceful inquiry into the means by which the disciple of Plato had accumulated, in the short duration of his favor, a very scandalous proportion of wealth. Of the other philosophers and sophists, who were invited to the imperial residence by the choice of Julian, or by the success of Maximus, few were able to preserve their innocence, or their reputation.[47] The liberal gifts of money, lands, and houses, were insufficient to satiate their rapacious avarice; and the indignation of the people was justly excited by the remembrance of their abject poverty and disinterested professions. The penetration of Julian could not always be deceived;

[46] Eunapius* (in *Maximo*, pp. 77, 78, 79, and in *Chrysanthio*, pp. 147, 148) has minutely related these anecdotes, which he conceives to be the most important events of the age. Yet he fairly confesses the frailty of Maximus. His reception at Constantinople is described by Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. 86, p. 301) and *Ammianus* (xxii. 7).

[47] Chrysanthius, who had refused to quit Lydia, was created high priest of the province. His cautious and temperate use of power secured him after the revolution; and he lived in peace, while Maximus, Priscus, &c., were persecuted by the Christian ministers. See the adventures of those fanatic sophists, collected by Brucker, tom. ii. pp. 281–293.†

* Eunapius wrote a continuation of the *History of Dexippus*. Some valuable fragments of this work have been recovered by M. Mai, and reprinted in Niebuhr's edition of the *Byzantine Historians*.—MILMAN.

† Chrysantius attained the age of eighty years, and Oribasius was still living, A. D. 395. (*Clinton, F. R.* ii. 309, 311).—ENG CH.

but he was unwilling to despise the characters of those men whose talents deserved his esteem ; he desired to escape the double reproach of imprudence and inconstancy ; and he was apprehensive of degrading, in the eyes of the profane, the honor of letters and of religion.[48]

Conversions.

The favor of Julian was almost equally divided between the Pagans, who had firmly adhered to the worship of their ancestors, and the Christians, who prudently embraced the religion of their sovereign. The acquisition of new proselytes[49] gratified the ruling passions of his soul, superstition and vanity ; and he was heard to declare, with the enthusiasm of a missionary, that if he could render each individual richer than Midas, and every city greater than Babylon, he should not esteem himself the benefactor of mankind, unless, at the same time, he could reclaim his subjects from their impious revolt against the immortal gods.[50] A prince who had studied human nature, and who possessed the treasures of the Roman empire, could adapt his arguments, his promises, and his rewards, to every order of Christians ;[51] and the merit of a seasonable conversion was allowed to supply the defects of a candidate, or even to expiate the guilt of a criminal. As the army is the most forcible engine of absolute power, Julian applied himself, with peculiar diligence, to corrupt the religion of his troops, without whose hearty concurrence every measure must be dangerous and unsuccessful ; and the natural temper of soldiers made this conquest as easy as it was important. The legions of Gaul devoted themselves to the faith, as well as to the fortunes, of their victorious leader ;

[48] See Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. 101, 102, pp. 324, 325, 326) and Eunapius (*Vit. Sophist. in Procæresio*, p. 126). Some students, whose expectations perhaps were groundless, or extravagant, retired in disgust (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iv. p. 120). It is strange that we should not be able to contradict the title of one of Tillemont's chapters (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 960), "La Cour de Julien est pleine de "philosophes et de gens perdus."

[49] Under the reign of Louis XIV. his subjects of every rank aspired to the glorious title of *Convertisseur*, expressive of their zeal and success in making proselytes. The word and the idea are growing obsolete in France ; may they never be introduced into England.*

[50] See the strong expressions of Libanius, which were probably those of Julian himself. (*Orat. Parent.* c. 59, p. 285).

[51] When Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* x. p. 167) is desirous to magnify the Christian firmness of his brother Cæsarius, physician to the imperial court, he owns that Cæsarius disputed with a formidable adversary, πόλυν ἐν ὀπλοῖς, καὶ μέγαν ἐν λόγων δεινότητι. In his invectives, he scarcely allows any share of wit or courage to the apostate.

*M. Schreiter, in his translation, renders the last word in this note by "*unserm* "*Vaterlande*," so as to make the wish common to both England and Germany. —ENG. CH.

Let us add to M. Schreiter's patriotic term, "*unserm Vaterlande*," (our Fatherland,) the more comprehensive German words, *die ganze Welt*, (the whole world.)—E.

and even before the death of Constantius, he had the satisfaction of announcing to his friends, that they assisted with fervent devotion, and voracious appetite, at the sacrifices, which were repeatedly offered in his camp, of whole hecatombs of fat oxen.[52] The armies of the east, which had been trained under the standard of the cross and of Constantius, required a more artful and expensive mode of persuasion. On the days of solemn and public festivals, the emperor received the homage, and rewarded the merit, of the troops. His throne of state was encircled with the military ensigns of Rome and the republic; the holy name of Christ was erased from the *Labarum;* and the symbols of war, of majesty, and of Pagan superstition, were so dexterously blended, that the faithful subject incurred the guilt of idolatry, when he respectfully saluted the person or image of his sovereign. The soldiers passed successively in review; and each of them, before he received from the hand of Julian a liberal donative, proportioned to his rank and services, was required to cast a few grains of incense into the flame which burnt upon the altar. Some Christian confessors might resist, and others might repent; but the far greater number, allured by the prospect of gold, and awed by the presence of the emperor, contracted the criminal engagement; and their future perseverence in the worship of the gods was enforced by every consideration of duty and of interest. By the frequent repetition of these arts, and at the expense of sums which would have purchased the service of half the nations of Scythia, Julian gradually acquired for his troops the imaginary protection of the gods, and for himself the firm and effectual support of the Roman legions.[53] It is indeed more than probable, that the restoration and encouragement of Paganism revealed a multitude of pretended Christians, who, from motives of temporal advantage, had acquiesced in the religion of the former reign; and who afterwards returned, with the same flexibility of conscience, to the faith which was professed by the successors of Julian.

[52] Julian. *Epist.* xxxviii. *Ammianus*, xxii. 12. Adeo ut in dies pæne singulos milites carnis distentiore sagina victitantes incultius, potusque avidltate correpti, humeris impositi transeuntium per plateas, ex publicis ædibus * * * ad sua diversoria portarentur. The devout prince and the indignant historian describe the same scene; and in Illyricum or Antioch, similar causes must have produced similar effects.

[53] Gregory (*Orat.* iii. pp. 74, 75, 83–86) and Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. lxxxi. lxxxii. pp. 307, 308, περὶ ταῦτην τὴν σροῦδην, οὐκ ἐρνοῦμαι πλοῦτον αιηλωσθαι μέγαν. The sophist owns and justifies the expense of these military conversions.

The Jews.

While the devout monarch incessantly labored to restore and propagate the religion of his ancestors, he embraced the extraordinary design of rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem. In a public epistle[54] to the nation or community of the Jews, dispersed through the provinces, he pities their misfortunes, condemns their oppressors, praises their constancy, declares himself their gracious protector, and expresses a pious hope, that, after his return from the Persian war, he may be permitted to pay his grateful vows to the Almighty in his holy city of Jerusalem. The blind superstition, and abject slavery, of those unfortunate exiles, must excite the contempt of a philosophic emperor; but they deserved the friendship of Julian, by their implacable hatred of the Christian name. The barren synagogue abhorred and envied the fecundity of the rebellious church: the power of the Jews was not equal to their malice; but their gravest rabbis approved the private murder of an apostate;[55] and their seditious clamors had often awakened the indolence of the Pagan magistrates. Under the reign of Constantine, the Jews became the subjects of their revolted children; nor was it long before they experienced the bitterness of domestic tyranny. The civil immunities which had been granted, or confirmed, by Severus, were gradually repealed by the Christian princes; and a rash tumult, excited by the Jews of Palestine,[56] seemed to justify the lucrative modes of oppression which were invented by the bishops and eunuchs of the court of Constantius. The Jewish patriarch, who was still permitted to exercise a precarious jurisdiction, held his residence at Tiberias;[57] and the neighboring cities of Palestine were filled with the remains of a people who fondly adhered to the promised land. But the edict of Hadrian was renewed and enforced,

[54] Julian's epistle (xxv.) is addressed to the community of the Jews. Aldus (*Venet.* 1499) has branded it with an ἐι γνήσιος: but this stigma is justly removed by the subsequent editors, Petavius and Spanheim. This epistle is mentioned by *Sozomen* (l. v. c. 22), and the purport of it is confirmed by Gregory (*Orat.* iv. p. 111), and by Julian himself. (*Fragment*, p. 295).

[55] The Misnah denounced death against those who abandoned the foundation. The judgment of zeal is explained by Marsham (*Canon. Chron.* pp. 161, 162, edit. fol. London, 1672) and Basnage (*Hist. des Juifs*, tom. viii. p. 120). Constantine made a law to protect Christian converts from Judaism. *Cod. Theod.* l. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 1. *Godefroy*, tom. vi. p. 215.

[56] Et interea (during the civil war of Magnentius) Judæorum seditio, qui Patricium, nefarie in regni speciem sustulerunt, oppressa. Aurelius Victor, in *Constantio*, c. xlii. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. iv. p. 379, in 4to.*

[57] The city and synagogue of Tiberias are curiously described by Reland. *Palestin.* tom. ii. pp. 1036–1042.

* Diocæsarea was the scene of this tumult, and its suppression was the only feat of arms performed by Julian's brother, Gallus, during his short reign as Cæsar. *Socrat H. E.* 2, 33.—Eng. Ch.

and they viewed from afar the walls of the holy city, which were profaned in their eyes by the triumph of the cross, and the devotion of the Christians.[58]

Jerusalem.

In the midst of a rocky and barren country, the walls of Jerusalem[59] enclosed the two mountains of Sion and Acra, within an oval figure of about three English miles.[60] Towards the south, the upper town, and the fortress of David, were erected on the lofty ascent of mount Sion; on the north side, the buildings of the lower town covered the spacious summit of mount Arca; and a part of the hill, distinguished by the name of Moriah, and leveled by human industry, was crowned with the stately temple of the Jewish nation. After the final destruction of the temple by the arms of Titus and Hadrian, a ploughshare was drawn over the consecrated ground, as a sign of perpetual interdiction. Sion was deserted; and the vacant space of the lower city was filled with the public and private edifices of the Ælian colony, which spread themselves over the adjacent hill of Calvary. The holy places were polluted with monuments of idolatry; and either from design or accident, a chapel was dedicated to Venus, on the spot which had been sanctified by the death and resurrection of Christ.[61]* Almost three hundred years after those stupendous events, the profane chapel of Venus was demolished by the order of Constantine; and the removal of the earth and stones revealed the holy sepulchre to the eyes of mankind. A magnificent church was erected on that mystic ground, by the first Christian emperor: and the effects of his pious munificence were extended to every spot which had been consecrated by the footsteps of patriarchs, of prophets, and the Son of God.[62]

[58] Basnage has fully illustrated the state of the Jews under Constantine and his successors (tom. viii. c. iv. pp. 111–153.)

[59] Reland (*Palestin.* l. i. pp. 309. 390, l. iii. p. 838) describes, with learning and perspicuity, Jerusalem, and the face of the adjacent country.

[60] I have consulted a rare and curious treatise of M. D'Anville (*sur l'Ancienne Jerusalem*, Paris, 1747, p. 75). The circumference of the ancient city (Euseb. *Preparat. Evangel.* l. ix. c. 36) was 27 stadia, or 2550 *toises*. A plan, taken on the spot, assigns no more than 1980 for the modern town. The circuit is defined by natural landmarks, which cannot be mistaken or removed.

[61] See two curious passages in *Jerom* (tom. i. p. 102, tom. vi. p. 315), and the ample details of Tillemont, (*Hist. des Emp.* tom. i. p. 569, t. ii. pp. 289, 294, 4to edit.

[62] Eusebius, in *Vit. Constantin.* l. iii. c. 25–47, 51–53. The emperor likewise built churches at Bethlehem, the Mount of Olives, and the oak of Mambre. The holy sepulchre is described by Sandys (*Travels*, pp. 125–133), and curiously delineated by Le Bruyn, (*Voyage au Levant*, pp. 288–296.†

* On the site of the Holy Sepulchre, compare the chapter in Professor Robinson's *Travels in Palestine*, which has renewed the old controversy with great vigor. To me, this temple of Venus, said to have been erected by Hadrian to insult the Christians, is not the least suspicious part of the whole legend.—M. 1845.

† Dr. Clarke and his companion seem to be the only pilgrims who have beheld the true sepulchre. (See his *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 57. 59.) But prejudices, too inverate and profitable, quashed the discovery.—ENG. CH.

Pilgrimages.

The passionate desire of contemplating the original monuments of their redemption, attracted to Jerusalem a successive crowd of pilgrims, from the shores of the Atlantic ocean, and the most distant countries of the east,[63] and their piety was authorized by the empress Helena, who appears to have united the credulity of age with the warm feelings of a recent conversion. Sages and heroes, who have visited the memorable scenes of ancient wisdom or glory, have confessed the inspiration of the genius of the place;[64] and the Christian, who knelt before the holy sepulchre, ascribed his lively faith, and his fervent devotion, to the more immediate influence of the divine Spirit. The zeal, perhaps the avarice, of the clergy of Jerusalem, cherished and multiplied these beneficial visits. They fixed, by unquestionable tradition, the scene of each memorable event. They exhibited the instruments which had been used in the passion of Christ; the nails and the lance that had pierced his hands, his feet, and his side; the crown of thorns that was planted on his head; the pillar at which he was scourged; and, above all, they showed the cross on which he suffered, and which was dug out of the earth in the reign of those princes who inserted the symbol of Christianity in the banners of the Roman legions.[65] Such miracles, as seemed necessary to account for its extraordinary preservation, and seasonable discovery, were gradually propagated without opposition. The custody of the *true cross*, which on Easter Sunday was solemnly exposed to the people, was intrusted to the bishop of Jerusalem: and he alone might gratify the curious devotion of the pilgrims, by the gift of small pieces, which they enchased in gold or gems, and carried away in triumph to their respective countries. But as this gainful branch of commerce must soon have been annihilated, it was found convenient to

63 The Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem was composed in the year 333, for the use of pilgrims; among whom *Jerome* (tom. i. p. 126) mentions the Britons and the Indians. The causes of this superstitious fashion are discussed in the learned and judicious preface of Wesseling (*Itinerar.* pp. 537–545).*

64 Cicero (*de Finibus*, v. 1) has beautifully expressed the common sense of mankind.

65 Baronius (*Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 326, No. 42–50) and Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. vii. pp. 8–16) are the historians and champions of the miraculous *invention* of the cross under the reign of Constantine. Their oldest witnesses are Paulinus, Sulpicius Severus, Rufinus, Ambrose, and perhaps Cyril of Jerusalem. The silence of Eusebius, and the Bordeaux pilgrim, which satisfies those who think, perplexes those who believe. See Jortin's sensible remarks, vol. ii. pp 238–248.

* Much curious information on this subject is collected in the first chapter of Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge.*—MILMAN.

Dr. Johnson, in his tour to the Hebrides, echoes the same sentiment amid the ruins of Iona.—ENG. CH.

suppose that the marvellous wood possessed a secret power of vegetation; and that its substance, though continually diminished, still remained entire and unimpaired.[66] It might perhaps have been expected that the influence of the place, and the belief of a perpetual miracle, should have produced some salutary effects on the morals, as well as on the faith, of the people. Yet the most respectable of the ecclesiastical writers have been obliged to confess, not only that the streets of Jerusalem were filled with the incessant tumult of business and pleasure,[67] but that every species of vice—adultery, theft, idolatry, poisoning, murder—was familiar to the inhabitants of the holy city.[68] The wealth and pre-eminence of the church of Jerusalem excited the ambition of Arian, as well as orthodox, candidates; and the virtues of Cyril, who, since his death, has been honored with the title of saint, were displayed in the exercise, rather than in the acquisition, of his episcopal dignity.[69]

Julian attempts to rebuild the temple.

The vain and ambitious mind of Julian might aspire to restore the ancient glory of the temple of Jerusalem.[70] As the Christians were firmly persuaded that a sentence of everlasting destruction had been pronounced against the whole

66 This multiplication is asserted by Paulinus (*Epist.* xxxvi. See Dupin. *Bibliot. Eccles.* tom. iii. p. 149), who seems to have improved a rhetorical flourish of Cyril into a real fact. The same supernatural privilege must have been communicated to the Virgin's milk (*Erasmi Opera*, tom. i. pp. 778, Lugd. Batav. 1703, in *Colloq. de Peregrinat. Religionis ergo*), saints' heads, &c., and other relics, which are repeated in so many different churches.*

67 Jerom (tom. i. p. 103), who resided in the neighboring village of Bethlehem, describes the vices of Jerusalem from his personal experience.

68 Gregor. Nyssen, apud *Wesseling*, p. 539. The whole epistle, which condemns either the use or the abuse of religious pilgrimage, is painful to the Catholic divines, while it is dear and familiar to our Protestant polemics.

69 He renounced his orthodox ordination, officiated as a deacon, and was re-ordained by the hands of the Arians. But Cyril afterwards changed with the times, and prudently conformed to the Nicene faith. Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. viii.), who treats his memory with tenderness and respect, has thrown his virtues into the text, and his faults into the notes, in decent obscurity, at the end of the volume.†

70 Imperii sui memoriam magnitudine operum gestiens propagare. *Ammian.* xxiii. 1. The temple of Jerusalem had been famous even among the Gentiles. *They* had many temples in each city (at Sichem five, at Gaza eight, at Rome four hundred and twenty-four); but the wealth and religion of the Jewish nation were centred in one spot.

* Lord Mahon, in a memoir read before the Society of Antiquaries, (Feb. 1831), has traced, in a brief but interesting manner, the singular adventures of the "true" cross. It is curious to inquire, what authority we have, except of *late* tradition, for the *Hill* of Calvary. There is none in the sacred writings; the uniform use of the common word τὸπος, instead of any word expressing ascent or acclivity, is against the notion.—Milman.

† Cyril's changes are recorded by Jerome. (*Chron.* anno 2364). He was first elected A. D. 348 (then an Arian), under Constantius; thrice deposed, and as often restored. The date of his last re-installation is 381, the third year of Theodosius, the orthodox; from which time he retained his position till his death in 388. The last dates are Clinton's. (*F. R.* ii. 536.)—Eng. Ch.

fabric of the Mosaic law, the imperial sophist would have converted the success of his undertaking into a specious argument against the faith of prophecy, and the truth of revelation.[71] He was displeased with the spiritual worship of the synagogue; but he approved the institutions of Moses, who had not disdained to adopt many of the rites, and ceremonies of Egypt.[72] The local and national deity of the Jews was sincerely adored by a polytheist, who desired only to multiply the number of the gods;[73] and such was the appetite of Julian for bloody sacrifice, that his emulation might be excited by the piety of Solomon, who had offered, at the feast of the dedication, twenty-two thousand oxen, and one hundred and twenty thousand sheep.[74] These considerations might influence his designs; but the prospect of an immediate and important advantage would not suffer the impatient monarch to expect the remote and uncertain event of the Persian war. He resolved to erect, without delay, on the commanding eminence of Moriah, a stately temple, which might eclipse the splendor of the church of the resurrection on the adjacent hill of Calvary; to establish an order of priests, whose interested zeal would detect the arts, and resist the ambition, of their Christian rivals; and to invite a numerous colony of Jews, whose stern fanaticism would be always prepared to second, and even to anticipate, the hostile measures of the Pagan government. Among the friends of the emperor (if the names of emperor, and of friend, are not incompatible) the first place was assigned, by Julian himself, to the virtuous and

[71] The secret intentions of Julian are revealed by the late bishop of Gloucester, the learned and dogmatic Warburton; who, with the authority of a theologian, prescribes the motives and conduct of the Supreme Being. The discourse entitled *Julian* (2d edition, London, 1751) is strongly marked with all the peculiarities which are imputed to the Warburtonian school.

[72] I shelter myself behind Maimonides, Marsham, Spencer, Le Clerc, Warburton, &c., who have fairly derided the fears, the folly, and the falsehood of some superstitious divines. See *Divine Legation*, vol. iv. p. 25, &c.

[73] Julian (*Fragment.* p. 295) respectfully styles him μέγας Θέος, and mentions him elsewhere (*Epist.* lxiii) with still higher reverence. He doubly condemns the Christians, for believing, and for renouncing, the religion of the Jews. Their Deity was a *true*, but not the *only*, God. Apud *Cyril.* l. ix. pp. 305, 306.

[74] 1 *Kings*, viii. 63. 2 *Chronicles*, vii. 5. *Josephi. Antiquitat. Judaic.* l. viii. c. 4, p. 431, edit. Havercamp. As the blood and smoke of so many hecatombs might be inconvenient, Lightfoot, the Christian Rabbi, removes them by a miracle. Le Clerc (ad loca) is bold enough to suspect the fidelity of the numbers.*

* According to the historian Kotobeddyn, quoted by Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, p. 276), the Khalif Mokteder sacrificed, during his pilgrimage to Mecca, in the year of the Hejira 350, forty thousand camels and cows, and fifty thousand sheep. Barthema describes thirty thousand oxen slain, and their carcasses given to the poor. *Quarterly Review*, xiii. p. 39.—MILMAN.

According to the historian Baron Munchausen, still greater wonders have occurred.—E.

learned Alypius.[75] The humanity of Alypius was tempered by severe justice and manly fortitude; and while he exercised his abilities in the civil administration of Britain, he imitated, in his poetical compositions, the harmony and softness of the odes of Sappho. The minister, to whom Julian communicated, without reserve, his most careless levities, and his most serious counsels, received an extraordinary commission to restore, in its pristine beauty, the temple of Jerusalem; and the diligence of Alypius required and obtained the strenuous support of the governor of Palestine. At the call of their great deliverer, the Jews, from all the provinces of the empire, assembled on the holy mountain of their fathers; and their insolent triumph alarmed and exasperated the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem. The desire of rebuilding the temple has in every age been the ruling passion of the children of Israel. In this propitious moment the men forgot their avarice, and the women their delicacy; spades and pickaxes of silver were provided by the vanity of the rich, and the rubbish was transported in mantles of silk and purple. Every purse was opened in liberal contributions, every hand claimed a share in the pious labor; and the commands of a great monarch were executed by the enthusiasm of a whole people.[76]

The enterprise is defeated.

Yet, on this occasion, the joint efforts of power and enthusiasm were unsuccessful; and the ground of the Jewish temple, which is now covered by a Mahometan mosque,[77] still continued to exhibit the same edifying spectacle of ruin and desolation. Perhaps the absence and death of the emperor, and the new maxims of a Christian reign, might explain the interruption of an arduous work, which was attempted only in the last six months of the life of Julian.[78] But the Christians entertained a natural and pious expectation, that, in this memorable contest, the honor of religion would be vindicated

[75] Julian, *Epist.* xxix. xxx. La Bleterie has neglected to translate the second of these epistles.

[76] See the zeal and impatience of the Jews in *Gregory Nazianzen.* (*Orat.* iv. p. 111), and *Theodoret* (l. iii. c. 20).

[77] Built by Omar, the second Khalif, who died A. D. 644. This great mosque covers the whole consecrated ground of the Jewish temple, and constitutes almost a square of 760 *toises*, or one Roman mile in circumference. See D'Anville, *Jerusalem*, p. 45.

[78] Ammianus records the consuls of the year 363, before he proceeds to mention the *thoughts* of Julian. Templum * * * instaurare sumptibus *cogitabat* immodicis. Warburton has a secret wish to anticipate the design; but he must have understood, from former examples, that the execution of such a work would have demanded many years.

by some signal miracle. An earthquake, a whirlwind, and a fiery eruption, which overturned and scattered the new foundations of the temple, are attested, with some variations, by contemporary and respectable evidence.[79] This public event is described by Ambrose,[80] bishop of Milan; in an epistle to the emperor Theodosius, which must provoke the severe animadversion of the Jews; by the eloquent Chrysostom,[81] who might appeal to the memory of the elder part of his congregation at Antioch; and by Gregory Nazianzen,[82] who published his account of the miracle before the expiration of the same year. The last of these writers has boldly declared, that this preternatural event was not disputed by the infidels; and his assertion, strange as it may seem, is confirmed by the unexceptionable testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus.[83]

Perhaps by a preternatural event.

[79] The subsequent witnesses, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Philostorgius, &c., add contradictions rather than authority. Compare the objections of Basnage (*Hist. des Juifs*, tom. viii. pp. 157–168) with Warburton's answers. (*Julian*, pp. 174–258). The bishop has ingeniously explained the miraculous crosses which appeared on the garments of the spectators by a similar instance, and the natural effects of lightning.

[80] *Ambros.* tom. ii. epist. xl. p. 946, edit. Benedictin. He composed this fanatic epistle (A. D. 388) to justify a bishop, who had been condemned by the civil magistrate for burning a synagogue.

[81] *Chrysostom*, tom. i. p. 580, advers. *Judæos et Gentes*, tom. ii. p. 574, *de Sto. Babyla*, edit. Montfaucon. I have followed the common and natural supposition; but the learned Benedictine, who dates the composition of these sermons in the year 383, is confident they were never pronounced from the pulpit.

[82] Greg. Nazianzen, *Orat.* iv. pp. 110–113. Τό δὲν οὐ τεριβόητον τᾶοι θαῦμα, καὶ σὺδε τοῖς ἀθέοις αὔτσις ἀπιστουμενον, λέξων, ἐρχὸμαι.

[83] *Ammian.* xxiii. 1. Cum itaque rei fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes fecere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum; hocque modo elemento destinatius repellente, cessavit inceptum. Warburton labors (pp. 69–90) to extort a confession of the miracle from the mouths of Julian and Libanius, and to employ the evidence of a rabbi who lived in the fifteenth century. Such witnesses can only be received by a very favorable judge.*

* Michaelis has furnished a clever, and at the same time probable, explanation of an event, which, however strange, can scarcely be doubted, after the positive testimony given to it by Ammianus, a contemporary and a Pagan. It is founded on a passage in *Tacitus*, where Jerusalem is thus described: "Its elevated situation was strengthened by works, which would have fortified a plain. Two very lofty hills were inclosed by a wall, the inward curvatures of which left external projections, that commanded the flanks of assailing besiegers. The temple itself was rendered a citadel by its own walls, constructed with still greater labor and skill, and the very portico, which surrounded it, was a strong bulwark. It had within it a spring of ever-flowing water, and deep excavations under the mountains with tanks and reservoirs, to collect and preserve that which was supplied by rain." These subterranean vaults and cisterns must have been of great extent. During the whole siege of Jerusalem, from April to August, a season in which no rain falls in that country, they supplied water for its eleven hundred thousand inhabitants, to whose wants the fountain of Siloah was an inadequate stream. Even before the Babylonian captivity, as well as after the return of the Jews, these excavations served not only for their magazines of oil, wine and corn, but also as safe receptacles for the treasures of the temple. Many incidents, related by Josephus, prove their extent. When it was evident that Jerusalem could no longer hold out against Titus, the rebel chieftains placed their last hope on these subterranean retreats (ὑπονόμους, ὑπογαία,

The philosophic soldier, who loved the virtues, without adopting the prejudices, of his master, has recorded, in his judicious and candid history of his own times, the extraordinary obstacles which interrupted the restoration of the

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διώρυχας) and resolved to conceal themselves there, till the departure of the Romans, after the destruction of the city. The greater part of them had not time to execute their scheme; but one among them, Simon, the son of Gioras, taking with him a supply of provisions and tools for mining the rock, found a refuge in that asylum for himself and some of his comrades. He continued there, till Titus had returned to Rome. Then, compelled by hunger, he suddenly came forth, on the spot where the temple had stood, and in the midst of the Roman guards. He was seized, and conveyed to Rome in triumph. From his having made his appearance, it was suspected, that there were others in the same place of concealment, and on exploring its depths, many more were discovered. (Josephus *De Bell. Jud.* l. vii., c. 2.) It is probable, that most of these excavations were made in the time of Solomon, when such underground workings were common; any other date can scarcely be assigned to them. When the Jews returned from exile, they were too poor to engage in such undertakings; and though Herod, when he rebuilt the temple, ordered some, it is impossible that they could all be dug out in the short time allowed for completing that operation. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, 15, 2, 7.) Some were sewers and drains; in others were concealed the immense treasures, which Crassus plundered 120 years before the Jewish war, and which were, no doubt, afterwards replaced. The temple was destroyed in the year 70 of our era. Julian's attempt to restore it, and the fact recorded by Ammianus, occurred in 363. Nearly three hundred years had intervened, during which these vaults, closed up by rubbish, must have been filled with inflammable air. It is now a well-known fact, that, when any subterranean cavities which have been long shut up are re-opened, either the torches taken into them are extinguished, and the bearers at first are seized with fainting fits, and then soon expire; or, if the air be inflammable, first a small blaze flickers round the lamp, then it spreads and increases, till it fills the whole space, and an explosion follows, fatal to all within its reach. As the workmen, employed by Julian, cleared away the ruins, they disclosed these passages beneath the fallen temple. Endeavoring to penetrate into them by torch-light, sudden flames drove them back, explosions were heard, and at every renewed attempt to enter, the phenomena were repeated. Another nearly similar event is related by Josephus, which corroborates this solution of the mystery. King Herod, having heard, that a great treasure was buried in the tomb of David, went down into it, one night, with a few attendants, in whom he could confide. In the outer vault, he found some jewels and robes; but when he attempted to penetrate into an inner chamber, which for a long time had been unopened, they were repelled by flames, which killed two of those who were with him. (*Ant. Jud.* 16, 7, 1.) As no miracle can be alleged here, this fact may be considered to prove the truth of what is narrated by Ammianus Marcellinus and other contemporary writers.—GUIZOT.

In his translation of this note, Dean Milman condemns M. Guizot's "extra-" ordinary translation of muri introrsus sinuati by *enfoncemens*." The reverend editor seems to have misunderstood his predecessor, who did not then use the French word, in the sense of *hollowings* or *excavations*, but in that of *inward bendings* or *indentations;* and it must be taken in conjunction with its companion "*saillies;*" then "walls full of salient points and inward bendings," is perhaps the best translation of the Latin, phrase which the French language could afford. M. Guizot has done good service, by bringing to bear, on a strange and misunderstood event, information, not possessed in Gibbon's time. It should teach us, in all such cases, a double lesson of tolerant forbearance, as well for the skeptical who deny, as for the credulous who mistake. Bishop Warburton, too devoutly believed that no future age could be better informed than his own; and piously denounced every one as "an unbeliever," who did not admit, that when the nature and causes of an occurrence are unknown to them, "it is absurd and "a wretched evasion, to suppose it a natural event." (Warburton's *Julian*, pp. 287, 284.)—ENG. CH.

To the illustrations of the extent of the subterranean chambers adduced by Michaelis, may be added, that when John of Gischala, during the siege, surprised the Temple, the party of Eleazar took refuge within them. Bell. *Jud.* vi. 3, 1. The sudden sinking of the hill of Sion, when Jerusalem was occupied by Barchocab, may have been connected with similar excavations. *Hist. of Jews*, vol. iii. 122 and 186.—MILMAN.

temple of Jerusalem. "Whilst Alypius, assisted by the gov-
" ernor of the province, urged, with vigor and diligence, the
" execution of the work, horrible balls of fire breaking out
" near the foundations, with frequent and reiterated attacks,
" rendered the place, from time to time, inaccessible to the
" scorched and blasted workmen; and the victorious ele-
" ment continuing in this manner obstinately and resolutely
" bent, as it were, to drive them to a distance, the under-
" taking was abandoned." Such authority should satisfy a believing, and must astonish an incredulous, mind. Yet a philosopher may still require the original evidence of impartial and intelligent spectators. At this important crisis, any singular accident of nature would assume the appearance, and produce the effects, of a real prodigy. This glorious deliverance would be speedily improved and magnified by the pious art of the clergy of Jerusalem, and the active credulity of the Christian world; and, at the distance of twenty years, a Roman historian, careless of theological disputes, might adorn his work with the specious and splendid miracle.[84]

Partiality of Julian.

The restoration of the Jewish temple was secretly connected with the ruin of the Christian church. Julian still continued to maintain the freedom of religious worship, without distinguishing, whether this universal toleration proceeded from his justice or his clemency. He affected to pity the unhappy Christians, who were mistaken in the most important object of their lives; but his pity was degraded by contempt, his contempt was imbittered by hatred; and the sentiments of Julian were expressed in a style of sarcastic wit, which inflicts a deep and deadly wound, whenever it issues from the mouth of a sovereign. As he was sensible that the Christians gloried in the name of their Redeemer, he countenanced, and perhaps enjoined, the use of the less honorable appellation of GALILEANS.[85] He declared, that by the folly

[84] Dr. Lardner, perhaps alone of the Christian critics, presumes to doubt the truth of this famous miracle. (*Jewish and Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. p. 47-71).* The silence of Jerom would lead to a suspicion that the same story, which was celebrated at a distance, might be despised on the spot.

[85] Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 81. And this law was confirmed by the invariable practice of Julian himself. Warburton has justly observed (p. 35), that the Platonists believed in the mysterious virtue of words;† and Julian's dislike for the name of Christ might proceed from superstition, as well as from contempt.

* Gibbon has forgotten Basnage, to whom Warburton replied.—MILMAN.

† A belief in the potency and efficacy of *sacred names* in the practice of *leucomancy*, or white magic, and also in *necromancy*, or black magic, was prevalent in the first ages of Christianity, and Gibbon's suggestion, that the Pagan emperor " was opposed to the *name* of the Christian Redeemer," which was then used as

of the Galileans, whom he describes as a sect of fanatics, contemptible to men, and odious to the gods, the empire

a charm, a spell, a talisman, or a fetich, may not be without foundation. As it is a subject "hallowed" by the dust of centuries, it deserves to be treated gravely.

"*Abracalam*," says Crabbe's *Technological Dictionary*, "was a cabalistic word "used as a charm by the Jews, and the name of a Syrian idol. *Selden de Diis Syriis.*

"*Abracadabra*, a cabalistic word used as a "charm against fevers, and formed by drop- "ping from every line the last letter when "written in a kind of cone, as here shown:

א ב ר א כ א ד א ב ר א
א ב ר א כ א ד א ב ר
א ב ר א כ א ד א ב
א ב ר א כ א ד א
א ב ר א כ א ד
א ב ר א כ א
א ב ר א כ
א ב ר א
א ב ר
א ב
א

"*Abrasax*, the name given by the heretic "Basilides to God and Jesus Christ, and "worshiped by his sect un- "der the figure of Isis, Osiris, "and other Egyptian gods; "as also under the figure of "animals, with the head of a "cock, a lion, a beetle, or a "sphinx; the body of a man, "as in the annexed cut; and "the tail of a serpent. They

"conceived the Saviour to be the material sun, in imitation of the Egyptians, "who worshiped the sun under the name of Osiris. The word ABPACAΞ, "*Abrasax*, or *Abraxas*, was chosen because the letters, of which it is composed, "make up 365, the number of days, *according to the Greek computation by letters*, "in which the sun performs his annual revolution, as follows:

"A	B	P	A	C	A	Ξ
"1	2	100	1	200	1	60

"This word was employed as a talisman, and the image was worshiped as a "magical deity, who was to dispel evils. (*S. Iren. adv. Hæres*, l. i. c. 2; *Tertul.* "*de Præc.* c. 46; *Euseb. Eccl. Hist.* l. 4, c. 7; *Hieron. adv Lucif. in. Amor.* l. 2; "*S. Epiphan. Hæres.* 24; *S. August. de Hæres, et ad quod vult Deum; Baron.* "*Annal. Ann.* 120; *Montfaucon. Antig. expliq.* vol. i. p. 369, et seq."

The charm was performed by the *invocation of a name.* And the Rev. Robt. Taylor believed "that it was in the name, and *the name only*, that the first "preachers of Christianity believed. 'There is none other NAME under heaven, "'given among men, whereby we must be saved.'" (*Acts*, iv. 12.) "This was "a charm more powerful than the *Abraxas*, more sacred than *Abracadabra*; in "short, *those* were but the spells that bound the services of inferior demons—*this*, "conjured the assistance of omnipotence, and was indeed, the God's spell."

"The miraculous powers which the Christians possessed, were not in the "least owing to enchantments," says Origen, in his *Answer to Celsus* (chap. 6), "but to their pronouncing the *name* I. E. S. U. S. and making mention of some "remarkable occurrences of his life. Nay, the *name* of I. E. S. U. S., has had "such power over demons, that it has sometimes proved effectual, though pro- "nounced by very wicked persons."

"And the *name* of I. E. S. U. S., at this very day, composes the ruffled minds "of men, dispossesses demons, cures diseases; and works a meek, gentle, and "amiable temper in all those persons, who make profession of Christianity, from "a higher end than their worldly interests."—(*Ibid.* 57.)

"Even to this day," continues Taylor, "the name retained by our sacred "writings, is derived from the belief of their magical influence, as a spell or charm "of God, to drive away diseases. The Irish peasantry still continue to tie passages "of St. John's Spell, or St. John's God's-spell, to the horns of cows to make them "give more milk; nor would any powers of rational argument shake their con- "viction in the efficacy of a bit of *the word*, tied round a colt's heels, to prevent "them from swelling." "Physicians of high claim to science and rationality, use "forms of prescription which bear, as the first mark of the pen upon the paper, the "mystical hieroglyphic of *Jupiter*, the talismanic ♃ under whose influence the "prescribed herbs were to be gathered, and ℞ from whose miraculous "agency their operation was to be expected."

In connection with this subject, read the tragi-comic narrative, given by St. Paul (*Acts*, xix. 14–16), of the seven sons of one Sciva, who presumptuously undertook to extract, or rather to exorcise, a demon, by the use of certain sacred cabalistic words, which demanded the experience of a skilled exorcist. These impious and adventurous youths placed their lives in extreme jeopardy, and received a terrible thrashing from the demon, as a punishment for their sacri- legious impudence.—E.

had been reduced to the brink of destruction ; and he insinuates in a public edict, that a frantic patient might sometimes be cured by salutary violence.[86] An ungenerous distinction was admitted into the mind and counsels of Julian, that, according to the difference of their religious sentiments, one part of his subjects deserved his favor and friendship, while the other was entitled only to the common benefits that his justice could not refuse to an obedient people.[87] According to a principle, pregnant with mischief and oppression, the emperor transferred to the pontiffs of his own religion, the management of the liberal allowances from the public revenue, which had been granted to the church by the piety of Constantine and his sons. The proud system of clerical honors and immunities, which had been constructed with so much art and labor, was leveled to the ground ; the hopes of testamentary donations were intercepted by the rigor of the laws ; and the priests of the Christian sect were confounded with the last and most ignominious class of the people. Such of these regulations as appeared necessary to check the ambition and avarice of the ecclesiastics, were soon afterwards imitated by the wisdom of an orthodox prince. The peculiar distinctions which policy has bestowed, or superstition has lavished, on the sacerdotal order, *must* be confined to those priests who profess the religion of the state. But the will of the legislator was not exempt from prejudice and passion ; and it was the object of the insidious policy of Julian, to deprive the Christians of all the temporal honors and advantages which rendered them respectable in the eyes of the world.[88]

He prohibits the Christians from teaching schools.

A just and severe censure has been inflicted on the law which prohibited the Christians from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric.[89] The motives alleged by the emperor to justify this

[86] *Fragment. Julian.* p. 288. He derides the μωρία Γαλιλαίων (*Epist.* vii.), and so far loses sight of the principles of toleration, as to wish (*Epist.* xlii.) ἀκοντας ἰᾶσθαι.

[87] Οὐ λάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν ἠὲ ἐλαύνειν
Ἄνερας, οἵ κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθωντ' ἀθανάτοισιν.

These two lines, which Julian has changed and perverted in the true spirit of a bigot, (*Epist.* xlix.), are taken from the speech of Æolus, when he refuses to grant Ulysses a fresh supply of winds, (*Odyss.* x. 73). Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. lix. p. 286) attempts to justify this partial behavior by an apology, in which persecution peeps through the mask of candor.

[88] These laws, which affected the clergy, may be found in the slight hints of Julian himself, (*Epist.* lii.), in the vague declamations of Gregory, (*Orat.* iii. pp. 86, 87), and in the positive assertions of *Sozomen* (l. v. c. 5).

[89] Inclemens * * * perenni obruendum silentio. *Ammian.* xxii. 10, xxv. 5.

partial and oppressive measure, might command, during his lifetime, the silence of slaves and the applause of flatterers. Julian abuses the ambiguous meaning of a word which might be indifferently applied to the language and the religion of the GREEKS: he contemptuously observes, that the men who exalt the merit of implicit faith are unfit to claim or to enjoy the advantages of science; and he vainly contends, that if they refuse to adore the gods of Homer and Demosthenes, they ought to content themselves with expounding Luke and Matthew in the churches of the Galileans.[90] In all the cities of the Roman world, the education of the youth was intrusted to the masters of grammar and rhetoric; who were elected by the magistrates, maintained at the public expense, and distinguished by many lucrative and honorable privileges. The edict of Julian appears to have included the physicians, and professors of all the liberal arts; and the emperor, who reserved to himself the approbation of the candidates, was authorized by the laws to corrupt, or to punish, the religious constancy of the most learned of the Christians.[91] As soon as the resignation of the more obstinate[92] teachers had established the unrivaled dominion of the Pagan sophists, Julian invited the rising generation to resort with freedom to the public schools, in a just confidence, that their tender minds would receive the impressions of literature and idolatry. If the greatest part of the Christian youth should be deterred by their own scruples, or by those of their parents, from accepting this dangerous mode of instruction, they must, at the same time, relinquish the benefits of a liberal education. Julian had reason to expect that, in the space of a few years the church would relapse into its primæval simplicity, and that the theologians, who possessed an adequate share of the learning and eloquence of the age, would be succeeded by a generation of blind and ignorant fanatics,

[90] The edict itself, which is still extant among the epistles of *Julian* (xlii.), may be compared with the loose invectiyes of Gregory, (*Orat.* iii. p. 96) Tillemont, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. vii. pp. 1291–1294), has collected the seeming differences of ancients and moderns. They may be easily reconciled. The Christians were *directly* forbidden to teach, they were *indirectly* forbidden to learn; since they would not frequent the schools of the Pagans.

[91] *Codex Theodos.* l. xiii. tit. iii. de medicis et professoribus, leg. 5 (published the 17th of June, received at Spoleto, in Italy, the 29th of July, A. D. 363), with Godefroy's Illustrations, tom. v. p. 31.

[92] Orosius celebrates their disinterested resolution, Sicut a majoribus nostris compertum habemus, omnes ubique propemodum * * * officium quam fidem deserere maluerunt, vii. 30. Proæresius, a Christian sophist, refused to accept the partial favor of the emperor. Hieronym. in *Chron.* p. 185, edit. Scaliger. Eunapius in *Proæresio*, p. 126.

incapable of defending the truth of their own principles, or of exposing the various follies of Polytheism.[93]

Disgrace and oppression of the Christians.

It was undoubtedly the wish and the design of Julian to deprive the Christians of the advantages of wealth, of knowledge, and of power; but the injustice of excluding them from all offices of trust and profit seems to have been the result of his general policy, rather than the immediate consequence of any positive law.[94] Superior merit might deserve, and obtain, some extraordinary exceptions; but the greater part of the Christian officers were gradually removed from their employments in the state, the army, and the provinces. The hopes of future candidates were extinguished by the declared partiality of a prince, who maliciously reminded them that it was unlawful for a Christian to use the sword, either of justice, or of war; and who studiously guarded the camp and the tribunals with the ensigns of idolatry. The powers of government were intrusted to the Pagans, who professed an ardent zeal for the religion of their ancestors; and as the choice of the emperor was often directed by the rules of divination, the favorites whom he preferred as the most agreeable to the gods, did not always obtain the approbation of mankind.[95] Under the administration of their enemies, the Christians had much to suffer, and more to apprehend.

[93] They had recourse to the expedient of composing books for their own schools. Within a few months, Apollinaris produced his Christian imitations of *Homer*, (a sacred history in twenty-four books), *Pindar*, *Euripides*, and *Menander*; and Sozomen is satisfied, that they equaled, or excelled, the originals.*

[94] It was the instruction of Julian to his magistrates (*Epist.* vii.), *προτιμᾶσθαι μέντοι τοὺς θεοσεβεῖς καὶ πάνυ φημὶ δεῖν.* *Sozomen* (l. v. c. 18), and *Socrates* l. iii. c. 13) must be reduced to the standard of Gregory (*Orat.* iii. p. 95), not less prone to exaggeration, but more restrained by the actual knowledge of his contemporary readers.

[95] *Ψηφῷ θεῶν καὶ δίδους καὶ μὴ δίδοῦτ.* Libanius, *Orat. Parent.* c. 88, p. 314.

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* Socrates, however, implies that, on the death of Julian, they were contemptuously thrown aside by the Christians. *τῶν δὲ οἱ πόνοι ἐν ἰσῳ τοῦ αη γραφῆναι λογίζονται.* Socr. *Hist.* iii. 16.—M.

It is now a useless question to argue, but it is fair, and might be a pleasing subject to speculate upon, what would have been the effect of Julian's measures on Christianity, had his life been prolonged? By depressing the hierarchy, which was his first object, he would have raised the laity. The usurped power and insolent dictation of the former would have been overthrown; but the latter would have been emancipated from the stern control, beneath which their energies were sinking into torpor and decay. The revival of Paganism was hopeless and impossible. Its "various follies" had been exposed, not by the learned theologians and fierce polemics of that age, but by the growing intelligence, which after seven centuries of free discussion, was then intimidated by the worst tyranny to which man have ever been subjected. Had Julian dethroned this, and had Christianity "relapsed into its primeval simplicity," we should probably, instead of "a generation of blind and ignorant fanatics," as anticipated by Gibbon, have witnessed a more rational religion; and its milder teachers might have prevented the barbarism and ignorance of succeeding centuries.—ENG. CH.

The temper of Julian was averse to cruelty; and the care of his reputation, which was exposed to the eyes of the universe, restrained the philosophic monarch from violating the laws of justice and toleration, which he himself had so recently established. But the provincial ministers of his authority were placed in a less conspicuous station. In the exercise of arbitrary power, they consulted the wishes rather than the commands, of their sovereign; and ventured to exercise a secret and vexatious tyranny against the sectaries, on whom they were not permitted to confer the honors of martyrdom. The emperor, who dissembled, as long as possible his knowledge of the injustice that was exercised in his name, expressed his real sense of the conduct of his officers, by gentle reproofs and substantial rewards.[96]

They are condemned to restore the Pagan temples.

The most effectual instrument of oppression, with which they were armed, was the law that obliged the Christians to make full and ample satisfaction for the temples which they had destroyed under the preceding reign. The zeal of the triumphant church had not always expected the sanction of the public authority; and the bishops, who were secure of impunity, had often marched, at the head of their congregations, to attack and demolish the fortresses of the prince of darkness. The consecrated lands, which had increased the patrimony of the sovereign or of the clergy, were clearly defined and easily restored. But on these lands, and on the ruins of Pagan superstition, the Christians had frequently erected their own religious edifices; and as it was necessary to remove the church before the temple could be rebuilt, the justice and piety of the emperor were applauded by one party, while the other deplored and execrated his sacrilegious violence.[97] After the ground was cleared, the restitution of those stately structures, which had been leveled with the dust; and of the precious ornaments, which had been converted to Christian uses; swelled into a very large account of damages and debt. The authors of the injury had neither the ability nor the inclination to discharge this accumulated demand; and the impartial wisdom of a legislator would have been displayed in

[96] Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iii. pp. 74, 91, 92. *Socrates*, l. iii. c. 14. *Theodoret*, l. iii. c. 6. Some drawback, may, however, be allowed for the violence of *their* zeal, not less partial than the zeal of Julian.

[97] If we compare the gentle language of Libanius (*Orat. Parent.* c. 60, p. 286) with the passionate exclamations of Gregory, (*Orat.* iii. pp. 86, 87), we may find it difficult to persuade ourselves that the two orators are really describing the same events.

balancing the adverse claims and complaints, by an equitable and temperate arbitration. But the whole empire, and particularly the East, was thrown into confusion by the rash edicts of Julian; and the Pagan magistrates, inflamed by zeal and revenge, abused the rigorous privilege of the Roman law, which substitutes in the place of his inadequate property, the person of the insolvent debtor. Under the preceding reign, Mark, bishop of Arethusa,[98] had labored in the conversion of his people with arms more effectual than those of persuasion.[99] The magistrates required the full value of a temple which had been destroyed by his intolerant zeal; but as they were satisfied of his poverty, they desired only to bend his inflexible spirit to the promise of the slightest compensation. They apprehended the aged prelate, they inhumanly scourged him, they tore his beard; and his naked body, anointed with honey, was suspended in a net, between heaven and earth, and exposed to the stings of insects and the rays of a Syrian sun.[100] From this lofty station, Mark still persisted to glory in his crime, and to insult the impotent rage of his persecutors. He was at length rescued from their hands, and dismissed to enjoy the honor of his divine triumph. The Arians celebrated the virtue of their pious confessor; the Catholics ambitiously claimed his alliance;[101] and the Pagans, who might be susceptible of shame or remorse, were deterred from the repetition of such unavailing cruelty.[102] Julian spared his

98 Restan, or Arethusa, at the equal distance of sixteen miles between Emesa (*Hems*) and Epiphania (*Hamath*, was founded, or at least named, by Seleucus Nicator. Its peculiar æra dates from the year of Rome 685, according to the medals of the city. In the decline of the Seleucides, Emesa and Arethusa were ursurped by the Arab Sampsiceramus, whose posterity, the vassals of Rome, were not extinguished in the reign of Vespasian. See D'Anville's *Maps and Geographie Ancienne*, tom. ii. p. 134. Wesseling, *Itineraria*, p. 188, and Noris, *Epoch. Syro-Macedon.* pp. 80, 481, 482.

99 *Sozomen*, l. v. c. 10. It is surprising that Gregory and Theodoret should support a circumstance, which, in their eyes, must have enhanced the religious merit of the confessor.

100 The sufferings and constancy of Mark, which Gregory has so tragically painted, (*Orat.* iii. pp. 89–91), are confirmed by the unexceptionable and reluctant evidence of Libanius. Μάρκος ἐκεῖνος κρεμάμενος, καὶ μαστιγούμενος, καὶ τοῦ πώγωνος αὐτῷ τιλλομένου, πάντο ἐνεγκὼν ἀνδρείως νῦν ἰσόθεός ἐστι ταῖς τιμαῖς, κἂν φανῇ που, περιμίχητος υὸθύς. *Epist.* 730, pp. 350, 351. Edit. Wolf. Amstel. 1738.

101 Περιμίχητος, certatim eum sibi (Christiani) vindicant. It is thus that La Croze and Wolfius (ad loc.) have explained a Greek word, whose true signification had been mistaken by former interpreters, and even by Le Clerc (*Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, tom. iii. p. 371). Yet Tillemont is strangely puzzled to understand (*Mem. Eccles.* tom. vii. p. 1309) *how* Gregory and Theodoret could mistake a Semi-Arian bishop for a saint.

102 See the probable advice of Sallust (Greg. Nazianzen, *Orat.* iii. pp. 90, 91). Libanius intercedes for a similar offender, lest they should find many *Marks*; yet he allows, that if Orion had secreted the consecrated wealth, he deserved to suffer the punishment of Marsyas; to be flayed alive (*Epist.* 730, pp. 349–351).

life; but if the bishop of Arethusa had saved the infancy of Julian,[103] posterity will condemn the ingratitude, instead of praising the clemency, of the emperor.

The temple and sacred grove of Daphne.

At the distance of five miles from Antioch, the Macedonian kings of Syria had consecrated to Apollo one of the most elegant places of devotion in the Pagan world.[104] A magnificent temple rose in honor of the god of light; and his colossal figure[105] almost filled the capacious sanctuary, which was enriched with gold and gems, and adorned by the skill of the Grecian artists. The deity was represented in a bending attitude, with a golden cup in his hand, pouring out a libation on the earth; as if he supplicated the venerable mother to give to his arms the cold and beauteous DAPHNE: for the spot was ennobled by fiction; and the fancy of the Syrian poets had transported the amorous tale from the banks of the Peneus to those of the Orontes. The ancient rites of Greece were imitated by the royal colony of Antioch. A stream of prophecy, which rivaled the truth and reputation of the Delphic oracle, flowed from the *Castalian* fountain of Daphne.[106] In the adjacent fields a stadium was built by a special privilege,[107] which had been purchased from Elis; the Olympic games were celebrated at the expense of the city; and a revenue of thirty thousand pounds sterling was annually applied to the public pleasures.[108] The perpetual

103 Gregory (*Orat.* iii. p. 90) is satisfied that, by saving the apostate, Mark had deserved still more than he had suffered.

104 The grove and temple of Daphne are described by *Strabo* (l. xvi. pp. 1089, 1090, edit. Amstel. 1707), Libanius (*Nænia*, pp. 185–188. *Antiochic. Orat.* xi. pp. 380, 381), and *Sozomen* (l. v. c. 19). Wesseling (*Itinerar.* p. 581) and Cassaubon (ad *Hist. August.* p. 64) illustrate this curious subject.

105 Simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Jovis imitamenti æquiparans magnitudinem. *Ammian.* xxii. 13. The Olympic Jupiter was sixty feet high, and his bulk was consequently equal to that of a thousand men. See a curious *Mémoire* of the Abbé Gedoyn (*Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. ix. p. 198).

106 Hadrian read the history of his future fortunes on a leaf dipped in the Castalian stream; a trick which, according to the physician Vandale, (*de Oraculis*, pp. 28–282), might be easily performed by chemical preparations. The emperor stopped the source of such dangerous knowledge; which was again opened by the devout curiosity of Julian.

107 It was purchased, A. D. 44, in the year 92 of the æra of Antioch, (Noris. *Epoch. Syro-Macæd.* pp. 139–174), for the term of ninety Olympiads. But the Olympic games of Antioch were not regularly celebrated till the reign of Commodus. See the curious details in the *Chronicle of John Malala*, (tom. i. pp. 293, 320, 372–381), a writer whose merit and authority are confined within the limits of his native city.*

108 Fifteen talents of gold, bequeathed by Sosibius, who died in the reign of Augustus. The theatrical merits of the Syrian cities, in the age of Constantine, are compared in the *Expositio totius Mundi*, p. 6, (Hudson, *Geograph. Minor.* tom. iii.).

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* These games were revived in the 260th year of the era of Antioch, or July and Aug., A. D. 212, which was in the third of Caracalla. Malalas, writing 300 years after that time, has used the name of Commodus incorrectly. Clin. *F. R.* i, 220.—E. C.

resort of pilgrims and spectators insensibly formed, in the neighborhood of the temple, the stately and populous village of Daphne, which emulated the splendor, without acquiring the title, of a provincial city. The temple and the village were deeply bosomed in a thick grove of laurels and cypresses, which reached as far as a circumference of ten miles, and formed in the most sultry summers a cool and impenetrable shade. A thousand streams of the purest water, issuing from every hill, preserved the verdure of the earth, and the temperature of the air; the senses were gratified with harmonious sounds and aromatic odors; and the peaceful grove was consecrated to health and joy, to luxury and love. The vigorous youth pursued, like Apollo, the object of his desires; and the blushing maid was warned by the fate of Daphne, to shun the folly of unseasonable coyness. The soldier and the philosopher wisely avoided the temptation of this sensual paradise;[109] where pleasure assuming the character of religion, imperceptibly dissolved the firmness of manly virtue. But the groves of Daphne continued for many ages to enjoy the veneration of natives and strangers; the privileges of the holy ground were enlarged by the munificence of succeeding emperors; and every generation added new ornaments to the splendor of the temple.[110]

Neglect and profanation of Daphne.

When Julian, on the day of the annual festival, hastened to adore the Apollo of Daphne, his devotion was raised to the highest pitch of eagerness and impatience. His lively imagination anticipated the grateful pomp of victims, of libations, and of incense; a long procession of youths and virgins, clothed in white robes, the symbol of their innocence; and the tumultuous concourse of an innumerable people. But the zeal of Antioch was diverted, since the reign of Christianity, into a different channel. Instead of hecatombs of fat oxen sacrificed by the tribes of a wealthy city to their tutelar deity, the emperor complains that he found only a single goose, provided at the expense of a priest, the pale and solitary inhabitant of this decayed temple.[111] The altar

[109] Avidio Cassio Syriacas legiones dedi luxuria diffluentes et *Daphnicis* moribus. These are the words of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, in an original letter, preserved by his biographer, in *Hist. August.* p. 41. Cassius dismissed or punished every soldier who was seen at Daphne.

[110] Aliquantum agrorum Daphnensibus dedit (*Pompey*) quo locus ibi spatiosior fieret; delectatus amœnitate loci et aquarum abundantia. *Eutropius*, vi. 14. Sextus Rufus, de *Provinciis*, c. 16.

[111] Julian, (*Misopogon*, pp. 361, 362), discovers his own character with that *naïveté*, that unconscious simplicity, which always constitutes genuine humor.

was deserted, the oracle had been reduced to silence, and the holy ground was profaned by the introduction of Christian and funereal rites. After Babylas[112] (a bishop of Antioch, who died in prison in the persecution of Decius) had rested near a century in his grave, his body, by the order of Cæsar Gallus, was transported into the midst of the grove of Daphne. A magnificent church was erected over his remains; a portion of the sacred lands was usurped for the maintenance of the clergy, and for the burial of the Christians of Antioch, who were ambitious of lying at the feet of their bishop; and the priests of Apollo retired, with their affrighted and indignant votaries. As soon as another revolution seemed to restore the fortune of Paganism, the church of St. Babylas was demolished, and new buildings were added to the mouldering edifice which had been raised by the piety of Syrian kings. But the first and most serious care of Julian was to deliver his oppressed deity from the odious presence of the dead and living Christians, who had so effectually suppressed the voice of fraud or enthusiasm.[113]

Removal of the dead bodies, and conflagration of the temple.

The scene of infection was purified, according to the forms of ancient rituals; the bodies were decently removed; and the ministers of the church were permitted to convey the remains of St. Babylas to their former habitation within the walls of Antioch. The modest behavior which might have assuaged the jealousy of an hostile government, was neglected on this occasion by the zeal of the Christians. The lofty car, that transported the relics of Babylas, was followed, and accompanied, and received, by an innumerable multitude, who chanted, with thundering acclamations, the Psalms of David, the most expressive of their contempt for idols and idolaters. The return of the saint was a triumph; and the triumph was an insult on the religion of the emperor, who exerted his pride to dissemble his resentment. During the night which terminated this indiscreet procession, the temple of Daphne was in flames; the statue of Apollo was consumed; and the walls of the edifice were

[112] Babylas is named by Eusebius in the succession of the bishops of Antioch, (*Hist. Eccles.* l. vi. c. 29, 39). His triumph over two emperors, (the first fabulous, the second historical), is diffusely celebrated by *Chrysostom*, (tom. ii. pp. 536–579, edit. Montfaucon). Tillemont, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. iii. part ii. pp. 287–302, 459–465), becomes almost a skeptic.

[113] Ecclesiastical critics, particularly those who love relics, exult in the confession of Julian, (*Misopogon*, p. 361), and Libanius, (*Nænia*, p. 185), that Apollo was disturbed by the vicinity of *one* dead man. Yet *Ammianus*, (xxii. 12), clears and purifies the whole ground, according to the rites which the Athenians formerly practiced in the Isle of Delos.

left a naked and awful monument of ruin. The Christians of Antioch asserted, with religious confidence, that the powerful intercession of St. Babylas had pointed the lightnings of heaven against the devoted roof; but as Julian was reduced to the alternative, of believing either a crime or a miracle, he chose, without hesitation, without evidence, but with some color of probability, to impute the fire of Daphne to the revenge of the Galileans.[114] Their offence, had it been sufficiently proved, might have justified the retaliation which was immediately executed by the order of Julian, of shutting the doors, and confiscating the wealth, of the cathedral of Antioch. To discover the criminals who were guilty of the tumult, of the fire, or of secreting the riches of the church, several ecclesiastics were tortured;[115] and a presbyter of the name of Theodoret, was beheaded by the sentence of the count of the east. But this hasty act was blamed by the emperor; who lamented, with real or affected concern, that the imprudent zeal of his ministers would tarnish his reign with the disgrace of persecution.[116]

Julian shuts the cathedral of Antioch.

The zeal of the ministers of Julian was instantly checked by the frown of their sovereign; but when the father of his country declares himself the leader of a faction, the license of popular fury cannot easily be restrained, nor consistently punished. Julian, in a public composition, applauds the devotion and loyalty of the holy cities of Syria, whose pious inhabitants had destroyed, at the first signal, the sepulchres of the Galileans; and faintly complains, that they had revenged the injuries of the gods with less moderation than he should have recommended.[117] This imperfect and reluctant confession may appear to confirm the ecclesiastical narratives; that in the cities of Gaza, Ascalon, Cæsarea, Heliopolis, &c. the Pagans abused, without prudence or remorse, the moment of their prosperity. That the un-

114 Julian, (in *Misopogon*, p. 361), rather insinuates, than affirms, their guilt. *Ammianus*, (xxii. 13), treats the imputation as *levissimus rumor*, and relates the story with extraordinary candor.

115 Quo tam atroci casu repente consumpto, ad id usque imperatoris ira provexit, ut quæstiones agitare juberet solito acriores, (yet Julian blames the lenity of the magistrates of Antioch), et majorem ecclesiam Antiochiæ claudi. This interdiction was performed with some circumstances of indignity and profanation; and the seasonable death of the principal actor, Julian's uncle, is related with much superstitious complacency by the Abbé de la Bleterie. *Vie de Julien*, pp. 362–369.

116 Besides the ecclesiastical historians, who are more or less to be suspected, we may allege the passion of St. Theodore, in the *Acta Sincera* of Ruinart, p. 591 The complaint of Julian gives it an original and authentic air.

117 Julian, *Misopogon*, p. 361.

happy objects of their cruelty were released from torture only by death; that as their mangled bodies were dragged through the streets, they were pierced (such was the universal rage) by the spits of cooks, and the distaffs of enraged women; and that the entrails of Christian priests and virgins, after they had been tasted by those bloody fanatics, were mixed with barley, and contemptuously thrown to the unclean animals of the city.[118] Such scenes of religious madness exhibit the most contemptible and odious picture of human nature; but the massacre of Alexandria attracts still more attention, from the certainty of the fact, the rank of the victims, and the splendor of the capital of Egypt.

George of Cappadocia.

George,[119] from his parents or his education, surnamed the Cappadocian, was born at Epiphania in Cilicia, in a fuller's shop. From this obscure and servile origin he raised himself by the talents of a parasite; and the patrons, whom he assiduously flattered, procured for their worthless dependent a lucrative commission, or contract, to supply the army with bacon. His employment was mean; he rendered it infamous. He accumulated wealth by the basest arts of fraud and corruption; but his malversations were so notorious, that George was compelled to escape from the pursuits of justice. After this disgrace, in which he appears to have saved his fortune at the expense of his honor, he embraced, with real or affected zeal, the profession of Arianism. From the love, or the ostentation, of learning, he collected a valuable library of history, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology;[120] and the choice of the prevailing faction promoted George of Cappadocia to the throne of Athanasius. The entrance of the new archbishop was that of a barbarian conqueror; and each

118 See Gregory Nazianzen, (*Orat.* iii. p. 87). *Sozomen*, (l. v. c. 9), may be considered as an original, though not impartial, witness. He was a native of Gaza, and had conversed with the confessor Zeno, who, as bishop of Maiuma, lived to the age of a hundred, (l. viii. c. 28). *Philostorgius*, (l. vii. c. 4, with Godefroy's *Dissertations*, p. 284), adds some tragic circumstances, of Christians, who were *literally* sacrificed at the altars of the gods, &c.

119 The life and death of George of Cappadocia are described by *Ammianus*, (xxii. 11), Gregory of Nazianzen, (*Orat.* xxi. pp. 382, 385, 389, 390), and Epiphanius, (*Hæres.* lxxvi). The invectives of the two saints might not deserve much credit, unless they were confirmed by the testimony of a cool and impartial infidel.

120 After the massacre of George, the emperor Julian repeatedly sent orders to preserve the library for his own use, and to torture the slaves who might be suspected of secreting any books. He praises the merit of the collection, from whence he had borrowed and transcribed several manuscripts while he pursued his studies in Cappadocia. He could wish, indeed, that the works of the Galilæans might perish; but he requires an exact account, even of those theological volumes, lest other treatises more valuable should be confounded in their loss. Julian. *Epist.* ix. xxxvi.

moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and avarice. The Catholics of Alexandria and Egypt were abandoned to a tyrant, qualified by nature and education, to exercise the office of persecution; but he oppressed with an impartial hand the various inhabitants of his extensive diocese. The primate of Egypt assumed the pomp and insolence of his lofty station; but he still betrayed the vices of his base and servile extraction. The merchants of Alexandria were impoverished by the unjust, and almost universal monopoly, which he acquired of nitre, salt, paper, funerals, &c.: and the spiritual father of a great people condescended to practice the vile and pernicious arts of an informer. The Alexandrians could never forget, nor forgive, the tax which he suggested on all the houses of the city, under an obsolete claim, that the royal founder had conveyed to his successors, the Ptolemies and the Cæsars, the perpetual property of the soil. The Pagans, who had been flattered with the hopes of freedom and toleration, excited his devout avarice; and the rich temples of Alexandria were either pillaged or insulted by the haughty prelate, who exclaimed, in a loud and threatening tone, "How long will these sepulchres be per-" mitted to stand?" Under the reign of Constantius, he was expelled by the fury, or rather by the justice of the people; and it was not without a violent struggle that the civil and military powers of the state could restore his authority, and gratify his revenge. The messenger who proclaimed at Alexandria the accession of Julian, announced the downfall of the archbishop. George, with two of his obsequious ministers, count Diodorus, and Dracontius, master of the mint, were ignominiously dragged in chains to the public prison. At the end of twenty-four days, the prison was forced open by the rage of a superstitious multitude, impatient of the tedious forms of judicial proceedings. The enemies of gods and men expired under their cruel insults; the lifeless bodies of the archbishop and his associates were carried in triumph through the streets on the back of a camel,* and the inactivity of the Athanasian party[121] was esteemed a shining example of evangelical patience. The remains of

Oppresses Alexandria and Egypt.

A. D. 361. Nov. 30.

Massacred by the people.

Dec. 24.

[121] Philostorgius, with cautious malice, insinuates their guilt, *και τὴν Ἀθανασίου γνώμην στρατηγῆσαι τῆς πράξεως*, l. vii. c. ii. *Godefroy*, p. 267.

*Julian himself says, that they tore him to pieces like dogs, *τολμᾷ δῆμοι γσκερ οἱ κυνες σπαράττειν*. *Epist.* x.—MILMAN.

these guilty wretches were thrown into the sea: and the popular leaders of the tumult declared their resolution to disappoint the devotion of the Christians, and to intercept the future honors of these *martyrs*, who had been punished, like their predecessors, by the enemies of their religion.[122] The fears of the Pagans were just, and their precautions ineffectual. The meritorious death of the archbishop obliterated the memory of his life. The rival of Athanasius was dear and sacred to the Arians, and the seeming conversion of those sectaries introduced his worship into the bosom of the Catholic church.[123] The odious stranger, disguising every circumstance of time and place, assumed the mask of a martyr, a saint, and a Christian hero;[124] and the infamous George of Cappadocia has been transformed[125] into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the garter.[126]

And worshiped as a saint and martyr.

About the same time that Julian was informed of the tumult of Alexandria, he received intelligence from Edessa, that the proud and wealthy faction of the Arians had insulted the weakness of the Valentinians, and committed such disorders as ought not to be suffered with impunity in a well-regulated state. Without expecting the slow

122 Cineres projecit in mare, id metuens ut clamabat, ne, collectis supremis, ædes illis exstruerent; ut reliquis, qui deviare a religione compulsi, pertuleer cruciabiles pœnas, adusque gloriosam mortem intemerata fide progressi, et nunc MARTYRES appellantur. *Ammian.* xxii. 11. Epiphanius proves to the Arians that George was not a martyr.

123 Some Donatists, (*Optatus Milev.* pp. 60, 303, edit. Dupin; and Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. vi. p. 713, in 4to.), and Priscillianists, (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. viii. p. 517, in 4to.), have in like manner usurped the honors of the Catholic saints and martyrs.

124 The saints of Cappadocia, Basil, and the Gregories, were ignorant of their holy companion. Pope Gelasius, (A. D. 494), the first Catholic who acknowledges St. George, places him among the martyrs, "qui Deo magis quam hominibus noti "sunt." He rejects his *Acts* as the composition of heretics. Some, perhaps not the oldest, of the spurious *Acts*, are still extant; and, through a cloud of fiction, we may yet distinguish the combat which St. George of Cappadocia sustained, in the presence of Queen *Alexandria*, against the *magician Athanasius*.

125 This transformation is not given as absolutely certain, but as *extremely* probable. See the *Longueruana*, tom. i. p. 194.*

126 A curious history of the worship of St. George, from the sixth century, (when he was already revered in Palestine, in Armenia, at Rome, and at Treves, in Gaul), might be extracted from Dr. Heylin, (*History of St. George*, 2d edition London, 1633, in 4to, p. 429), and the Bollandists, (*Act. SS. Mens. April.* tom. iii., pp. 100-163). His fame and popularity in Europe, and especially in England, proceeded from the Crusades.

* The late Dr. Milner, (the Roman Catholic bishop), wrote a tract to vindicate the existence and the orthodoxy of the tutelar saint of England. He succeeds, I think, in tracing the worship of St. George up to a period which makes it improbable that so notorious an Arian could be palmed upon the Catholic church as a saint and a martyr. The *Acts* rejected by Gelasius may have been of Arian origin, and designed to engraft the story of their hero on the obscure adventures of some earlier saint. See an *Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Existence and Character of St. George*, in a letter to the Earl of Leicester, by the Rev. J. Milner, F. S. A., London, 1792.—MILMAN.

forms of justice, the exasperated prince directed his mandate to the magistrates of Edessa,[127] by which he confiscated the whole property of the church: the money was distributed among the soldiers; the lands were added to the domain; and this act of oppression was aggravated by the most ungenerous irony,—"I show myself," says Julian, "the true "friend of the Galileans. Their admirable law has promised "the kingdom of heaven to the poor; and they will advance "with more diligence in the paths of virtue and salvation, "when they are relieved by my assistance from the load of "temporal possessions. Take care," pursued the monarch, in a more serious tone, "take care how you provoke my "patience and humanity. If these disorders continue, I will "revenge on the magistrates the crimes of the people; and "you will have reason to dread, not only confiscation and "exile, but fire and the sword." The tumults of Alexandria were doubtless of a more bloody and dangerous nature: but a Christian bishop had fallen by the hands of the Pagans; and the public epistle of Julian affords a very lively proof of the partial spirit of his administration. His reproaches to the citizens of Alexandria are mingled with expressions of esteem and tenderness; and he laments, that on this occasion they should have departed from the gentle and generous manners which attested their Grecian extraction. He gravely censures the offence which they had committed against the laws of justice and humanity; but he recapitulates, with visible complacency, the intolerable provocations which they had so long endured from the impious tyranny of George of Cappadocia. Julian admits the principle, that a wise and vigorous government should chastise the insolence of the people; yet, in consideration of their founder, Alexander, and of Serapis, their tutelar deity, he grants a free and gracious pardon to the guilty city, for which he again feels the affection of a brother.[128]

Restoration of Athanasius A. D. 362. Feb. 21.

After the tumult of Alexandria had subsided, Athanasius, amidst the public acclamations, seated himself on the throne from whence his unworthy competitor had been precipitated; and as the zeal of the archbishop was tempered with discretion, the exercise of his authority tended not to inflame, but to reconcile, the minds of the people. His pastoral labors were

[127] Julian. *Epistol.* xliii.

[128] Julian. *Epist.* x. He allowed his friends to assuage his anger. *Ammian.* xxii. 11.

not confined to the narrow limits of Egypt. The state of the Christian world was present to his active and capacious mind; and the age, the merit, the reputation of Athanasius enabled him to assume, in a moment of danger, the office of ecclesiastical dictator.[129] Three years were not yet elapsed since the majority of the bishops of the West had ignorantly, or reluctantly, subscribed the confession of Rimini. They repented, they believed, but they dreaded the unseasonable rigor of their orthodox brethren; and if their pride was stronger than their faith, they might throw themselves into the arms of the Arians, to escape the indignity of a public penance, which must degrade them to the condition of obscure laymen. At the same time, the domestic differences concerning the union and distinction of the divine persons, were agitated with some heat among the Catholic doctors; and the progress of this metaphysical controversy seemed to threaten a public, and lasting division of the Greek and Latin churches. By the wisdom of a select synod, to which the name and presence of Athanasius gave the authority of a general council, the bishops, who had unwarily deviated into error, were admitted to the communion of the church, on the easy condition of subscribing the Nicene creed, without any formal acknowledgment of their past fault, or any minute definition of their scholastic opinions. The advice of the primate of Egypt had already prepared the clergy of Gaul and Spain, of Italy and Greece, for the reception of this salutary measure; and, notwithstanding the opposition of some ardent spirits,[130] the fear of the common enemy promoted the peace and harmony of the Christians.[131]

He is persecuted and expelled by Julian. A. D. 362. Oct. 23.

The skill and diligence of the primate of Egypt had improved the season of tranquillity, before it was interrupted by the hostile edicts of the emperor.[132] Julian, who despised the Christians, honored Athanasius with his sincere and

[129] See *Athanas. ad Rufin.* (tom. ii. pp. 40, 41), and Greg. Nazianzen, (*Orat.* iii. pp. 395, 396); who justly states the temperate zeal of the primate, as much more meritorious than his prayers, his fasts, his persecutions, &c.

[130] I have not leisure to follow the blind obstinacy of Lucifer of Cagliari. See his adventures in Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. vii. pp. 900–926); and observe how the color of the narrative insensibly changes, as the confessor becomes a schismatic.

[131] Assensus est huic sententiæ Occidens, et, per tam necessarium concilium, Satanæ faucibus mundus ereptus. The lively and artful dialogue of Jerome against the Luciferians, (tom. ii. pp. 135–155), exhibits an original picture of the ecclesiastical policy of the times.

[132] Tillemont, who supposes that George was massacred in August, crowds the actions of Athanasius into a narrow space, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. viii. p. 360). An

peculiar hatred. For his sake alone, he introduced an arbitrary distinction, repugnant at least to the spirit of his former declarations. He maintained, that the Galileans, whom he had recalled from exile, were not restored, by that general indulgence, to the possession of their respective churches: and he expressed his astonishment that a criminal, who had been repeatedly condemned by the judgment of the emperors, should dare to insult the majesty of the laws, and insolently usurp the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria without expecting the orders of his sovereign. As a punishment for the imaginary offence, he again banished Athanasius from the city; and he was pleased to suppose, that this act of justice would be highly agreeable to his pious subjects. The pressing solicitations of the people soon convinced him that the majority of the Alexandrians were Christians; and that the greatest part of the Christians were firmly attached to the cause of their oppressed primate. But the knowledge of their sentiments, instead of persuading him to recall his decree, provoked him to extend to all Egypt the term of the exile of Athanasius. The zeal of the multitude rendered Julian still more inexorable: he was alarmed by the danger of leaving at the head of a tumultuous city a daring and popular leader; and the language of his resentment discovers the opinion which he entertained of the courage and abilities of Athanasius. The execution of the sentence was still delayed, by the caution or negligence of Ecdicius, prefect of Egypt, who was at length awakened from his lethargy by a severe reprimand. "Though you neglect" says Julian, "to write to me on any "other subject, at least it is your duty to inform me of your "conduct towards Athanasius, the enemy of the gods. My "intentions have been long since communicated to you. "I swear by the great Serapis, that unless, on the calends "of December, Athanasius has departed from Alexandria, "nay from Egypt, the officers of your government shall "pay a fine of one hundred pounds of gold. You know my "temper: I am slow to condemn, but I am still slower to "forgive." This epistle was enforced by a short postscript, written with the emperor's own hand. "The contempt that "is shown for all the gods fills me with grief and indigna-"tion. There is nothing that I should see, nothing that

original fragment, published by the Marquis Maffei, from the old Chapter library of Verona, (*Osservazioni Letterarie*, tom. ii. pp. 60–92), affords many important dates, which are authenticated by the computation of Egyptian months.

" I should hear, with more pleasure, than the expulsion of " Athanasius from all Egypt. The abominable wretch! " Under my reign, the baptism of several Grecian ladies of " the highest rank has been the effect of his persecutions.[133] The death of Athanasius was not *expressly* commanded; but the prefect of Egypt understood, that it was safer for him to exceed, than to neglect the orders of an irritated master. The archbishop prudently retired to the monasteries of the Desert; eluded, with his usual dexterity, the snares of the enemy; and lived to triumph over the ashes of a prince, who, in words of formidable import, had declared his wish, that the whole venom of the Galilean school were contained in the single person of Athanasius.[134]

Zeal and imprudence of the Christians.

I have endeavored faithfully to represent the artful system by which Julian proposed to obtain the effects, without incurring the guilt, or reproach of persecution. But if the deadly spirit of fanaticism perverted the heart and understanding of a virtuous prince, it must, at the same time, be confessed, that the *real* sufferings of the Christians were inflamed and magnified by human passions and religious enthusiasm. The meekness and resignation which had distinguished the primitive disciples of the gospel, were the object of the applause, rather than of the imitation, of their successors. The Christians, who had now possessed above forty years the civil and ecclesiastical government of the empire, had contracted the insolent vices of prosperity,[135] and the habit of believing that the saints alone were entitled to reign over the earth. As soon as the enmity of Julian deprived the clergy of the privileges which had been conferred by the favor of Constantine, they complained of the most cruel oppression; and the free toleration of idolaters and heretics was a subject of grief and scandal to the orthodox party.[136] The acts of violence, which were no longer countenanced

[133] Τὸν μιαρὸν, ὃς ἐτόλμησεν Ἑλληνίδας, ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπισήνων βαπτισαι, διώκεσθαι. I have preserved the ambiguous sense of the last word, the ambiguity of a tyrant, who wished to find, or to create, guilt.

[134] The three epistles of Julian, which explain his intentions and conduct with regard to Athanasius, should be disposed in the following chronological order, xxvi. x. vi.* See, likewise, *Greg. Nazianzen*, xxi. p. 393. *Sozomen*, l. v. c. 15. *Socrates*, l. iii. c. 14. *Theodoret*, l. iii. c. 9, and Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. viii. pp. 361-368, who has used some materials prepared by the Bollandists.

[135] See the fair confession of Gregory (*Orat.* iii pp. 61, 62).

[136] Hear the furious and absurd complaint of Optatus (*de Schismat. Donatist.* l. ii. c. 16, 17).

* The sentence in the text is from *Epist. lx.*, addressed to the people of Alexandria.—MILMAN.

by the magistrates, were still committed by the zeal of the people. At Pessinus, the altar of Cybele was overturned almost in the presence of the emperor, and in the city of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, the temple of Fortune, the sole place of worship which had been left to the Pagans, was destroyed by the rage of a popular tumult. On these occasions, a prince, who felt for the honor of the gods, was not disposed to interrupt the course of justice; and his mind was still more deeply exasperated, when he found, that the fanatics, who had deserved and suffered the punishment of incendiaries, were rewarded with the honors of martyrdom.[137] The Christian subjects of Julian were assured of the hostile designs of their sovereign; and, to their jealous apprehension, every circumstance of his government might afford some grounds of discontent and suspicion. In the ordinary administration of the laws, the Christians, who formed so large a part of the people, must frequently be condemned: but their indulgent brethren, without examining the merits of the cause, presumed their innocence, allowed their claims, and imputed the severity of their judge to the partial malice of religious persecution.[138] These present hardships, intolerable as they might appear, were represented as a slight prelude of the impending calamities. The Christians considered Julian as a cruel and crafty tyrant; who suspended the execution of his revenge, till he should return victorious from the Persian war. They expected that as soon as he had triumphed over the foreign enemies of Rome, he would lay aside the irksome mask of dissimulation; that the amphitheatres would stream with the blood of hermits and bishops; and that the Christians, who still persevered in the profession of the faith, would be deprived of the common benefits of nature and society.[139] Every calumny[140] that could wound the reputation of the apostate,

[137] Greg. Nazianzen, *Orat.* iii. p. 91, iv. p. 133. He praises the rioters of Cæsarea, *τοῦτων δὲ τῶν μεγα οφιῶν καὶ θερμῶν εις εὐσεβείαν.* See *Sozomen*, l. v. c. 4, 11. Tillemont, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. vii. pp. 649, 650), owns, that their behavior was not dans l'ordre commun; but he is perfectly satisfied, as the great St. Basil always celebrated the festival of these blessed martyrs.

[138] Julian determined a lawsuit against the new Christian city at Maiuma, the port of Gaza; and his sentence, though it might be imputed to bigotry, was never reversed by his successors. *Sozomen*, l. v. c. 3. Reland, *Palestin.* tom. ii. p. 791.

[139] Greg., (*Orat.* iii. pp. 93, 94, 95 *Orat.* iv. p. 114), pretends to speak from the information of Julian's confidants, whom Orosius, (vii. 30), could not have seen.

[140] Gregory, (*Orat.* iii. p. 91), charges the Apostate with secret sacrifices of boys and girls; and positively affirms, that the dead bodies were thrown into the Orontes. See *Theodoret*, l. iii c. 26, 27; and the equivocal candor of the Abbe de la Bleterie, *Vie de Julien*, pp. 351, 352. Yet, *contemporary* malice could not impute to Julian the troops of martyrs, more especially in the West, which Baronius so greedily swallows, and Tillemont so faintly rejects, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. vii. pp. 1295–1315).

was creduously embraced by the fears and hatred of his adversaries ; and their indiscreet clamors provoked the temper of a sovereign, whom it was their duty to respect and their interest to flatter. They still protested, that prayers and tears were their only weapons against the impious tyrant, whose head they devoted to the justice of offended heaven. But they insinuated with sullen resolution, that their submission was no longer the effect of weakness ; and that, in the imperfect state of human virtue, the patience, which is founded on principle, may be exhausted by persecution. It is impossible to determine how far the zeal of Julian would have prevailed over his good sense and humanity ; but if we seriously reflect on the strength and spirit of the church, we shall be convinced, that, before the emperor could have extinguished the religion of Christ, he must have involved his country in the horrors of a civil war.[141]

141 The resignation of Gregory is truly edifying, (*Orat.* iv. pp. 123, 124). Yet when an officer of Julian attempted to seize the church of Nazianzus, he would have lost his life, if he had not yielded to the zeal of the bishop and people, (*Orat.* xix. p. 308). See the reflections of Chrysostom, as they are alleged by Tillemont, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. vii. p. 575).*

* Evidently pleased with his subject, Gibbon has still delineated the opinions and conduct of Julian, with a fairness of which the impartial have expressed their admiration. Niebuhr says, "Julian's is an ever memorable name, which "has sometimes been overrated beyond measure, and on the other hand, cried "down in the most unworthy manner. Distinguished men, of most opposite "minds, have, during the last fifty years, turned their attention to him ; first of "all, Gibbon, who was not, however, carried away by his anti-Christian feelings, "but very readily acknowledged his weak points." (*Lectures*, vol. iii, p. 309.) Eckhel, too, gives a still more decided testimony to the same effect: "Optime, "ut ego existimo, de Juliani philosophia, virtutibusque et vitiis, judicavit "Eduardus Gibbon, Anglus." (*Num. Vet.* vol. viii, p. 132.) Sensitiveness to the acrimony with which his fifteenth and sixteenth chapters had been assailed, made Gibbon cautious here. So far did he carry this, that recent editors, who, in republishing his *History*, undertook to correct all that he had misstated respecting Christianity, have raised no objection to any part of the present chapter. If he has erred, it has been rather by sometimes doing injustice to the imperial mystic. There are instances of his having wrongly supposed Christians at large to have been the objects of vindictive feelings and coercive measures, which were directed only against the priesthood ; and he has thence inferred an encouragement to clandestine or indirect persecution, which Julian was too sagacious, if not too generous, to have favored. The restorer of Paganism would, of course, gladly have extinguished Christianity. But his harsh proceedings tended to this only so far as they took from the hierarchy the tempting bribes by which they had allured time-serving proselytes. That he wished by gentle and more persuasive convictions, to win the laity, and first the educated portion of them, is clearly evident from the fragments which we possess of what he wrote against their faith. The early fathers had made their most successful impressions by arguing that the Jewish Scriptures had divinely predicted in Christianity that dispensation which realized the favorite philosophy of the Greeks. Against this Mosaic foundation, Julian therefore directed his attacks. Those parts of it which are the most difficult to defend, he assailed by his most powerful arguments. His idea was, that, if he could detach the basis, the superstructure would be safely removed to the Pagan ground, which he had endeavored to intellectualize for its reception. A sovereign who could thus reason with his subjects, was not likely to harbor those covert designs of forcible propagandism, which the fears or the hatred of Christian writers ascribed to him. —ENG. CH.

While Julian struggled with the almost insuperable difficulties of his situation, the silent hours of the night were still devoted to study and contemplation. Whenever he closed his eyes in short and interrupted slumbers, his mind was agitated with painful anxiety; nor can it be thought surprising, that the genius of the empire should once more appear before him, covering, with a funeral veil, his head and his horn of abundance, and slowly retiring from the imperial tent. The monarch started from his couch, and stepping forth, to refresh his wearied spirits with the coolness of the midnight air, he beheld a fiery meteor, which shot athwart the sky, and suddenly vanished. Julian was convinced that he had seen the menacing countenance of the god of war;[142] the council which he summoned, of Tuscan Haruspices,[143] unanimously pronounced that he should abstain from action: but, on this occasion, necessity and reason were more prevalent than superstition; and the trumpets sounded at the break of day. The army marched through a hilly country; and the hills had been secretly occupied by the Persians. Julian led the van with the skill and attention of a consummate general; he was alarmed by the intelligence that his rear was suddenly attacked. The heat of the weather had tempted him to lay aside his cuirass; but he snatched a shield from one of his attendants, and hastened, with a sufficient reinforcement, to the relief of the rear guard. A similar danger recalled the intrepid prince to the defence of the front, and, as he galloped between the columns, the centre of the left was attacked, and almost overpowered, by a furious charge of the Persian cavalry and elephants. This huge body was soon defeated, by the well-timed evolution of the light infantry, who aimed their weapons, with dexterity and effect, against the backs of the horsemen, and the legs of the elephants. The barbarians fled; and Julian, who was foremost in every danger, animated the pursuit with his voice and gestures. His trembling guards, scattered and oppressed by the disorderly throng of friends and enemies, reminded their fearless sovereign that he was without armor; and

Julian is mortally wounded.

142 *Ammian.* xxv. 2. Julian had sworn in a passion, nunquam se Marti sacra facturum, (xxiv. 6). Such whimsical quarrels were not uncommon between the gods and their insolent votaries; and even the prudent Augustus, after his fleet had been twice shipwrecked, excluded Neptune from the honors of public processions. See Hume's Philosophical Reflections. *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 418.

143 They still retained the monopoly of the vain but lucrative science, which had been invented in Hetruria; and professed to derive their knowledge of signs and omens from the ancient books of Tarquitius, a Tuscan sage.

* This account of the death of Julian is from chap. xxiv. of the *Decline and Fall.*

conjured him to decline the fall of the impending ruin. As they exclaimed,[144] a cloud of darts and arrows was discharged from the flying squadrons; and a javelin, after razing the skin of his arm, transpierced the ribs, and fixed in the inferior part of the liver. Julian attempted to draw the deadly weapon from his side; but his fingers were cut by the sharpness of the steel, and he fell senseless from his horse. His guards flew to his relief; and the wounded emperor was gently raised from the ground, and conveyed out of the tumult of the battle into an adjacent tent. The report of the melancholy event passed from rank to rank; but the grief of the Romans inspired them with invincible valor, and the desire of revenge. The bloody and obstinate conflict was maintained by the two armies, till they were separated by the total darkness of the night. * * * * But the event of the day was adverse to the barbarians. They abandoned the field; * * * and the success of the Romans, if Julian had survived. might have been improved into a decisive and useful victory.

The death of Julian. A. D. 363. June 26.

The first words that Julian uttered, after his recovery from the fainting fit into which he had been thrown by loss of blood, were expressive of his martial spirit. He called for his horse and arms, and was impatient to rush into the battle. His remaining strength was exhausted by the painful effort; and the surgeons, who examined his wound, discovered the symptoms of approaching death. He employed the awful moments with the firm temper of a hero and a sage; the philosophers who had accompanied him in this fatal expedition, compared the tent of Julian with the prison of Socrates; and the spectators, whom duty, or friendship, or curiosity, had assembled round his couch, listened with respectful grief to the funeral oration of their dying emperor.[145] "Friends and fellow soldiers, the seasonable period of my "departure is now arrived, and I discharge, with the cheer- "fulness of a ready debtor, the demands of nature. I have "learned from philosophy how much the soul is more ex- "cellent than the body; and that the separation of the

[144] Clamabant hinc inde *candidati*, (see the note of Valesius), quos disjecerat terror, ut fugientium molem tanquam ruinam male compositi culminis declinaret. *Ammian.* xxv. 3.

[145] The character and situation of Julian might countenance the suspicion that he had previously composed the elaborate oration, which Ammianus heard, and has transcribed. The version of the Abbé de la Bleterie is faithful and elegant. I have followed him in expressing the Platonic idea of emanations, which is darkly insinuated in the original.

" nobler substance should be the subject of joy, rather than " of affliction. I have learned from religion, that an early " death has often been the reward of piety,[146] and I accept, " as a favor of the gods, the mortal stroke that secures me " from the danger of disgracing a character, which has " hitherto been supported by virtue and fortitude. I die " without remorse, as I have lived without guilt. I am " pleased to reflect on the innocence of my private life; and " I can affirm with confidence, that the supreme authority, " that emanation of the Divine Power, has been preserved " in my hands pure and immaculate. Detesting the cor- " rupt and destructive maxims of despotism, I have consid- " ered the happiness of the people as the end of government. " Submitting my actions to the laws of prudence, of justice, " and of moderation, I have trusted the event to the care of " Providence. Peace was the object of my counsels, as long " as peace was consistent with the public welfare; but when " the imperious voice of my country summoned me to arms, " I exposed my person to the dangers of war, with the clear " foreknowledge (which I had acquired from the art of " divination) that I was destined to fall by the sword. I now " offer my tribute of gratitude to the Eternal Being, who has " not suffered me to perish by the cruelty of a tyrant, by " the secret dagger of conspiracy, or by the slow tortures " of lingering disease. He has given me, in the midst of an " honorable career, a splendid and glorious departure from " this world; and I hold it equally absurd, equally base, to " solicit, or to decline, the stroke of fate. Thus much I " have attempted to say; but my strength fails me, and I feel " the approach of death. I shall cautiously refrain from " any word that may tend to influence your suffrages in the " election of an emperor. My choice might be imprudent " or injudicious; and if it should not be ratified by the con- " sent of the army, it might be fatal to the person whom I " should recommend. I shall only, as a good citizen, ex- " press my hopes, that the Romans may be blessed with the " government of a virtuous sovereign." After this discourse, which Julian pronounced in a firm and gentle tone of voice, he distributed by a military testament,[147] the remains of his

[146] Herodotus, (l. i. c. 31), has displayed that doctrine in an agreeable tale. Yet the Jupiter, (*Iliad*, book xvi,) who laments with tears of blood the death of Sarpedon, his son, had a very imperfect notion of happiness or glory beyond the grave.

[147] The soldiers who made their verbal or nuncupatory testaments, upon actual service, (in procinctu), were exempted from the formalities of the Roman law. See Heineccius, (*Antiquit. Jur. Roman.* tom. i. p. 504), and Montesquieu, (*Esprit. des Loix*, l. xxvii.).

private fortune; and making some inquiry why Anatolius was not present, he understood, from the answer of Sallust, that Anatolius was killed; and bewailed, with amiable inconsistency, the loss of his friend. At the same time he reproved the immoderate grief of the spectators; and conjured them not to disgrace by unmanly tears, the fate of a prince, who in a few moments would be united in heaven, and with the stars.[148] The spectators were silent; and Julian entered into a metaphysical argument with the philosophers Priscus and Maximus, on the nature of the soul. The efforts which he made, of mind as well as body, most probably hastened his death. His wound began to bleed with fresh violence; his respiration was embarrassed by the swelling of the veins; he called for a draught of cold water, and, as soon as he had drank it, expired without pain, about the hour of midnight. Such was the end of that extraordinary man in the thirty-second year of his age, after a reign of one year and about eight months, from the death of Constantius. In his last moments he displayed, perhaps with some ostentation, the love of virtue and of fame, which had been the ruling passions of his life.[149]

[148] This union of the human soul with the divine æthereal substance of the universe, is the ancient doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato; but it seems to exclude any personal or conscious immortality. See Warburton's learned and rational observations. *Divine Legation*, vol. ii. pp. 199–216.

[149] The whole relation of the death of Julian is given by Amianus, (xxv. 3), an intelligent spectator. Libanius, who turns with horror from the scene, has supplied some circumstances, (*Orat. Parental.* c. 136–140, pp. 359–362). The calumnies of Gregory, and the legends of more recent saints, may now be *silently* despised.*

* A very remarkable fragment of *Eunapius* describes, not without spirit, the struggle between the terror of the army on account of their perilous situation, and their grief for the death of Julian. "Even the vulgar felt that they would "soon provide a general, but such a general as Julian they would never find, "even though a god in the form of man—πλάστος θεὸς Julian, who, with a mind "equal to the divinity, triumphed over the evil propensities of human nature,— "* * * who held commerce with immaterial beings while yet in the body,— "who condescended to rule because a ruler was necessary to the welfare of man- "kind." Mai, *Nov. Coll.* ii. 261. Eunapius in *Niebuhr*, 69. The πλάστος θεὸς, to which Julian is thus advantageously compared, is manifestly, as M. Mai observes, a bitter sneer at the Incarnate Deity of the Christians. The fragment is followed by an indignant comment by some Christian writer. *Ibid.*—MILMAN.

The Pagan emperor died serene and hopeful. He believed his soul an emanation of the Divine Power, and that, at the moment of death, this soul would be forever united in heaven with that Eternal Being from whence it proceeded. Is not this simple Pagan faith at least as reasonable as the complex Christian belief in the incarnation and crucifixion of God, the Son, to appease the anger of God, the Father; these two, with the addition of the Holy Ghost, being one and the same; and this divine and human tragedy was enacted at Calvary because Adam, tempted by Satan, had sinned, and his descendants had thereby incurred damnation?

Gibbon has not noticed the absurd fable of Julian throwing a handful of his blood in the air, and saying, "Galilean, thou hast conquered!" He simply remarks, that "the calumnies of Gregory, and the legends of more recent saints, may now "be *silently* despised." Sensational preachers, however, care very little for *silent* despiciency, and continue to repeat the pious romance. In one of the answers in the *Talmagian Catechism*, on page 413 of *Ingersoll's Interviews on Talmage*, this standard Christian *argument* is neatly given. It is also referred to by Voltaire in his *Philosophical Dictionary*.—E.

DIANA EPHESIA.

480*a*

"Great is Diana of the Ephesians!"—Acts, xix: 28.

ACCORDING to the genealogy of the Greek and Roman gods, as given by Mayo, Diana was a daughter of Jupiter and Latona, born on the Island of Delos, and a twin-sister of Apollo. "As in Apollo the sun was deified and "adored," says *Eschenburg's Manual of Classical Literature*, "so was the moon "in Diana." The chasteness of Diana was aptly symbolized by the shining orb of night, "who scatters," says Moritz in *Mythological Fictions of the Greeks and Romans*, "her modest silver light over mountain tops and forest glades."

The illustration on the preceding page of the Ephesian Diana or Artemis, is from Montfaucon, i. 157, Cf., p. ii. § 40.3, "On the head of the statue," says Eschenburg, "is a double mural crown; a large festoon is suspended from the neck, and "within it are two images of Victory; on each arm are two lions; the body tapers "to the feet like a Hermes, but is divided into four portions, the first of which "is occupied by numerous breasts, the second by heads of stags, and the third "and fourth by heads of oxen."

The statue of Diana at Ephesus, says M. Lamé Fleury in his *Mythology*, "was "of ebony, and of the most exquisite workmanship." M. A Dwight, in his *Grecian and Roman Mythology*, says, "that the statue came down from the skies," and the *New Testament*, (*Acts*, xix. 35,) intimates that it "fell down from Jupiter!" But Wm. Smith, LL.D., in his *Classical Dictionary*, more rationally believes that the Ephesian Diana was totally distinct from the Greek goddess of the same name, and that "she was an ancient Asiatic divinity whose worship the Greeks found "established in Ionia, when they settled there, and to whom they gave the name "of Artemis. Her image, in the magnificent temple of Ephesus, was represented "with many breasts."

St. Paul was the cause of an exciting controversy at Ephesus in regard to the image of Diana. Demetrius, an artist of Ephesus, asserts; (*Acts*, xix: 27–37.)

"That not only this our craft is in danger; but also that the temple of the great "goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, "whom all Asia and the world worshipeth. And when they heard these *sayings*, "they were full of wrath, and cried out saying, Great *is* Diana of the Ephesians. "And when the townclerk had appeased the people, he said, *Ye* men of Ephesus, "what man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a "worshiper of the great goddess Diana, and of the *image* which fell down from "Jupiter? Seeing then that these things cannot be spoken against, ye ought to "be quiet, and to do nothing rashly. For ye have brought hither these men, "which are neither robbers of churches, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess."

The "town-clerk" thus seems to endorse the teaching of the Apostle Paul as orthodox Paganism, which it probably was "when properly understood." St. Paul, it will be remembered, also recognized the Altar to the Unknown God of the Pagans, which he found at Athens, (*Acts*, xvii: 23,) and by his diplomatic skill and persuasive eloquence easily won the confidence of his credulous hearers. "Being crafty," was his unnecessary admission and triumphant boast, "I caught "you with guile." (*II. Cor.* xii: 16.)

Gibbon describes, in the tenth chapter of his *History*, the temple of the great Diana, as follows: "In the general calamities of mankind, the death of an indi- "vidual, however exalted, the ruin of an edifice, however famous, are passed over "with careless attention. Yet we cannot forget that the temple of Diana at Ephesus, "after having risen with increasing splendor from seven repeated misfortunes, was "finally burnt by the Goths in their third naval invasion. The arts of Greece, "and the wealth of Asia, had conspired to erect that sacred and magnificent "structure. It was supported by a hundred and twenty-seven marble columns "of the Ionic order. They were the gifts of devout monarchs, and each was "sixty feet high. The altar was adorned with the masterly sculptures of Praxiteles, "who had, perhaps, selected from the favorite legends of the place, the birth of "the divine children of Latona, the concealment of Apollo after the slaughter "of the Cyclops, and the clemency of Bacchus to the vanquished Amazons. "Yet the length of the temple of Ephesus was only four hundred and twenty-five "feet, about two-thirds of the measure of the church of St. Peter's at Rome. In "the other dimensions, it was still more inferior to that sublime production of "modern architecture. The spreading arms of a Christian cross require a much "greater breadth than the oblong temples of the Pagans; and the boldest artists "of antiquity would have been startled at the proposal of raising in the air a "dome of the size and proportions of the Pantheon. The temple of Diana was, "however, admired as one of the wonders of the world. Successive empires, "the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman, had revered its sanctity, and "enriched its splendor. But the rude savages of the Baltic were destitute of "a taste for the elegant arts, and they despised the ideal terrors of a foreign "superstition." A fine steel engraving of this celebrated temple is given in Eschenburg's *Manual*, page 423.—E.

FORTUNA.* Venerated in Greece, idolized in Rome, worshiped in America.

VII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF JOVIAN.—CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION.†

State of the Church. A. D. 363.

THE death of Julian had left the public affairs of the empire in a very doubtful and dangerous situation. The Roman army was saved by an inglorious, perhaps a necessary treaty;[1] and the first moments of peace were consecrated

1 The medals of Jovian adorn him with victories, laurel crowns, and prostrate captives. Ducange, *Famil. Byzantin.* p. 52. Flattery is a foolish suicide; she destroys herself with her own hands.‡

*FORTUNA is the only deity honored by universal and unceasing adoration. To her the people ever bow. To her all nations render obeisance. Her shrines are erected in the hearts of mankind, and her worshipers comprise the human family. Saint, sophist, sage, and savage unite to do her reverence; and love and honor and health and even life are freely sacrificed upon her altars.

Her eyes are bandaged, and blindly she showers her gifts upon her worshipers: hence chance, not merit, controls their destiny. The wheel on which she rests, appropriately symbolizes her capricious and inexorable character: and the cornucopia in her right hand, from which the blessings or miseries of untold wealth proceed, strikes that responsive chord of human sympathy which vibrates through every heart, and which is, indeed, "the one touch of nature that makes the "whole world kin." — E.

†From Chap. XXV. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

‡These are described by Eckhel, (*Num. Vet.* v. viii, p. 147.) The earliest of them like those of preceding emperors, have a figure of Victory standing on the globe, which was first stamped on Roman coins by Julius Cæsar, as the symbol of imperial dominion. On the latter coins of this short reign, the cross is substituted for the Pagan goddess, so that the globe surmounted by the emblem of Christianity, as used in the coronation ceremonies of modern sovereigns, was first introduced by Jovian. "Nunc primum apparet," are Eckhel's words. The same is indeed placed by Nicephorus Callistus, (*Hist. Ecc.* lib. 7, c. 49), in the

by the pious Jovian to restore the domestic tranquillity of the church and state. The indiscretion of his predecessor, instead of reconciling, had artfully fomented the religious war: and the balance which he affected to preserve between the hostile factions, served only to perpetuate the contest, by the vicissitudes of hope and fear, by the rival claims of ancient possession and actual favor. The Christians had forgotten the spirit of the gospel; and the Pagans had imbibed the spirit of the church. In private families, the sentiments of nature were extinguished by the blind fury of zeal and revenge; the majesty of the laws was violated or abused; the cities of the East were stained with blood; and the most implacable enemies of the Romans were in the bosom of their country. Jovian was educated in the profession of Christianity; and as he marched from Nisibis to Antioch, the banner of the Cross, the LABARUM of Constantine, which was again displayed at the head of the legions, announced to the people the faith of their new emperor. As soon as he ascended the throne, he transmitted a circular epistle to all the governors of provinces; in which he confessed the divine truth, and secured the legal establishment, of the Christian religion. The insidious edicts of Julian were abolished; the ecclesiastical immunities were restored and enlarged; and Jovian condescended to lament, that the distress of the times obliged him to diminish the measure of charitable contributions.[2] The Christians were unanimous in the loud and sincere applause which they bestowed on the pious successor of Julian. But they were still ignorant what creed, or what synod, he would choose for the standard of orthodoxy; and the peace of the church immediately revived those eager disputes which had been suspended during the season of persecution. The episcopal

2 Jovian restored to the church τὸν ἀρχαῖον νόμον; a forcible and comprehensive expression, (*Philostorgius*, l. viii. c. 5, with Godefroy's *Dissertations*, p. 329. *Sozomen*, l. vi. c. 3). The new law, which condemned the rape or marriage of nuns, (*Cod. Theod.* l. ix. tit. xxv. leg. 2), is exaggerated by Sozomen; who supposes, that an amorous glance, the adultery of the heart, was punished with death by the evangelic legislator.

right hand of the statue on Constantine's porphyry pillar. But his accuracy, as to the cross, is generally questioned. He calls the globe *an apple*, μῆλον; yet it may be observed, that the Germans also designate that part of their imperial insignia by the same term, *Reichsapfel*. Nicephorus, however, is not corroborated by any other historian. Procopius, (*De Æd. Just.* lib. 1, c. 2), and Suidas, after him, speak of the globe and cross in the left hand of Justinian's equestrian statue, as if the sign of universal rule had never before decorated any statue in that form. There is certainly no existing proof of its use earlier than the coins of Jovian.—ENG. CH.

leaders of the contending sects, convinced, from experience, how much their fate would depend on the earliest impressions that were made on the mind of an untutored soldier, hastened to the court of Edessa, or Antioch. The highways of the East were crowded with Homoousian, and Arian, and semi-Arian, and Eunomian bishops, who struggled to outstrip each other in the holy race; the apartments of the palace resounded with their clamors; and the ears of their prince were assaulted, and perhaps astonished, by the singular mixture of metaphysical argument and passionate invective.[3] The moderation of Jovian, who recommended concord and charity, and referred the disputants to the sentence of a future council, was interpreted as a symptom of indifference; but his attachment to the Nicene creed was at length discovered and declared, by the reverence which he expressed for the *celestial*[4] virtues of the great Athanasius. The intrepid veteran of the faith, at the age of seventy, had issued from his retreat on the first intelligence of the tyrant's death. The acclamations of the people seated him once more on the archiepiscopal throne; and he wisely accepted, or anticipated, the invitation of Jovian. The venerable figure of Athanasius, his calm courage, and insinuating eloquence, sustained the reputation which he had already acquired in the courts of four successive princes.[5] As soon as he had gained the confidence and secured the faith of the Christian emperor, he returned in triumph to his diocese, and continued, with mature counsels, and undiminished vigor, to direct, ten years longer,[6] the ecclesiastical government of Alexandria, Egypt, and the Catholic church. Before his departure from Antioch, he assured Jovian that his orthodox devotion would be rewarded by a long and peaceful reign. Athanasius had reason to hope, that he should

3 Compare *Socrates*, l. iii. c. 25, and *Philostorgius*, l. viii. c. 6, with Godefroy's *Dissertations*, 330.

4 The word *celestial* faintly expresses the impious and extravagant flattery of the emperor to the archbishop, τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θέον τῶν ὅλων ὁμοιώσεως. (See the original epistle in *Athanasius*, tom. ii. p. 33.) Gregory Nazianzen, (*Orat.* xxi. p. 392), celebrates the friendship of Jovian and Athanasius. The primate's journey was advised by the Egyptian monks, (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. vii, p. 221).

5 Athanasius, at the court of Antioch, is agreeably represented by La Bleterie, (*Hist. de Jovien*, tom. i. pp. 121–148); he translates the singular and original conferences of the emperor, the primate of Egypt, and the Arian deputies. The Abbé is not satisfied with the coarse pleasantry of Jovian; but his partiality for Athanasius assumes, in *his* eyes, the character of justice.

6 The true æra of his death is perplexed with some difficulties, (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. viii. pp. 719–723). But the date, (A. D. 373, May 2), which seems the most consistent with history and reason, is ratified by his authentic life, (*Maffei Osservazioni Letterarie*, tom. iii. p. 81).

be allowed either the merit of a successful prediction, or the excuse of a grateful, though ineffectual prayer.[7]

Jovian proclaims universal toleration.

The slightest force, when it is applied to assist and guide the natural descent of its object, operates with irresistible weight; and Jovian had the good fortune to embrace the religious opinions which were supported by the spirit of the times, and the zeal and numbers of the most powerful sect.[8] Under his reign, Christianity obtained an easy and lasting victory; and as soon as the smile of royal patronage was withdrawn, the genius of Paganism, which had been fondly raised and cherished by the arts of Julian, sank irrecoverably in the dust. In many cities, the temples were shut or deserted; the philosophers, who had abused their transient favor, thought it prudent to shave their beards, and disguise their profession; and the Christians rejoiced, that they were now in a condition to forgive, or to revenge, the injuries which they had suffered under the preceding reign.[9] The consternation of the Pagan world was dispelled by a wise and gracious edict of toleration; in which Jovian explicitly declared, that although he should severely punish the sacrilegious rites of magic, his subjects might exercise, with freedom and safety, the ceremonies of the ancient worship. The memory of this law has been preserved by the orator Themistius, who was deputed by the senate of Constantinople to express their loyal devotion for the new emperor. Themistius expatiates on the clemency of the Divine nature, the facility of human error, the rights of conscience, and the independence of the mind; and, with some eloquence, inculcates the principles of philosophical toleration; whose aid Superstition herself, in the hour of her distress, is not ashamed to implore. He justly observes, that, in the recent changes, both religions had been alternately disgraced by the seeming acquisition of worthless proselytes, of those votaries of the reigning purple, who could pass, without a reason, and without a blush, from the church to the temple,

[7] See the observations of Valesius and Jortin (*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv. p. 38), on the original letter of Athanasius; which is preserved by *Theodoret*, l. iv. c. 3). In some MSS., this indiscreet promise is omitted; perhaps by the Catholics, jealous of the prophetic fame of their leader.

[8] Athanasius, (apud *Theodoret*, l. iv. c. 3), magnifies the number of the orthodox, who composed the whole world, πάρεξ ὀλίγων τῶν τὰ Ἀρείου φρονούντων. This assertion was verified in the space of thirty or forty years.

[9] *Socrates*, l. iii. c. 24. Gregory Nazianzen, (*Orat.* iv. p. 131), and Libanius (*Orat. Parentalis*, c. 148, p. 369), expresses the *living* sentiments of their respective factions.

and from the altars of Jupiter to the sacred table of the Christians.[10]

The inquisition into the crime of magic,† which was so rigorously prosecuted both at Rome and Antioch, was interpreted as the fatal symptom, either of the displeasure of Heaven, or of the depravity of mankind.[11] Let us not hesitate to

Severe inquisition into the crime of magic at Rome and Antioch. A. D. 373, &c.

[10] Themistius, *Orat.* v. pp. 63-71, edit. Harduin, Paris, 1684. The Abbé de la Bleterie judiciously remarks, (*Hist. de Jovien*, tom. i. p. 199), that Sozomen has forgotten the general toleration; and Themistius the establishment of the Catholic religion. Each of them turned away from the object which he disliked, and wished to supress the part of the edict the least honorable, in his opinion, to the emperor Jovian.*

[11] Libanius de ulciscend, *Julian*, nece, c. ix. pp. 158, 159. The sophist deplores the public frenzy, but he does not, (after their deaths), impeach the justice of the emperors.

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* Full justice is not done here to this oration. Neander, (*Hist.* vol. iii, p. 97), bestows on it high and deserved commendation. "Golden words," he says, "were those which the moderate Pagan, Themistius, addressed to Jovian on his "entrance upon the consular office, with a view to confirm him, in those principles, "recognizing man's universal rights and the toleration in matters of religion, "connected therewith, which he had expressed immediately after coming to the "throne." He then gives an extract, too long for transfer to this page; but the following passages may not be omitted: "You alone," said the orator to his sovereign, "seem to be aware, that the monarch cannot force everything from "his subjects; that there are things which are superior to all constraint, threat-"enings, and law,—whoever employs force here, takes away the freedom which "God bestowed on every man. The laws of a Cheops and Cambyses hardly "lasted as long as their authors' lives. But the law of God and your law—"remain forever unchangeable—the law, that every man's soul is free in reference "to its own peculiar mode of worship. This law, no pillage of goods, no death "on the cross or at the stake, has ever been able to extinguish. You may indeed "force and kill the body; but though the tongue may be silenced, the soul will rise "and carry along with it its own free will, free from the constraint of authority." Such words, from a Pagan, and in such an age, ought to make many a Christian blush, both sovereign, priest, and sectarian.—ENG. CH.

Religious toleration was in harmony with the genius of Paganism, and Pagan philosophers invariably advocated religious freedom. "The tolerating spirit of "idolaters, both in ancient and modern times," says Hume, "is very obvious to "any one, who is the least conversant in the writings of historians or travelers. "When the oracle of Delphi was asked, what rites of worship were most accept-"able to the gods? Those which are legally established in each city, replied "the oracle. Even priests, in those ages, could, it seems, allow salvation to "those of a different communion." Hume's *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 417.—E.

† This infamous inquisition into sorcery and witchcraft has been of greater influence on human affairs than is commonly supposed. The persecution against philosophers and their libraries was carried on with so much fury, that from this time, (A. D. 374), the names of the Gentile philosophers became almost extinct; and the Christian philosophy and religion, particularly in the East, established their ascendancy. I am surprised that Gibbon has not made this observation. Heyne, Note on Zosimus, l. iv. 14, p. 637. Besides vast heaps of manuscripts publicly destroyed throughout the East, men of letters burned their whole libraries, lest some fatal volume should expose them to the malice of the informers and the extreme penalty of the law. *Amm. Marc.* xxix. 11.—MILMAN.

The Christian doctrine of "casting out devils," the belief that devils frequently inhabited the human body, that certain persons "were possessed with devils," that regular commercial intercourse was maintained between mortals and devils, and that the former easily outwitted the latter by bartering their immortal but unmerchantable souls for fabulous sums of silver and gold, prepared true believers to credit the wildest tales of witchcraft and magic. In the above note, Dean Milman has indicated the sacred origin of this degrading belief, and shown that this execrable fanaticism—born of credulity and ignorance—was used by the elect in the warfare of Christianity against the Pagan religion. Philosophers were forced to conceal their knowledge and burn their libraries, to escape

indulge a liberal pride, that, in the present age, the enlightened part of Europe has abolished[12] a cruel and odious prejudice, which reigned in every climate of the globe, and adhered to every system of religious opinions.[13] The nations, and the sects, of the Roman world, admitted with equal credulity and similar abhorrence, the reality of that infernal art,[14] which was able to control the eternal order of the planets, and the voluntary operations of the human mind. They dreaded the mysterious power of spells and incantations, of potent herbs, and execrable rites; which could extinguish or recall life, inflame the passions of the soul, blast the works of creation, and extort from the reluctant dæmons the secrets of futurity. They believed, with the wildest inconsistency, that this preternatural dominion of the air, of earth, and of hell, was exercised, from the vilest motives of malice or gain, by some wrinkled hags and itinerant sorcerers, who passed their obscure lives in penury and contempt.[15] The arts of magic were equally condemned by the public opinion, and by the laws of Rome; but as they tended to gratify the most imperious passions of the heart of man,[16] they were continually proscribed, and continually

12 The French and English lawyers of the present age, allow the *theory*, and deny the *practice*, of witchcraft, (Denisart, *Recueil de Decisions de Jurisprudence*, au mot *Sorciers*, tom. iv. p. 553. Blackstone's *Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 60). As private reason always prevents, or outstrips, public wisdom, the president Montesquieu, (*Esprit des Loix*, l. xii. c. 5, 6), rejects the *existence* of magic.

13 See *Œuvres de Bayle*, tom. iii. pp. 567–589. The skeptic of Rotterdam exhibits according to his custom, a strange medley of loose knowledge and lively wit.

14 The Pagans distinguished between good and bad magic, the Theurgic and the Goetic, (*Hist. de l'Académie*, &c., tom. vii. p. 25). But they could not have defended this obscure distinction against the acute logic of Bayle. In the Jewish and Christian system, *all* dæmons are infernal spirits; and *all* commerce with them is idolatry, apostasy, &c., which deserves death and damnation.

15 The *Canidia* of Horace, (*Carm.* l. v. Od. 5, with Dacier's and Sanadon's illustrations), is a vulgar witch. The *Erictho* of Lucan, (*Pharsal.* vi. 430–830), is tedious, disgusting, but sometimes sublime. She chides the delay of the Furies, and threatens, with tremendous obscurity, to pronounce their real names; to reveal the true infernal countenance of Hecate; to invoke the secret powers that lie *below* hell, &c.

16 Genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur. Tacit. *Hist.* i. 22. See Aug. *de Civitate Dei*, l. viii. c. 19, and the *Theodosian Code*, l. ix. tit. xvi., with Godefroy's *Com.*

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the ridiculous but fatal charge of witchcraft. The standard-bearer of Pagan philosophy, as represented by the eloquent and virtuous daughter of Theon—the beautiful Hypatia—was torn from her carriage in the streets of Alexandria and murdered by Christian monks and zealots. Religion has systematically opposed the progress of knowledge, and has not hesitated to employ the dungeon, the rack, the gibbet, and the stake, in her holy crusade. Astronomy, geology, chemistry, and, indeed, all the sciences, have each in turn been forced to run the gauntlet of Christian bigotry. The first printers were believed to be in league with the prince of darkness, and Faust and Guttenberg were fortunate in escaping the fury of pious but misguided bigots. The modern history of the Salem witchcraft shows that the lapse of eighteen centuries has not dissipated this medieval ignorance, and that the spirit of fanaticism and superstition, born in ancient Rome, still enthrals the minds of the credulous, and contaminates the air of freedom—E.

practiced. An imaginary cause is capable of producing the most serious and mischievous effects. The dark predictions of the death of an emperor, or the success of a conspiracy, were calculated only to stimulate the hopes of ambition, and to dissolve the ties of fidelity; and the intentional guilt of magic was aggravated by the actual crimes of treason and sacrilege.[17] Such vain terrors disturbed the peace of society, and the happiness of individuals; and the harmless flame which insensibly melted a waxed image, might derive a powerful and pernicious energy from the affrighted fancy of the person whom it was maliciously designed to represent.[18] From the infusion of those herbs, which were supposed to possess a supernatural influence, it was an easy step to the use of more substantial poison; and the folly of mankind sometimes became the instrument, and the mask, of the most atrocious crimes. As soon as the zeal of informers was encouraged by the ministers of Valens and Valentinian, they could not refuse to listen to another charge, too frequently mingled in the scenes of domestic guilt; a charge of a softer and less malignant nature, for which the pious, though excessive, rigor of Constantine had recently decreed the punishment of death.[19] This deadly and incoherent mixture of treason and magic, of poison and adultery afforded infinite gradations of guilt and innocence, of excuse and aggravation, which in these proceedings appear to have been confounded by the angry or corrupt passions of the judges. They easily discovered, that the degree of their industry and discernment was estimated, by the imperial court, according to the number of executions that were furnished from their respective tribunals. It was not without extreme reluctance that they pronounced a sentence of acquittal; but they eagerly admitted such evidence as was stained with perjury, or procured by torture, to prove

17 The persecution of Antioch was occasioned by a criminal consultation. The twenty-four letters of the alphabet were ranged round a magic tripod; and a dancing ring, which had been placed in the centre, pointed to the first four letters in the name of the future emperor, Θ. Ε. Ο. Δ. Theodorus, (perhaps with many others, who owned the fatal syllables), was executed. Theodosius succeeded. Lardner, (*Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. pp. 353-372), has copiously and fairly examined this dark transaction of the reign of Valens.

18 Limus ut hic durescit et hæc ut cera liquescit
Uno eodemque igni————
Virgil. *Bucolic.* viii. 80.
Devovet absentes, simulacraque cerea figit.
Ovid. in *Epist. Hypsil.* ad Jason. 91.
Such vain incantations could affect the mind, and increase the disease, of Germanicus. Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 69.

19 See Heineccius, *Antiquitat. Juris Roman.* tom. ii. p. 353, &c. *Cod. Theodosian*, l. ix. tit. 7, with Godefroy's *Commentary*.

the most improbable charges against the most respectable characters. The progress of the inquiry continually opened new subjects of criminal prosecution; the audacious informer, whose falsehood was detected, retired with impunity; but the wretched victim, who discovered his real or pretended accomplices, was seldom permitted to receive the price of his infamy. From the extremity of Italy and Asia, the young, and the aged, were dragged in chains to the tribunals of Rome and Antioch. Senators, matrons, and philosophers, expired in ignominious and cruel tortures. The soldiers, who were appointed to guard the prisons, declared, with a murmur of pity and indignation, that their numbers were insufficient to oppose the flight, or resistance, of the multitude of captives. The wealthiest families were ruined by fines and confiscations; the most innocent citizens trembled for their safety; and we may form some notion of the magnitude of the evil, from the extravagant assertion of an ancient writer, that, in the obnoxious provinces, the prisoners, the exiles, and the fugitives, formed the greatest part of the inhabitants.[20]

The cruelty of Valentinian and Valens. A. D. 364–375.

When Tacitus describes the deaths of the innocent and illustrious Romans, who were sacrificed to the cruelty of the first Cæsars, the art of the historian, or the merit of the sufferers, excites in our breasts most lively sensations of terror, of admiration, and of pity. The coarse and undistinguishing pencil of Ammianus has delineated his bloody figures with tedious and disgusting accuracy. But as our attention is

[20] The cruel persecution of Rome and Antioch is described, and most probably exaggerated, by *Ammianus*, (xxvii. 1, xxix. 1, 2), and *Zosimus*, (l. iv. pp. 216–218). The philosopher Maximus, with some justice, was involved in the charge of magic, (Eunapius in *Vit. Sophist.* pp. 88, 89); and young Chrysostom, who had accidentally found one of the proscribed books, gave himself up for lost (Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 340).*

* These proceedings were an indirect persecution of Paganism, and certainly hastened its final extinction. The Neo-Platonic extravagances had made the popular belief in magic subservient to the purposes of the ancient superstition; and had thus given rise to abuses which demanded the magistrate's correcting hand. But while repressing those excesses, the emperors involved in one common ruin with them, the philosophical influence to which, during Julian's short reign, the vigor of reanimated hope had been imparted, and which might still trouble the tranquillity of the throne. Its books were destroyed, and its professors proscribed. Aimed ostensibly only at these miserable delusions, the blow had a wider range, and fell with indiscriminating force on more legitimate studies. Philosophy, from that time, declined more rapidly; and even when its choicest Eclecticism found almost a last refuge in the lovely form and sheltering mind of Hypatia, the sanctuary was destroyed by the violence of hierarchial malice.—ENG. CH.

The Church, founded upon a rock, gradually extinguished the light of reason and philosophy, and the nations groveled in an abyss of ignorance and faith. After centuries of gloom, fitly named the "dark ages," the power of Catholicism was opposed by the earnest struggles of Protestantism, and reason again ventured to question the credibility of creeds and dogmas.—E.

no longer engaged by the contrast of freedom and servitude, of recent greatness and of actual misery, we should turn with horror from the frequent executions, which disgraced, both at Rome and Antioch, the reign of the two brothers,[21] Valens was of a timid,[22] and Valentinian of a choleric, disposition.[23] An anxious regard to his personal safety was the ruling principle of the administration of Valens. In the condition of a subject, he had kissed, with trembling awe, the hand of the oppressor; and when he ascended the throne, he reasonably expected, that the same fears, which had subdued his own mind, would secure the patient submission of his people. The favorites of Valens obtained, by the privilege of rapine and confiscation, the wealth which his economy would have refused.[24] They urged, with persuasive eloquence, *that*, in all cases of treason, suspicion is equivalent to proof; *that* the power, supposes the intention, of mischief; *that* the intention is not less criminal than the act; and *that* a subject no longer deserves to live, if his life may threaten the safety, or disturb the repose, of his sovereign. The judgment of Valentinian was sometimes deceived, and his confidence abused; but he would have silenced the informers with a contemptuous smile, had they presumed to alarm his fortitude by the sound of danger. They praised his inflexible love of justice; and, in the pursuit of justice, the emperor was easily tempted to consider clemency as a weakness, and passion as a virtue. As long as he wrestled with his equals, in the bold competition of an active and ambitious life, Valentinian was seldom injured, and never insulted, with impunity: if his prudence was arraigned, his spirit was applauded; and the proudest and most powerful generals were apprehensive of provoking the resentment of a fearless soldier. After he became master of the world, he unfortunately forgot, that where no resistance can be made, no courage can be exerted; and instead of consulting the dictates of reason and magna-

[21] Consult the last six books of *Ammianus*, and more particularly the portraits of the two royal brothers, (xxx. 8, 9, xxxi. 14). Tillemont has collected, (tom. v. pp. 12–18, pp. 127–133), from all antiquity their virtues and vices.

[22] The younger Victor asserts that he was valde timidus: yet he behaved, as almost every man would do, with decent resolution at the *head* of an army. The same historian attempts to prove that his anger was harmless. Ammianus observes, with more candor and judgment, incidentia crimina ad contemptam vel læsam principis amplitudinem trahens, in sanguinem sæviebat.

[23] Cum esset ad acerbitatem naturæ calore propensior * * * pœnas per ignes augebat et gladios. *Ammian.* xxx. 8. See xxvii. 7.

[24] I have transferred the reproach of avarice from Valens to his servants. Avarice more properly belongs to ministers than to kings; in whom that passion is commonly extinguished by absolute possession.

nimity, he indulged the furious emotions of his temper, at a time when they were disgraceful to himself, and fatal to the defenceless objects of his displeasure. In the government of his household, or of his empire, slight, or even imaginary, offences—a hasty word, a casual omission, an involuntary delay—were chastised by a sentence of immediate death. The expressions which issued the most readily from the mouth of the emperor of the west were, "Strike off his "head;" "Burn him alive;" "Let him be beaten with "clubs till he expires;"[25] and his most favored ministers soon understood, that, by a rash attempt to dispute, or suspend, the execution of his sanguinary commands, they might involve themselves in the guilt and punishment of disobedience. The repeated gratification of this savage justice hardened the mind of Valentinian against pity and remorse; and the sallies of passion were confirmed by the habits of cruelty.[26] He could behold with calm satisfaction the convulsive agonies of torture and death; he reserved his friendship for those faithful servants whose temper was the most congenial to his own. The merit of Maximin, who had slaughtered the noblest families of Rome, was rewarded with the royal approbation, and the præfecture of Gaul. Two fierce and enormous bears, distinguished by the appellations of *Innocence* and *Mica Aurea*, could alone deserve to share the favor of Maximin. The cages of those trusty guards were always placed near the bed-chamber of Valentinian, who frequently amused his eyes with the grateful spectacle of seeing them tear and devour the bleeding limbs of the malefactors who were abandoned to their rage.†

[25] He sometimes expressed a sentence of death in a tone of pleasantry, "Abi, Comes, "et muta ei caput, qui sibi mutari provinciam cupit." A boy, who had slipped too hastily a Spartan hound; an armorer, who had made a polished cuirass that wanted some grains of the legitimate weight, &c., were the victims of his fury.

[26] The innocents of Milan were an agent and three apparitors, whom Valentinian condemned for signifying a legal summons. *Ammianus*, (xxvii. 7), strangely supposes, that all who had been unjustly executed were worshiped as martyrs by the Christians. His impartial silence does not allow us to believe, that the great chamberlain Rhodanus was burnt alive for an act of oppression, *Chro. Pas.* p. 302.*

* Ammianus does not say that they were worshiped as *martyrs*. Quorum memoriam apud Mediolanum colentes nunc usque Christiani, loculos ubi sepulti sunt, *ad innocentes* appellant. Wagner's note in loco. Yet if the next paragraph refers to that transaction, which is not quite clear, Gibbon is right.—MILMAN.

† Compare the cruel amusements of the Christian Valentinian, with the virtue and humanity of the Pagan Julian. By publicly expressing, during the preceding reign, his contempt for Paganism, the master of *Innocence* won the applause of Christians. By practicing justice and morality, the Pagan emperor has won the gratitude of posterity. "Laying aside for a moment revealed truths," says the Christian Montesquieu, (*Spirit of Laws*, book xxiv, chap. x, vol. ii, p. 147), "let us search through all nature, and we shall not find a nobler object than the "Antoninus's: even Julian himself, Julian, (a commendation thus wrested from "me will not render me an accomplice of his apostasy), no, there has not been a "prince since his reign more worthy to govern mankind."—E.

Their diet and exercises were carefully inspected by the Roman emperor, and when *Innocence* had earned her discharge by a long course of meritorious service, the faithful animal was again restored to the freedom of her native woods.[27]

Valentinian maintains the religious toleration. A. D. 364–375.

The most honorable circumstance of the character of Valentinian, is the firm and temperate impartiality which he uniformly preserved in an age of religious contention. His strong sense, unenlightened, but uncorrupted, by study, declined, with respectful indifference, the subtle questions of theological debate. The government of the *earth* claimed his vigilance, and satisfied his ambition; and while he remembered that he was the disciple of the church, he never forgot that he was the sovereign of the clergy. Under the reign of an apostate, he had signalized his zeal for the honor of Christianity; he allowed to his subjects the privilege which he had assumed for himself; and they might accept, with gratitude and confidence, the general toleration which was granted by a prince, addicted to passion, but incapable of fear or of disguise.[28] The Pagans, the Jews, and all the various sects which acknowledged the divine authority of Christ, were protected by the laws from arbitrary power or popular insult; nor was any mode of worship prohibited by Valentinian, except those secret and criminal practices, which abused the name of religion for the dark purposes of vice and disorder. The art of magic, as it was more cruelly punished, was more strictly proscribed; but the emperor admitted a formal distinction to protect the ancient methods of divination, which were approved by the senate, and exercised by the Tuscan haruspices. He had condemned, with the consent of the most rational Pagans, the license of nocturnal sacrifices; but he immediately admitted the petition of Prætextatus, proconsul of Achaia, who represented, that the life of the Greeks would become dreary and comfortless, if they were deprived of the invaluable blessing of the Eleusinian mysteries. Philosophy alone can

[27] Ut bene meritam in sylvas jussit abire *Innoxiam*. *Ammian.* xxix. 3, and *Valesius* ad locum.

[28] Testes sunt leges a me in exordio imperii mei datæ; quibus unicuique quod animo imbibisset colendi libera facultas tributa est. *Cod. Theodos.* l. ix. tit. xvi. leg. 9. To this declaration of Valentinian, we may add the various testimonies of *Ammianus*, (xxxix. 9), *Zosimus*, (l. iv. p. 204), and *Sozomen*, (l. vi. c. 7, 21). Baronius would naturally blame such rational toleration, (*Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 370. Nos. 129–132, A. D. 376, Nos. 3, 4).*

*Comme il s'était prescrit pour règle de ne point se meler de disputes de religion, son histoire est presque entièrement degagée des affaires ecclésiastiques. *Le Beau*, iii. 214.—MILMAN.

boast (and perhaps it is no more than the boast of philosophy), that her gentle hand is able to eradicate from the human mind the latent and deadly principle of fanaticism. But this truce of twelve years, which was enforced by the wise and vigorous government of Valentinian, by suspending the repetition of mutual injuries, contributed to soften the manners, and abate the prejudices, of the religious factions.

Valens professes Arianism, and persecutes the Catholics. A. D. 367–378.

The friend of toleration was unfortunately placed at a distance from the scene of the fiercest controversies. As soon as the Christians of the West had extricated themselves from the snares of the creed of Rimini, they happily relapsed into the slumber of orthodoxy; and the small remains of the Arian party that still subsisted at Sirmium or Milan, might be considered rather as objects of contempt than of resentment. But in the provinces of the East, from the Euxine to the extremity of Thebais, the strength and numbers of the hostile factions were more equally balanced; and this equality, instead of recommending the councils of peace, served only to perpetuate the horrors of religious war. The monks and bishops supported their arguments by invectives; and their invectives were sometimes followed by blows. Athanasius still reigned at Alexandria; the thrones of Constantinople and Antioch were occupied by Arian prelates, and every episcopal vacancy was the occasion of a popular tumult. The Homoousians were fortified by the reconciliation of fifty-nine Macedonian, or Semi-Arian, bishops; but their secret reluctance to embrace the divinity of the Holy Ghost, clouded the splendor of the triumph; and the declaration of Valens, who, in the first years of his reign, had imitated the impartial conduct of his brother, was an important victory on the side of Arianism. The two brothers had passed their private life in the condition of catechumens; but the piety of Valens prompted him to solicit the sacrement of baptism, before he exposed his person to the dangers of a Gothic war. He naturally addressed himself to Eudoxus,[29]† bishop of the imperial city,

[29] Eudoxus was of a mild and timid disposition. When he baptized Valens (A. D. 367), he must have been extremely old; since he had studied theology fifty-five years before, under Lucian, a learned and pious martyr. *Philostorg.* l. ii. c. 14–16, l. iv. c. 4, with *Godefroy*, pp. 82, 206, and Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. v. pp. 474–480, &c.*

* Eudoxus was bishop of Germanica, A. D. 341; of Antioch, 358; and translated to Constantinople, 360. He was a diligent attendant on all the Arian synods. Clin. *F. R.* ii.,550, 559.—Eng. Ch.

† Through the influence of his wife, say the ecclesiastical writers.—Milman.

and if the ignorant monarch was instructed by that Arian pastor in the principles of heterodox theology, his misfortune, rather than his guilt, was the inevitable consequence of his erroneous choice. Whatever had been the determination of the emperor, he must have offended a numerous party of his Christian subjects; as the leaders both of the Homoousians and of the Arians believed, that, if they were not suffered to reign, they were most cruelly injured and oppressed. After he had taken this decisive step, it was extremely difficult for him to preserve either the virtue, or the reputation, of impartiality. He never aspired, like Constantius, to the fame of a profound theologian; but, as he had received with simplicity and respect the tenets of Eudoxus, Valens resigned his conscience to the direction of his ecclesiastical guides, and promoted, by the influence of his authority, the reunion of the *Athanasian heretics* to the body of the Catholic church. At first he pitied their blindness; by degrees he was provoked at their obstinacy; and he insensibly hated those sectaries to whom he was an object of hatred.[30] The feeble mind of Valens was always swayed by the persons with whom he familiarly conversed; and the exile or imprisonment of a private citizen are the favors the most readily granted in a despotic court. Such punishments were frequently inflicted on the leaders of the Homoousian party; and the misfortune of fourscore ecclesiastics of Constantinople, who, perhaps, accidentally, were burnt on shipboard, was imputed to the cruel and premeditated malice of the emperor, and his Arian ministers. In every contest the Catholics (if we may anticipate that name) were obliged to pay the penalty of their own faults, and of those of their adversaries. In every election the claims of the Arian candidate obtained the preference; and if they were opposed by the majority of the people, he was usually supported by the authority of the civil magistrate, or even by the terrors of a military force. The enemies of Athanasius attempted to disturb the last years of his venerable age; and his temporary retreat to his father's sepulchre has been celebrated as a fifth exile. But the zeal of a great people, who instantly flew to arms, intimidated the prefect; and the archbishop was permitted to end his life in peace and in glory, after a reign of forty-seven years. The death

30 Gregory Nazianzen, (*Orat.* xxv. p. 432), insults the persecuting spirit of the Arians, as an infallible symptom of error and heresy.

Death of Athanasius. A. D. 373. May 2d.

of Athanasius was the signal of the persecution of Egypt; and the Pagan minister of Valens, who forcibly seated the worthless Lucius on the archiepiscopal throne, purchased the favor of the reigning party by the blood and sufferings of their Christian brethren. The free toleration of the heathen and Jewish worship was bitterly lamented, as a circumstance which aggravated the misery of the Catholics, and the guilt of the impious tyrant of the East.[31]

Just idea of his persecution.

The triumph of the orthodox party has left a deep stain of persecution on the memory of Valens; and the character of a prince who derived his virtues, as well as his vices, from a feeble understanding and a pusillanimous temper, scarcely deserves the labor of an apology. Yet candor may discover some reasons to suspect that the ecclesiastical ministers of Valens often exceeded the orders, or even the intentions, of their master; and that the real measure of facts has been very liberally magnified by the vehement declamation and easy credulity of his antagonists.[32] 1. The silence of Valentinian may suggest a probable argument, that the partial severities which were exercised in the name and provinces of his colleague, amounted only to some obscure and inconsiderable deviations from the established system of religious toleration; and the judicious historian, who has praised the equal temper of the elder brother, has not thought himself obliged to contrast the tranquillity of the west with the cruel persecution of the east.[33] 2. Whatever credit may be allowed to vague and distant reports, the character, or at least the behavior, of Valens may be most distinctly seen in his personal transactions with the eloquent Basil, archbishop of Cæsarea, who had succeeded Athanasius in the management of the Trinitarian cause.[34] The circum-

[31] This sketch of the ecclesiastical government of Valens is drawn from *Socrates*, (l. iv.), *Sozomen*, (l. vi.), *Theodoret*, (l. iv.), and the immense compilations of Tillemont, (particularly tom. vi. viii. and ix.).

[32] Dr. Jortin, (*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv. p. 78), has already conceived and intimated the same suspicion.

[33] This reflection is so obvious and forcible, that *Orosius*, (l. vii. c. 32, 33), delays the persecution till after the death of Valentinian. Socrates, on the other hand, supposes (l. iii. c. 32), that it was appeased by a philosophical oration, which Themistius pronounced in the year 374, (*Orat.* xii. p. 154, in Latin only). Such contradictions diminish the evidence, and reduce the term, of the persecution of Valens.

[34] Tillemont, whom I follow and abridge, has extracted, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. viii. pp. 153–167), the most authentic circumstances from the *Panegyrics* of the two Gregories; the brother, and the friend of Basil. The letters of Basil himself, (Dupin, *Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique*, tom. ii. pp. 155–180), do not present the image of a very lively persecution.

stantial narrative has been composed by the friends and admirers of Basil; and as soon as we have stripped away a thick coat of rhetoric and miracle, we shall be astonished by the unexpected mildness of the Arian tyrant, who admired the firmness of his character, and was apprehensive, if he employed violence, of a general revolt in the province of Cappadocia. The archbishop, who asserted, with inflexible pride,[35] the truth of his opinions and the dignity of his rank, was left in the free possession of his conscience and his throne. The emperor devoutly assisted at the solemn service of the cathedral; and, instead of a sentence of banishment, subscribed the donation of a valuable estate for the use of a hospital, which Basil had lately founded in the neighborhood of Cæsarea.[36] 3. I am not able to discover, that any law (such as Theodosius afterwards enacted against the Arians) was published by Valens against the Athanasian sectaries; and the edict which excited the most violent clamors, may not appear so extremely reprehensible. The emperor had observed, that several of his subjects, gratifying their lazy disposition under the pretence of religion, had associated themselves with the monks of Egypt; and he directed the count of the east to drag them from their solitude; and to compel those deserters of society to accept the fair alternative, of renouncing their temporal possessions, or of discharging the public duties of men and citizens.[37] The ministers of Valens seem to have extended the sense of this penal statute, since they claimed a right of enlisting the young and able-bodied monks in the imperial armies. A detachment of cavalry and infantry, consisting of three thousand men, marched from Alexandria into the adjacent desert of Nitria,[38] which was peopled by five thousand monks.[39] The

[35] Basilius Cæsariensis episcopus Cappadociæ clarus habetur * * * qui multa continentiæ et ingenii bona uno superbiæ malo perdidit. This irreverent passage is perfectly in the style and character of St. Jerom. It does not appear in Scaliger's edition of his *Chronicle;* but Isaac Vossius found it in some old MSS. which had not been reformed by the monks.

[36] This noble and charitable foundation, (almost a new city), surpassed in merit, if not in greatness, the pyramids, or the walls of Babylon. It was principally intended for the reception of lepers, (Greg. Nazianzen, *Orat.* xx. p. 439).

[37] *Cod. Theodos.* l. xii. tit. i. leg. 63. *Godefroy*, (tom. iv. pp. 409–413), performs the duty of a commentator and advocate. Tillemont, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. viii. p. 808), *supposes* a second law to excuse his orthodox friends, who had misrepresented the edict of Valens, and suppressed the liberty of choice.

[38] See D'Anville, *Description de l'Egypte*, p. 74. Hereafter, I shall consider the monastic institutions.

[39] *Socrates*, l. iv. c. 24, 25. *Orosius*, l. vii. c. 33. Jerom in *Chron.* p. 189, and tom. ii. p. 212. The monks of Egypt performed many miracles, which prove the truth of their faith. Right, says Jortin, (*Remarks*, vol. iv. p. 79), but what proves the truth of those miracles?

soldiers were conducted by Arian priests; and it is reported, that a considerable slaughter was made in the monasteries which disobeyed the commands of their sovereign.

Valentinian restrains the avarice of the clergy. A. D. 370.

The strict regulations which have been framed by the wisdom of modern legislators to restrain the wealth and avarice of the clergy, may be originally deduced from the example of the emperor Valentinian. His edict,[40] addressed to Damasus, bishop of Rome, was publicly read in the churches of the city. He admonished the ecclesiastics and monks not to frequent the houses of widows and virgins; and menaced their disobedience with the animadversion of the civil judge. The director was no longer permitted to receive any gift, or legacy, or inheritance, from the liberality of his spiritual daughter: every testament contrary to this edict was declared null and void; and the illegal donation was confiscated for the use of the treasury. By a subsequent regulation, it should seem, that the same provisions were extended to nuns and bishops; and that all persons of the ecclesiastical order were rendered incapable of receiving any testamentary gifts, and strictly confined to the natural and legal rights of inheritance. As the guardian of domestic happiness and virtue, Valentinian applied this severe remedy to the growing evil. In the capital of the empire, the females of noble and opulent houses possessed a very ample share of independent property: and many of those devout females had embraced the doctrines of Christianity, not only with the cold assent of the understanding, but with the warmth of affection, and perhaps with the eagerness of fashion. They sacrificed the pleasures of dress and luxury; and renounced for the praise of chastity, the soft endearments of conjugal society.† Some ecclesiastic, of real or

[40] *Cod. Theodos.* l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 20. *Godefroy*, (tom. vi. p. 49), after the example of Baronius, impartially collects all that the fathers have said on the subject of this important law; whose spirit was long afterwards revived by the emperor Frederic II., Edward I. of England, and other Christian princes who reigned after the twelfth century.*

* When readers will search for truth, and not merely to support preconceived opinion, they will discern, that from the second to the sixteenth century, almost the whole sum of history is made up of efforts to amass, to share, to engross, to despoil, or to defend the wealth of the church, or of struggles consequent thereon.—ENG. CH.

The reader will observe that this grave charge, and significant admission, is made by a Protestant clergyman. Had the reverend gentleman asserted that the struggle for church aggrandizement is continued to the present day, he would not have greatly erred, for the avarice of the clergy is still insatiable.—E.

† "To enrich God," says Feuerbach, (*Essence of Religion*, p. 25), "man must "become poor; that God may be all, man must be nothing. But he desires to be "nothing in himself, because what he takes from himself is not lost to him, since

apparent sanctity, was chosen to direct their timorous conscience, and to amuse the vacant tenderness of their heart; and the unbounded confidence, which they hastily bestowed, was often abused by knaves and enthusiasts; who hastened from the extremities of the east, to enjoy, on a splendid theatre, the privileges of the monastic profession. By their contempt of the world, they insensibly acquired its most desirable advantages; the lively attachment, perhaps, of a young and beautiful woman, the delicate plenty of an opulent household, and the respectful homage of the slaves, the freedmen, and the clients of a senatorial family. The immense fortunes of the Roman ladies were gradually consumed in lavish alms and expensive pilgrimages; and the artful monk, who had assigned himself the first, or possibly

" it is preserved in God. Man has his being in God; why then should he have " it in himself? Where is the necessity of positing the same thing twice, of having " it twice? What man withdraws from himself, what he renounces in himself, " he only enjoys in an incomparably higher and fuller measure in God.

" The monks made a vow of chastity to God; they mortified the sexual passion " in themselves, but therefore they had in Heaven, in the Virgin Mary, the image " of woman—an image of love. They could the more readily dispense with real " woman, in proportion as an ideal woman was an object of love to them. The " greater the importance they attached to the denial of sensuality, the greater " the importance of the Heavenly Virgin for them: she was to them in the place " of Christ, in the stead of God. The more the sensual tendencies are renounced, " the more sensual is the God to whom they are sacrificed. For whatever is " made an offering to God has an especial value attached to it; in it God is sup- " posed to have especial pleasure. That which is the highest in the estimation " of man, is naturally the highest in the estimation of his God—what pleases " man, pleases God also. The Hebrews did not offer to Jehovah unclean, ill- " conditioned animals; on the contrary, those which they most highly prized, " which they themselves ate, were also the food of God (*cibus Dei*, Levit. iii. 2). " Wherever, therefore, the denial of the sensual delights is made a special " offering, a sacrifice well-pleasing to God, there the highest value is attached " to the senses, and the sensuality which has been renounced is unconsciously " restored, in the fact that God takes the place of the material delights which " have been renounced. The nun weds herself to God; she has a heavenly " bridegroom, the monk a heavenly bride. But the heavenly virgin is only a " sensible presentation of a general truth, having relation to the essence of religion. " Man denies as to himself only what he attributes to God. Religion abstracts " from man, from the world; but it can only abstract from the limitations, from " the phenomena, in short, from the negative, not from the essence, the positive " of the world and humanity: hence, in the very abstraction and negation it " must recover that from which it abstracts, or believes itself to abstract. And " thus, in reality, whatever religion consciously denies—always supposing that " what is denied by it is something essential, true, and consequently incapable " of being ultimately denied—it unconsciously restores in God. Thus, in religion " man denies his reason; of himself he knows nothing of God, his thoughts are " only worldly, earthly; he can only believe what God reveals to him. But on " this account the thoughts of God are human, earthly thoughts: like man, He " has plans in His mind, he accommodates himself to circumstances and grades " of intelligence, like a tutor with his pupils; he calculates closely the effect of " his gifts and revelations; he observes man in all his doings; he knows all " things, even the most earthly, the commonest, the most trivial. In brief, man " in relation to God denies his own knowledge, his own thoughts, that he may " place them in God. Man gives up his personality; but in return, God, the " Almighty, infinite, unlimited being, is a person; he denies human dignity, the " human *ego;* but in return God is to him a selfish, egoistical being, who in all " things seeks only Himself, his own honor, his own ends; he represents God as " simply seeking the satisfaction of his own selfishness, while yet He frowns on " that of every other being; his God is the very luxury of egoism."—E.

the sole, place in the testament of his spiritual daughter, still presumed to declare, with the smooth face of hypocrisy, that *he* was only the instrument of charity, and the steward of the poor. The lucrative, but disgraceful, trade,[41] which was exercised by the clergy to defraud the expectations of the natural heirs, had provoked the indignation of a superstitious age; and two of the most respectable of the Latin fathers very honestly confess, that the ignominious edict of Valentinian was just and necessary; and that the Christian priests had deserved to lose a privilege which was still enjoyed by comedians, charioteers, and the ministers of idols. But the wisdom and authority of the legislator are seldom victorious in a contest with the vigilant dexterity of private interest; and Jerome, or Ambrose, might patiently acquiesce in the justice of an ineffectual or salutary law. If the ecclesiastics were checked in the pursuit of personal emolument, they would exert a more laudable industry to increase the wealth of the church; and dignify their covetousness with the specious names of piety and patriotism.[42]

Ambition and luxury of Damasus, bishop of Rome. A. D. 366–384.

Damasus, bishop of Rome, who was constrained to stigmatize the avarice of his clergy by the publication of the law of Valentinian, had the good sense, or the good fortune, to engage in his service the zeal and abilities of the learned Jerome; and the grateful saint has celebrated the merit and purity of a very ambiguous character.[43] But the splendid vices of the church of Rome, under the reign of Valentinian and Damasus, have been curiously observed by the historian Ammianus, who delivers his impartial sense in these expressive words:—"The prefecture of Juventius was ac-"companied with peace and plenty; but the tranquillity of

[41] The expressions which I have used are temperate and feeble, if compared with the vehement invectives of *Jerom*, (tom. i. pp. 13, 45, 144, &c.) In *his* turn, he was reproached with the guilt which he imputed to his brother monks; and the *Scleratus*, the *Versipellis*, was publicly accused as the lover of the widow Paula, (tom. ii. p. 363). He undoubtedly possessed the affections, both of the mother and the daughter; but he declares that he never abused his influence to any selfish or sensual purpose.*

[42] Pudet dicere, sacerdotes idolorum, mimi et aurigæ, et scorta, hæreditates capiunt: solis *clericis* ac *monachis* hàc lege prohibetur. Et non prohibetur a persecutoribus, sed a principibus Christianis. Nec de lege queror; sed doleo cur *meruerimus* hanc legem. *Jerom.*, (tom. i. p. 13), discreetly insinuates the secret policy of his patron Damasus.

[43] Three words of Jerom, *sanctæ memoriæ Damasus*, (tom. ii. p. 109), wash away all his stains, and blind the devout eyes of Tillemont, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. viii. pp. 386–424).

* These monks frequently denounced in public, the vices they practiced in private. Each could see and condemn the mote in his brother's eye, but could not discern the beam in his own. "Follow my preaching, but do not imitate "my practice," should have been inscribed over every pulpit.—E.

"his government was soon disturbed by a bloody sedition "of the distracted people. The ardor of Damasus and "Ursinus, to seize the episcopal seat, surpassed the ordinary "measure of human ambition. They contended with the "rage of party; the quarrel was maintained by the wounds "and death of their followers; and the prefect, unable to "resist or to appease the tumult, was constrained, by "superior violence, to retire into the suburbs. Damasus "prevailed: the well-disputed victory remained on the side "of his faction: one hundred and thirty-seven dead bodies[44] "were found in the *Basilica* of Sicininus,[45] where the Chris- "tians hold their religious assemblies; and it was long "before the angry minds of the people resumed their accus- "tomed tranquillity. When I consider the splendor of the "capital, I am not astonished that so valuable a prize "should inflame the desires of ambitious men, and produce "the fiercest and most obstinate contests. The successful "candidate is secure that he will be enriched by the offer- "ings of matrons;[46] that, as soon as his dress is composed "with becoming care and elegance, he may proceed in his "chariot through the streets of Rome;[47] and that the "sumptuousness of the imperial table will not equal the "profuse and delicate entertainments provided by the taste, "and at the expense, of the Roman pontiffs. How much "more rationally," continues the honest Pagan, "would "those pontiffs consult their true happiness, if, instead of "alleging the greatness of the city as an excuse for their "manners, they would imitate the exemplary life of some "provincial bishops, whose temperance and sobriety, whose "mean apparel and downcast looks, recommend their pure

[44] Jerom himself is forced to allow, crudelissimæ interfectiones diversi sexus perpetratæ, (in *Chron.* p. 186). But an original *libel*, or petition of two presbyters of the adverse party, has unaccountably escaped. They affirm that the doors of the Basilica were burnt, and that the roof was untiled; that Damasus marched at the head of his own clergy, grave-diggers, charioteers and hired gladiators; that none of *his* party were killed, but that one hundred and sixty dead bodies were found. This petition is published by the P. Sirmond, in the first volume of his works.

[45] The *Basilica* of Sicininus, or Liberius, is probably the church of Sancta Maria Maggiore, on the Esquiline hill. Baronius, A. D. 367, No. 3; and Donatus, *Roma Antigua et Nova*, l. iv. c. 3, p. 462.*

[46] The enemies of Damasus styled him *Auriscalpius Matronarum*, the ladies' ear-scratcher.

[47] Gregory Nazianzen, (*Orat.* xxxii. p. 526), describes the pride and luxury of the prelates who reigned in the imperial cities; their gilt car, fiery steeds, numerous train, &c. The crowd gave way as to a wild beast.

* Neander, (*Hist.* vol. iii. p. 314), says, that the opponent of Damasus was called Ursinus or Urscinus. The scene of this furious onslaught was probably the church, in which he officiated and named after him, so that the Basilica *Sicinini* may be a mistake or abbreviation of *Ursinini*.—ENG. CH.

"and modest virtue to the Deity, and his true worship-"pers."[48] The schism of Damasus and Ursinus was extinguished by the exile of the latter; and the wisdom of the prefect Prætextatus[49] restored the tranquillity of the city. Prætextatus was a philosophic Pagan, a man of learning, of taste, and politeness; who disguised a reproach in the form of a jest, when he assured Damasus, that if he could obtain the bishopric of Rome, he himself would immediately embrace the Christian religion.[50] This lively picture of the wealth and luxury of the popes in the fourth century, becomes the more curious as it represents the intermediate degree between the humble poverty of the apostolic fisherman, and the royal state of a temporal prince, whose dominions extend from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po.

[48] *Ammian.* xxvii. 3. Perpetuo Numini, *verisque* ejus cultoribus. The incomparable pliancy of a polytheist! *

[49] *Ammianus*, who makes a fair report of his prefecture, (xxvii. 9), styles him præclaræ indolis, gravitatisque, senator, (xxii. 7, and *Vales.* ad loc). A curious inscription, (*Gruter MCII.* No. 2), records, in two columns, his religious and civil honors. In one line, he was pontiff of the Sun, and of Vesta, Augur, Quindecemvir, Hierophant, &c., &c. In the other, 1. Quæstor candidatus, more probably titular. 2. Prætor. 3. Corrector of Tuscany and Umbria. 4. Consular of Lusitania. 5. Proconsul of Achaia. 6. Præfect of Rome. 7. Prætorian præfect of Italy. 8. Of Illyricum. 9. Consul elect; but he died before the beginning of the year 365. See Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. pp. 241, 736.

[50] Facite me Romanæ urbis episcopum; et ero protinus Christianus, (*Jerom.* tom. ii. p. 165). It is more than probable, that Damasus would not have purchased his conversion at such a price.†

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* This passage in *Ammianus* was referred to in a former note, as exhibiting some of the traits, by which the Christian hierarchy excited Julian's hatred. The schism of Damasus and Ursinus was a continuation of that which originated in the banishment of Liberius, related by Gibbon before, when he refers to other ancient writers, who describe this disgraceful contest for episcopal power.—E. C.

† "The dissensions of the Christian Churches," says the Rev. James White, in his work, *The Eighteen Christian Centuries*, p. 114, "had added only a fresh "element of weakness to the empire of Rome. There were heretics everywhere, "supporting their opinions with bigotry and violence—Arians, Sabellians, Mon-"tanists, and fifty names besides. Torn by these parties, dishonored by pretended "conversions, the result of flattery and ambition, the Christian Church was "further weakened by the effect of wealth and luxury upon its chiefs. While "contending with rival sects upon some point of discipline or doctrine, they "made themselves so notorious for the desire of riches, and the infamous arts "they practiced to get themselves appointed heirs of the rich members of "their congregations, that a law was passed making a conveyance in favor of a "priest invalid. And it is not from Pagan enemies or heretical rivals we learn "this—it is from the letters still extant of the most honored Fathers of the "Church. One of them tells us that the Prefect Pretextatus, alluding to the "luxury of the Pontiffs, and to the magnificence of their apparel, said to Pope "Damasus, 'Make me Bishop of Rome, and I will turn Christian.' 'Far, then,' "says a Roman Catholic historian of our own day, 'from strengthening the "'Roman world with its virtues, the Christian society seemed to have adopted "'the vices it was its office to overcome.' "—E.

SATURN, RHEA, AND THE GOLDEN AGE.

In Grecian mythology Saturn or Cronos was regarded as the symbol of time—the all-destroying power that spares not its own creations—and therefore it was said that he devoured even his own offspring. From this fate Jupiter, Juno and others were preserved by the artifice of their mother Rhea, who deceived Saturn by giving him a stone placed in swaddling-clothes instead of her new-born child. After his dethronement by Jupiter, Saturn went to Italy, then called Latium,—

"The name Saturnia thence this land did bear,
"And Latium too, because he sheltered here."—*Ovid.*

Assisted by king Janus, Saturn civilized the Latini, or Latin race, taught the liberal and useful arts, and established the golden age of justice and equality.

"The men dispers'd on hills to town he brought,
"The laws ordain'd and civil customs taught.
"With his wild empire, peace and plenty came,
"And hence the golden times deriv'd their name."—*Virgil.*

THE ORIGIN OF THE GODS.

"Thou shalt not revile the gods."—Exodus xxii: 28.

IN the beginning, says Moritz, CHAOS and sable-vested NIGHT were the ancestors of NATURE. From them arose the vast EARTH, and gloomy EREBUS, and CUPID also,—the fairest of the immortals. Thus, form and beauty arise out of shapelessness and deformity—light springs from darkness. NOX marries EREBUS, the old seat of gloom, and the offspring of their union are ÆTHER and DAY. EARTH produces URANOS or the Sky, and the MOUNTAINS, and PONTUS or the Sea; who weds URANOS, from which union come the hundred-armed GIANTS, the monstrous CYCLOPS, and the ambitious TITANS; the youngest of whom is known as SATURN or CHRONOS, the venerable father of JUPITER, NEPTUNE and PLUTO.

"Thus," says William Burder, B. A., in *The History of All Religions of the World*, p. 639, "the obscure fiction of the poets agrees with the inspired account "given us by Moses: 'And the earth was without form and void, and darkness "'was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of "'the waters. And God said, Let there be light, and there was light.'"

The resemblance between these myths is apparent, and suggests a common origin. "Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians;" and the Jews, when they decamped from Egypt, borrowed not only the jewelry of their masters, but also a knowledge of the arts, science, philosophy and religion of the Egyptians.

"These ancient gods," continues Moritz, "have retreated behind mysterious "clouds and mist, through which they appear but dimly, while the modern "deities maintain their place in the dominion of fancy; and, by means of the "plastic art, gain distinct forms, by which their embodied power and majesty "becomes to mortals an object of veneration in temples and sacred groves."

The god SATURN, robbed of his power and authority by his warlike children,

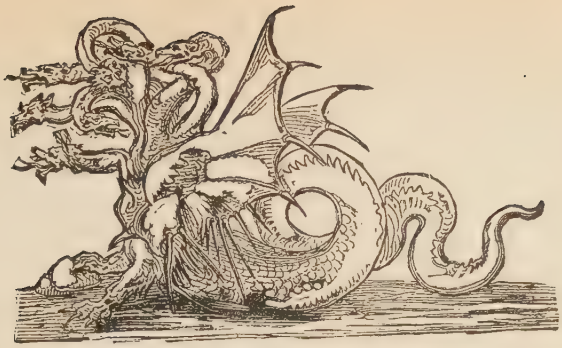
"Fled over Adria to the Hesperian fields,"

and, in the quiet plains of Latium, inaugurated the *golden age*, "that happy period," says Moritz, "when mankind lived in a state of perfect equality, and "all things were in common." (*Acts* ii: 44-46.) "The reign of SATURN was "called the golden age," says Burder, "The earth produced subsistance for its "inhabitants without culture; war was unknown; *all things were in common;* "and ASTREA, the goddess of Justice, ruled over the actions of men."

"They at their own sweet will
"Pursued in peace the tasks that seemed them good,
"Laden with blessings, rich in flocks, and dear
"To the great gods." *Hesiod.*

"At that happy time," says Moritz, "when liberty and equality, justice and "virtue, still were reigning, men lived, like the gods, in perfect security, without "pains or cares, and exempt from the burden of old age. The soil of the earth gave "them fruits, without being painfully cultivated; unacquainted with sickness, "they died away as if overtaken by a sweet slumber; and, when the lap of the "earth received their dust, the souls of the deceased, enveloped in light air, "remained as genii with the survivors. The whole religion of the ancients, "was a religion of the imagination, and not of reason. Their Mythology is a "beautiful dream, which certainly has much signification and connexion in "it; giving also, from time to time, some sublime views, in which, however, the "accuracy and certainty of the ideas of a waking state ought not to be expected."

Saturn is pictured as an old man holding in his hand the scythe of time which ultimately destroys all things. His feasts, called Saturnalia, began on Dec. 19, and were seasons of joy and festivity, the distinction between master and servant being abolished in memory of that liberty which all enjoyed during Saturn's reign when there was no servitude. His priests were clothed in scarlet garments, and placed on his altars lighted tapers, because, says Andrew Tooke, (*Pantheon of the Gods.*) "by Saturn men were brought from the darkness of error to the light of truth."—E.



The Great Red Dragon.*

VIII.

DEATH OF GRATIAN.—RUIN OF ARIANISM.—ST. AMBROSE.—CHARACTER, ADMINISTRATION, AND PENANCE, OF THEODOSIUS.†

Baptism and orthodox edicts of Theodosius. A. D. 380. Feb. 28.

THE contempt of Gratian for the Roman soldiers had exposed him to the fatal effects of their resentment. His profound veneration for the Christian clergy was rewarded by the applause and gratitude of a powerful order, which has claimed, in every age, the privilege of dispensing honors, both on earth and in heaven.[1] The orthodox bishops bewailed his death, and their own irreparable loss; but they were soon comforted by the discovery that Gratian had committed the sceptre of the east to the hands of a prince, whose humble faith and fervent zeal were supported by the spirit and abilities of a more vigorous character. Among the benefactors of the church,

1 Their oracle, the archbishop of Milan, assigns to his pupil Gratian a high and respectable place in heaven, (tom. ii. de obit. *Val. Consol.* p. 1193).

*This fabled monster is described by St. John, (Rev. xii: 3, 4,) as "having seven "heads and ten horns; and his tail [being quite elastic, prehensile, and muscular,] "drew the third part of the stars from heaven, and did cast them to the earth."

This extraordinary performance far transcends the puerile inventions of Grecian mythology, and demands for credence the exercise of a most vigorous and robust faith. Novelists have remarked that "truth seems stranger than fiction," and it cannot be denied that the greatest fiction would seem plausible in comparison with this "truth." Let us therefore exhibit proper respect for the prowess of this heavenly visitant, and remain devoutly thankful that but one of these "great red dragons" was permitted to vex the solar system, and that we have still two-thirds of the stars, a few comets, the sun, the moon, and all the planets remaining intact in our firmament.—E.

† From Ch. xxvii. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

the fame of Constantine has been rivalled by the glory of Theodosius. If Constantine had the advantage of erecting the standard of the cross, the emulation of his successor assumed the merit of subduing the Arian heresy, and of abolishing the worship of idols in the Roman world. Theodosius was the first of the emperors baptized in the true faith of the Trinity. Although he was born of a Christian family, the maxims, or at least the practice, of the age, encouraged him to delay the ceremony of his initiation, till he was admonished of the danger of delay, by the serious illness which threatened his life, towards the end of the first year of his reign. Before he again took the field against the Goths, he received the sacrament of baptism[2] from Acholius, the orthodox bishop of Thessalonica ;[3] and, as the emperor ascended from the holy font, still glowing with the warm feelings of regeneration, he dictated a solemn edict, which proclaimed his own faith, and prescribed the religion of his subjects. "It is our pleasure" (such is the imperial style) "that all the nations which are governed by our "clemency and moderation, should steadfastly adhere to "the religion which was taught by St. Peter to the Romans; "which faithful tradition has preserved, and which is now "professed by the pontiff Damasus, and by Peter, bishop "of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According "to the discipline of the apostles and the doctrine of the "gospel, let us believe the sole deity of the Father, the Son, "and the Holy Ghost; under an equal majesty and a pious "Trinity. We authorize the followers of this doctrine to "assume the title of Catholic Christians; and as we judge "that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them "with the infamous name of heretics; and declare, that "their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable "appellation of churches. Besides the condemnation of "Divine justice, they must expect to suffer the severe pen-"alties, which our authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, "shall think proper to inflict upon them."[4] The faith of a soldier is commonly the fruit of instruction, rather than of

[2] For the baptism of Theodosius, see *Sozomen*, (l. vii. c. 4), *Socrates*, (l. v. c. 6), and Tillemont, (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 728).

[3] Ascolius, or Acholius, was honored by the friendship, and the praises of Ambrose; who styles him murus fidei atque sanctitatis, (tom. ii. *Epist.* xv. p. 820); and afterwards celebrates his speed and diligence in running to Constantinople, Italy, &c., (*Epist.* xvi. p. 822): a virtue which does not appertain either to a *wall*, or a *bishop*.

[4] *Codex Theodos.* l. xvi. tit. i. leg. 2, with Godefroy's *Commentary*, tom. vi. pp. 5-9. Such an edict deserved the warmest praises of Baronius, auream sanctionem, edictum pium et salutare.—Sic itur ad astra.

inquiry; but as the emperor always fixed his eyes on the visible land-marks of orthodoxy, which he had so prudently constituted, his religious opinions were never affected by the specious texts, the subtle arguments, and the ambiguous creeds, of the Arian doctors. Once indeed he expressed a faint inclination to converse with the eloquent and learned Eunomius, who lived in retirement at a small distance from Constantinople. But the dangerous interview was prevented by the prayers of the empress Flaccilla, who trembled for the salvation of her husband, and the mind of Theodosius was confirmed by a theological argument, adapted to the rudest capacity. He had lately bestowed on his eldest son, Arcadius, the name and honors of Augustus; and the two princes were seated on a stately throne to receive the homage of their subjects. A bishop, Amphilochius of Iconium, approached the throne, and after saluting, with due reverence, the person of his sovereign, he accosted the royal youth with the same familiar tenderness, which he might have used towards a plebian child. Provoked by this insolent behavior, the monarch gave orders that the rustic priest should be instantly driven from his presence. But while the guards were forcing him to the door, the dexterous polemic had time to execute his design, by exclaiming, with a loud voice,—"Such is the treatment, O emperor! which "the King of heaven has prepared for those impious men, "who affect to worship the Father, but refuse to acknowl- "edge the equal majesty of his divine Son." Theodosius immediately embraced the bishop of Iconium; and never forgot the important lesson, which he had received from this dramatic parable.[5]

Arianism of Constantinople. A. D. 340–348.

Constantinople was the principal seat and fortress of Arianism; and, in a long interval of forty years,[6] the faith of the princes and prelates who reigned in the capital of the East, was rejected in the purer schools of Rome and Alexandria. The

[5] *Sozomen*, l. vii. c. 6. *Theodoret*, l. v. c. 16. Tillemont is displeased, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. vi. pp. 627, 628), with the terms of "rustic bishop," "obscure city." Yet I must take leave to think, that both Amphilochius and Iconium were objects of inconsiderable magnitude in the Roman empire.*

[6] *Sozomen*, l. vii. c. v. *Socrates*, l. v. c. 7. Marcellin. in *Chron.* The account of forty years must be dated from the election or intrusion of Eusebius, who wisely exchanged the bishopric of Nicomedia for the throne of Constantinople.

* Amphilochius set a higher value on himself as a pillar of the church. Among the busy bishops of that age, he distinguished himself as a foe to heretics; attended sedulously the synods held against them, and presided, in 383, at that of Sida, to condemn a foolish fraternity of itinerant monks, known by the now almost forgotten name of Messalians.—ENG. CH.

archiepiscopal throne of Macedonius, which had been polluted with so much Christian blood, was successively filled by Eudoxus and Damophilus. Their diocese enjoyed a free importation of vice and error from every province of the empire; the eager pursuit of religious controversy afforded a new occupation to the busy idleness of the metropolis: and we may credit the assertion of an intelligent observer, who describes, with some pleasantry, the effects of their loquacious zeal. "This city," says he, "is "full of mechanics and slaves, who are all of them profound "theologians; and preach in the shops, and in the streets. "If you desire a man to change a piece of silver, he in- "forms you wherein the Son differs from the Father; if "you ask the price of a loaf, you are told, by way of reply, "that the Son is inferior to the Father; and if you inquire "whether the bath is ready, the answer is, that the Son "was made out of nothing."[7] The heretics, of various denominations, subsisted in peace under the protection of the Arians of Constantinople; who endeavored to secure the attachment of those obscure sectaries; while they abused, with unrelenting severity, the victory which they had obtained over the followers of the council of Nice. During the partial reigns of Constantius and Valens, the feeble remnant of the Homoousians was deprived of the public and private exercise of their religion: and it has been observed, in pathetic language, that the scattered flock was without a shepherd to wander on the mountains, or to be devoured by rapacious wolves.[8] But, as their zeal, instead of being subdued, derived strength and vigor from oppression, they seized the first moments of imperfect freedom, which they had acquired by the death of Valens, to form themselves into a regular congregation, under the conduct of an episcopal pastor. Two natives of Cappadocia, Basil, and Gregory Nazianzen,[9] were distinguished above all their contemporaries,[10]

Gregory Nazianzen.

[7] See Jortin's *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv. p. 71. The thirty-third *Oration* of Gregory Nazianzen affords indeed some similar ideas, even some still more ridiculous; but I have not yet found the *words* of this remarkable passage, which I allege on the faith of a correct and liberal scholar.

[8] See the thirty-second *Oration* of Gregory Nazianzen, and the account of his own life, which he has composed in 1800 iambics. Yet every physician is prone to exaggerate the inveterate nature of the disease which he has cured.

[9] I confess myself deeply indebted to the *two* lives of Gregory Nazianzen, composed, with very different views, by Tillemont, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. ix. pp. 305–560, 692–731), and Le Clerc, (*Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom xviii. pp. 1–128).

[10] Unless Gregory Nazianzen mistook thirty years in his own age, he was born, as well as his friend Basil, about the year 329. The preposterous chronology of Suidas has been graciously received, because it removes the scandal of Gregory's

by the rare union of profane eloquence and of orthodox piety. These orators, who might sometimes be compared, by themselves, and by the public, to the most celebrated of the ancient Greeks, were united by the ties of the strictest friendship. They had cultivated, with equal ardor, the same liberal studies in the schools of Athens; they had retired, with equal devotion, to the same solitude in the deserts of Pontus; and every spark of emulation, or envy, appeared to be totally extinguished in the holy and ingenuous breasts of Gregory and Basil. But the exaltation of Basil from a private life to the archiepiscopal throne of Cæsarea, discovered to the world, and perhaps to himself, the pride of his character; and the first favor which he condescended to bestow on his friend was received, and perhaps was intended, as a cruel insult.[11] Instead of employing the superior talents of Gregory in some useful and conspicuous station, the haughty prelate selected, among the fifty bishoprics of his extensive province, the wretched village of Sasima,[12] without water, without verdure, without society, situate at the junction of three highways, and frequented only by the incessant passage of rude and clamorous wagoners. Gregory submitted with reluctance to this humiliating exile; he was ordained bishop of Sasima; but he solemnly protests, that he never consummated his spiritual marriage with this disgusting bride. He afterwards consented to undertake the government of his native church of Nazianzus,[13] of which his father had been bishop above

father, a saint likewise, begetting children after he became a bishop. (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. ix. pp. 693–697).

11 Gregory's *Poem* on his own life contains some beautiful lines, (tom. ii. p. 8), which burst from the heart, and speak the pangs of injured and lost friendship:—

* * * πόνοι κοίνοι λόγων,
Ὁμόστεγός τε καὶ συνέστιος βίος,
Νοῦς εἷς ἐν ἀμφοῖν * * *
Διεσκέδασται πάντα, κἄρριπται χαμαι,
Αὖραι φέρουσι τὰς παλαιας ἐλπίδας.

In the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Helena addresses the same pathetic complaint to her friend Hermia:—

Is all the counsel that we two have shared,
The sister's vows, &c.

Shakespeare had never read the poems of Gregory Nazianzen; he was ignorant of the Greek language; but his mother tongue, the language of Nature, is the same in Cappadocia and in Britain.

12 This unfavorable portrait of Sasimæ is drawn by *Gregory Nazianzen*, (tom. ii. de Vita sua, pp. 7, 8). Its precise situation, forty-nine miles from Archelais, and thirty-two from Tyana, is fixed in the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, (p. 144, edit. Wesseling).

13 The name of Nazianzus has been immortalized by Gregory; but his native town, under the Greek or Roman title of Diocæsarea, (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. ix. p. 692), is mentioned by Pliny, (vi. 3). Ptolemy, and Hierocles, (*Itinerar* Wesseling, p. 709). It appears to have been situate on the edge of Isauria.

Accepts the mission of Constantinople. A.D. 378. Nov.

five-and-forty years. But as he was still conscious that he deserved another audience and another theatre, he accepted, with no unworthy ambition, the honorable invitation which was addressed to him from the orthodox party of Constantinople. On his arrival in the capital, Gregory was entertained in the house of a pious and charitable kinsman; the most spacious room was consecrated to the uses of religious worship; and the name of *Anastasia* was chosen to express the resurrection of the Nicene faith. This private conventicle was afterwards converted into a magnificent church; and the credulity of the succeeding age was prepared to believe the miracles and visions, which attested the presence, or at least the protection, of the mother of God.[14] The pulpit of the Anastasia was the scene of the labors and triumphs of Gregory Nazianzen; and, in the space of two years, he experienced all the spiritual adventures which constitute the prosperous or adverse fortunes of a missionary.[15] The Arians, who were provoked by the boldness of his enterprise, represented his doctrine, as if he had preached three distinct and equal deities; and the devout populace was excited to suppress, by violence and tumult, the irregular assemblies of the Athanasian heretics. From the cathedral of St. Sophia, there issued a motley crowd "of common "beggars, who had forfeited their claim to pity; of monks, "who had the appearance of goats or satyrs; and of women, "more terrible than so many Jezebels." The doors of the Anastasia were broken open; much mischief was perpetrated, or attempted, with sticks, stones, and firebrands; and as a man lost his life in the affray, Gregory, who was summoned the next morning before the magistrate, had the satisfaction of supposing that he publicly confessed the name of Christ. After he was delivered from the fear and danger of a foreign enemy, his infant church was disgraced and distracted by intestine faction. A stranger, who assumed the name of Maximus,[16] and the cloak of a Cynic philosopher, insinuated himself into the confidence of Gregory; deceived and abused his favorable opinion; and, forming a secret con-

[14] See Ducange, *Constant. Christiana*, l. iv. pp. 141, 142. The Θεία δύναμις of *Sozomen*, (l. vii. c. 5), is interpreted to mean the Virgin Mary.

[15] Tillemont, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. ix. p. 432, &c.), diligently collects, enlarges, and explains, the oratorical and poetical hints of Gregory himself.

[16] He pronounced an oration, (tom. i. *Orat.* xxiii. p. 409), in his praise; but after their quarrel, the name of Maximus was changed into that of Heron, (see *Jerom.* tom. i. in *Catalog. Script. Eccles.* p. 301). I touch lightly on these obscure and personal squabbles.

nexion with some bishops of Egypt, attempted, by a clandestine ordination, to supplant his patron in the episcopal seat of Constantinople. These mortifications might sometimes tempt the Cappadocian missionary to regret his obscure solitude. But his fatigues were rewarded by the daily increase of his fame and his congregation; and he enjoyed the pleasure of observing, that the greater part of his numerous audience retired from his sermons satisfied with the eloquence of the preacher,[17] or dissatisfied with the manifold imperfections of their faith and practice.[18]

Ruin of Arianism at Constantinople, A. D. 380. Nov. 26.

The Catholics of Constantinople were animated with joyful confidence by the baptism and edict of Theodosius; and they impatiently waited the effects of his gracious promise. Their hopes were speedily accomplished; and the emperor, as soon as he had finished the operations of the campaign, made his public entry into the capital at the head of a victorious army. The next day after his arrival, he summoned Damophilus to his presence; and offered that Arian prelate the hard alternative of subscribing the Nicene creed, or of instantly resigning, to the orthodox believers, the use and possession of the episcopal palace, the cathedral of St. Sophia, and all the churches of Constantinople. The zeal of Damophilus, which in a Catholic saint would have been justly applauded, embraced without hesitation a life of poverty and exile,[19] and his removal was immediately followed by the purification of the imperial city. The Arians might complain with some appearance of justice, that an inconsiderable congregation of sectaries should usurp the hundred churches, which they were insufficient to fill; whilst the far greater part of the people was cruelly excluded from every place of religious worship. Theodosius was still inexorable; but as the angels who protected the Catholic cause were only visible to the eyes of faith, he prudently reinforced those heavenly legions with the more effectual aid of temporal and carnal weapons; and the church of St. Sophia was occupied by a large body of the

17 Under the modest emblem of a dream, Gregory, (tom. ii. *Carmen* ix. p. 78), describes his own success with some human complacency. Yet it should seem, from his familiar conversation with his auditor, St. Jerom, (tom. i. *Epist. ad Nepotian*, p. 14), that the preacher understood the true value of popular applause.

18 Lachrymæ auditorum laudes tuæ sint, is the lively and judicious advice of St. Jerom.

19 *Socrates*, (l. v. c. 7), and *Sozomen*, (l. vii. c. 5), relate the evangelical words and actions of Damophilus without a word of approbation. He considered, says Socrates, that it is difficult to *resist* the powerful, but it was easy, and would have been profitable, to *submit*.

imperial guards. If the mind of Gregory was susceptible of pride, he must have felt a very lively satisfaction when the emperor conducted him through the streets in solemn triumph; and, with his own hand, respectfully placed him on the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople. But the saint (who had not subdued the imperfections of human virtue) was deeply affected by the mortifying consideration, that his entrance into the fold was that of a wolf, rather than of a shepherd; that the glittering arms which surrounded his person were necessary for his safety; and that he alone was the object of the imprecations of a great party, whom, as men and citizens, it was impossible for him to despise. He beheld the innumerable multitude of either sex, and of every age, who crowded the streets, the windows, and the roofs of the houses; he heard the tumultuous voice of rage, grief, astonishment, and despair; and Gregory fairly confesses, that on the memorable day of his installation, the capital of the east wore the appearance of a city taken by storm, and in the hands of a barbarian conqueror.[20] About six weeks afterwards, Theodosius declared his resolution of expelling from all the churches of his dominions, the bishops and their clergy, who should obstinately refuse to believe, or at least to profess, the doctrine of the council of Nice. His lieutenant Sapor was armed with the ample powers of a general law, a special commission, and a military force;[21] and this ecclesiastical revolution was conducted with so much discretion and vigor, that the religion of the emperor was established, without tumult or bloodshed, in all the provinces of the east. The writings of the Arians, if they had been permitted to exist,[22] would perhaps contain the lamentable story of the persecution, which afflicted the church under the reign of the impious Theodosius; and the sufferings of *their* holy confessors might claim the pity of the disinterested reader. Yet there is reason to imagine, that the violence of zeal and revenge was, in some measure, eluded

In the East. A. D. 381. Jan. 10.

[20] See *Gregory Nazianzen*, tom. ii. de Vita sua, pp. 21, 22. For the sake of posterity, the bishop of Constantinople records a stupendous prodigy. In the month of November, it was a cloudy morning, but the sun broke forth when the procession entered the church.

[21] Of the three ecclesiastical historians, Theodoret alone, (l. v. c. 2), has mentioned this important commission of Sapor, which Tillemont, (*Hist. des Empereurs*, tom. v. p. 728), judiciously removes from the reign of Gratian to that of Theodosius.

[22] I do not reckon Philostorgius, though he mentions, (l. ix. c. 19), the expulsion of Damophilus. The Eunomian historian has been carefully strained through an orthodox sieve.

by the want of resistance; and that, in their adversity, the Arians displayed much less firmness than had been exerted by the orthodox party under the reigns of Constantius and Valens. The moral character and conduct of the hostile sects appear to have been governed by the same common principles of nature and religion; but a very material circumstance may be discovered, which tended to distinguish the degrees of their theological faith. Both parties in the schools, as well as in the temples, acknowledged and worshipped the divine majesty of Christ; and, as we are always prone to impute our own sentiments and passions to the Deity, it would be deemed more prudent and respectful to exaggerate, than to circumscribe, the adorable perfections of the Son of God. The disciple of Athanasius exulted in the proud confidence, that he had entitled himself to the divine favor; while the follower of Arius must have been tormented by the secret apprehension, that he was guilty, perhaps of an unpardonable offence, by the scanty praise, and parsimonious honors, which he bestowed on the Judge of the world. The opinions of Arianism might satisfy a cold and speculative mind; but the doctrine of the Nicene creed, most powerfully recommended by the merits of faith and devotion, was much better adapted to become popular and successful in a believing age.

The council of Constantinople. A.D. 381. May.

The hope that truth and wisdom would be found in the assemblies of the orthodox clergy, induced the emperor to convene, at Constantinople, a synod of one hundred and fifty bishops, who proceeded, without much difficulty or delay, to complete the theological system which had been established in the council of Nice. The vehement disputes of the fourth century had been chiefly employed on the nature of the Son of God; and the various opinions which were embraced concerning the *Second*, were extended and transferred, by a natural analogy, to a *Third*, person of the Trinity.[23] Yet it was found, or it was thought, necessary, by the victorious adversaries of Arianism, to explain the ambiguous language of some respectable doctors; to confirm the faith of the Catholics, and to condemn an unpopular and inconsistent

[23] Le Clerc has given a curious extract, (*Bibliothèque Universelle*, tom. xviii. pp. 91–105), of the theological sermons which Gregory Nazianzen pronounced at Constantinople against the Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians, &c. He tells the Macedonians, who deified the Father and the Son without the Holy Ghost, that they might as well be styled *Tritheists* as *Ditheists*. Gregory himself was almost a Tritheist; and his monarchy of heaven resembles a well-regulated aristocracy.

sect of Macedonians, who freely admitted that the Son was consubstantial to the Father, while they were fearful of seeming to acknowledge the existence of *Three* Gods. A final and unanimous sentence was pronounced to ratify the equal Deity of the Holy Ghost; the mysterious doctrine has been received by all the nations, and all the churches of the Christian world; and their grateful reverence has assigned to the bishops of Theodosius, the second rank among the general councils.[24] Their knowledge of religious truth may have been preserved by tradition, or it may have been communicated by inspiration; but the sober evidence of history will not allow much weight to the personal authority of the fathers of Constantinople. In an age when the ecclesiastics had scandalously degenerated from the model of apostolical purity, the most worthless and corrupt were always the most eager to frequent, and disturb, the episcopal assemblies. The conflict and fermentation of so many opposite interests and tempers inflamed the passions of the bishops; and their ruling passions were the love of gold, and the love of dispute. Many of the same prelates, who now applauded the orthodox piety of Theodosius, had repeatedly changed, with prudent flexibility, their creeds and opinions; and in the various revolutions of the church and state, the religion of their sovereign was the rule of their obsequious faith. When the emperor suspended his prevailing influence, the turbulent synod was blindly impelled by the absurd or selfish motives of pride, hatred, and resentment. The death of Meletius, which happened at the council of Constantinople, presented the most favorable opportunity of terminating the schism of Antioch, by suffering his aged rival, Paulinus, peaceably to end his days in the episcopal chair. The faith and virtues of Paulinus were unblemished. But his cause was supported by the western churches; and the bishops of the synod resolved to perpetuate the mischiefs of discord, by the hasty ordination of a perjured candidate,[25] rather than to betray the imagined dignity of the East, which had been illustrated by the birth and

[24] The first general council of Constantinople now triumphs in the Vatican; but the popes had long hesitated, and their hesitation perplexes, and almost staggers, the humble Tillemont, (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. ix. pp. 499, 500).

[25] Before the death of Meletius, six or eight of his most popular ecclesiastics, among whom was Flavian, had *abjured*, for the sake of peace, the bishopric of Antioch, (*Sozomen*, l. vii. c. 3, 11. *Socrates*, l. v. c. v.). Tillemont thinks it his duty to disbelieve the story; but he owns that there are many circumstances in the life of Flavian which *seem* inconsistent with the praises of Chrysostom, and the character of a saint, (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. x. p. 541).

death of the Son of God. Such unjust and disorderly proceedings forced the gravest members of the assembly to dissent and to secede; and the clamorous majority, which remained masters of the field of battle, could be compared only to wasps or magpies, to a flight of cranes, or to a flock of geese.[26]

Retreat of Gregory Nazianzen. A. D. 381.

A suspicion may possibly arise, that so unfavorable a picture of ecclesiastical synods has been drawn by the partial hand of some obstinate heretic, or some malicious infidel. But the name of the sincere historian, who has conveyed this instructive lesson to the knowledge of posterity, must silence the impotent murmurs of superstition and bigotry. He was one of the most pious and eloquent bishops of the age; a saint and a doctor of the church; the scourge of Arianism, and the pillar of the orthodox faith; a distinguished member of the council of Constantinople, in which, after the death of Meletius, he exercised the functions of president; in a word—Gregory Nazianzen himself. The harsh[27] and un-

[26] Consult *Gregory Nazianzen*, de Vita sua, tom. ii. pp. 25–28. His general and particular opinion of the clergy and their assemblies may be seen in verse and prose, (tom. i. *Orat.* i. p. 33. *Epist.* lv. p. 814, tom ii. *Carmen.* x. p. 81). Such passages are faintly marked by Tillemont, and fairly produced by Le Clerc.*

[27] See *Gregory*, tom. ii. de Vita sua, p. 28–31. The fourteenth, twenty-seventh, and thirty-second orations were pronounced in the several stages of this business. The peroration of the last, (tom. i. p. 528), in which he takes a solemn leave of men and angels, the city and the emperor, the east and the west, is pathetic, and almost sublime.†

* The following passage in the *Epist.* 55, ad Procop. was, no doubt, looked at askance by Tillemont, and might appropriately have been adduced by Gibbon. "I am so constituted," these are Gregory's words, "that to speak the truth, I "dread every assembly of bishops; for I have never yet seen a good result from "any one of them—never have been at a synod which did more for the suppres-"sion than it did for the increase of evils. An indescribable thirst for contention "and for rule prevails in them." So wrote a bishop of his own order, in the yet not half-developed luxuriance of its vices.—ENG CH.

† Rare instances of moderation and virtue are often paraded before us, as evidence of the general conduct of a class and claims on our respect for all its members, while a discreet veil is thrown over the thousand examples of opposite extremes in which its true character is displayed. The quiet retirement of Damophilus from the archiepiscopal throne of Constantinople, and the dignified resignation of Gregory, are like transient gleams of sunshine amid the gloom of November, cheering to the eye, but no proof of summer. It is in the universal eagerness with which episcopates were sought, in the turbulent violence with which they were contended for, in the sometimes pliant, sometimes defiant tenacity with which they were clung to, and in the cunning, or audacious arrogance with which they were exercised, that we recognize the true spirit of the ancient hierarchy. This they infused into their subordinate ranks, and so directed every movement of the social system. In like manner, special cases are selected, to show how the same power occasionally interfered to protect the oppressed, to restrain licentious tyranny, or favor learning; and we are told to measure its influence by this standard. It is not so that a sterling or profitable and practical knowledge can be acquired. Look at the whole course of time; understand its current; see how it was impelled, guided, diverted, or obstructed, and then explore the cause of ascertained effects. To study the events that you are here surveying, mark the ruling agency of the times, however concealed within its own dark folds, and then you will find the workers of weal or woe. Particular deviations and individual exceptions must not be allowed to draw our attention from observing predominant tendencies.—ENG. CH.

generous treatment which he experienced, instead of derogating from the truth of his evidence, affords an additional proof of the spirit which actuated the deliberations of the synod. Their unanimous suffrage had confirmed the pretensions which the bishop of Constantinople derived from the choice of the people, and the approbation of the emperor. But Gregory soon became the victim of malice and envy. The bishops of the east, his strenuous adherents, provoked by his moderation in the affairs of Antioch, abandoned him, without support, to the adverse faction of the Egyptians; who disputed the validity of his election, and rigorously asserted the obsolete canon, that prohibited the licentious practice of episcopal translations. The pride, or the humility, of Gregory prompted him to decline a contest which might have been imputed to ambition and avarice; and he publicly offered, not without some mixture of indignation, to renounce the government of a church which had been restored, and almost created by his labors. His resignation was accepted by the synod, and by the emperor, with more readiness than he seems to have expected. At the time when he might have hoped to enjoy the fruits of his victory, his episcopal throne was filled by the senator Nectarius; and the new archbishop, accidentally recommended by his easy temper and venerable aspect, was obliged to delay the ceremony of his consecration, till he had previously dispatched the rites of his baptism.[28] After this remarkable experience of the ingratitude of princes and prelates, Gregory retired once more to his obscure solitude of Cappadocia; where he employed the remainder of his life, about eight years, in the exercise of poetry and devotion. The title of saint has been added to his name; but the tenderness of his heart,[29] and the elegance of his genius, reflect a more pleasing lustre on the memory of Gregory Nazianzen.

Edicts of Theodosius against the heretics, A. D. 380-394.

It was not enough that Theodosius had suppressed the insolent reign of Arianism, or that he had abundantly revenged the injuries which the Catholics sustained from the zeal of Con-

[28] The whimsical ordination of Nectarius is attested by *Sozomen*, (l. vii. c. 8); but Tillemont observes, (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. ix. p. 719), Après tout, ce narré de Sozomène est si honteux pour tous ceux qu'il y mele, et surtout pour Théodose, qu'il vaut mieux travailler à le détruire, qu'à le soutenir; an admirable canon of criticism!

[29] I can only be understood to mean, that such was his natural temper, when it was not hardened, or inflamed, by religious zeal. From his retirement, he exhorts Nectarius to prosecute the heretics of Constantinople.

stantius and Valens. The orthodox emperor considered every heretic as a rebel against the supreme powers of heaven and of earth; and each of those powers might exercise their peculiar jurisdiction over the soul and body of the guilty. The decrees of the council of Constantinople had ascertained the true standard of the faith; and the ecclesiastics who governed the conscience of Theodosius, suggested the most effectual methods of persecution. In the space of fifteen years, he promulgated at least fifteen severe edicts against the heretics;[30] more especially against those who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity; and, to deprive them of every hope of escape, he sternly enacted, that if any laws or rescripts should be alleged in their favor, the judges should consider them as the illegal productions either of fraud or forgery. The penal statutes were directed against the ministers, the assemblies, and the persons of the heretics; and the passions of the legislator were expressed in the language of declamation and invective. I. The heretical teachers, who usurped the sacred titles of bishops or presbyters, were not only excluded from the privileges and emoluments so liberally granted to the orthodox clergy, but they were exposed to the heavy penalties of exile and confiscation, if they presumed to preach the doctrine, or to practice the rites, of their *accursed* sects. A fine of ten pounds of gold (above four hundred pounds sterling) was imposed on every person who should dare to confer, or receive, or promote, an heretical ordination: and it was reasonably expected, that if the race of pastors could be extinguished, their helpless flocks would be compelled, by ignorance and hunger, to return within the pale of the Catholic church. II. The rigorous prohibition of conventicles was carefully extended to every possible circumstance, in which the heretics could assemble with the intention of worshiping God and Christ according to the dictates of their conscience. Their religious meetings, whether public or secret, by day or by night, in cities or in the country, were equally proscribed by the edicts of Theodosius; and the building, or ground, which had been used for that illegal purpose, was forfeited to the imperial domain. III. It was supposed, that the error of the heretics could proceed only from the obstinate temper of their minds; and that such a temper was a fit object of censure and punish-

[30] See the *Theodosian Code*, l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 6–23, with Godefroy's commentary on each law, and his general summary, or *Paratitlon*, tom. vi. pp. 104–110.

ment. The anathemas of the church were fortified by a sort of civil excommunication; which separated them from their fellow-citizens, by a peculiar brand of infamy; and this declaration of the supreme magistrate tended to justify, or at least to excuse, the insults of a frantic populace. The sectaries were gradually disqualified for the possession of honorable or lucrative employments; and Theodosius was satisfied with his own justice when he decreed that as the Eunomians distinguished the nature of the Son from that of the Father, they should be incapable of making their wills, or of receiving any advantage from testamentary donations. The guilt of the Manichæan heresy was esteemed of such magnitude, that it could be expiated only by the death of the offender; and the same capital punishment was inflicted on the Audians, or *Quartodecimans*,[31] who should dare to perpetrate the atrocious crime of celebrating, on an improper day, the festival of Easter. Every Roman might exercise the right of public accusation; but the office of *Inquisitor of the Faith*, a name so deservedly abhorred, was first instituted under the reign of Theodosius. Yet we are assured that the execution of his penal edicts was seldom enforced; and that the pious emperor appeared less desirous to punish, than to reclaim or terrify, his refractory subjects.[32]

Execution of Priscillian and his associates, A. D. 385.

The theory of persecution was established by Theodosius, whose justice and piety have been applauded by the saints; but the practice of it, in the fullest extent, was reserved for his rival and colleague, Maximus,* the first, among the Christian princes, who shed the blood of his Christian subjects on account of their religious opinions. The cause of the Priscillianists,[33] a recent sect of heretics, who disturbed the provinces of Spain, was transferred, by appeal, from the synod of Bordeaux to the imperial consistory of Treves; and by the sentence of the Prætorian præfect, seven persons

31 They always kept their Easter, like the Jewish Passover, on the fourteenth day of the first moon after the vernal equinox; and thus pertinaciously opposed the Roman Church and Nicene synod, which had *fixed* Easter to a Sunday. Bingham's *Antiquities*, l. xx. c. 5, vol. ii. p. 309, fol. edit.

32 *Sozomen*, l. vii. c. 12.

33 See the *Sacred History of Sulpicius Severus*, (l. ii. pp. 437-452, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647), a correct and original writer. Dr. Lardner, (*Credibility*, &c., part ii. vol. ix. pp. 256–350), has labored this article with pure learning, good sense, and moderation. Tillemont, (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. viii. pp. 491–527), has raked together all the dirt of the fathers; a useful scavenger!

* The theory of persecution was established by Theodosius—the practice, by Maximus—neither of whom were Pagans.—E.

were tortured, condemned, and executed. The first of these was Priscillian[34] himself, bishop of Avila,[35] in Spain; who adorned the advantages of birth and fortune, by the accomplishments of eloquence and learning. Two presbyters, and two deacons, accompanied their beloved master in his death, which they esteemed as a glorious martyrdom; and the number of religious victims was completed by the execution of Latronian, a poet, who rivalled the fame of the ancients; and of Euchrocia, a noble matron of Bordeaux, the widow of the orator Delphidius.[36] Two bishops, who had embraced the sentiments of Priscillian, were condemned to a distant and dreary exile;[37] and some indulgence was shown to the meaner criminals, who assumed the merit of an early repentance. If any credit could be allowed to confessions extorted by fear or pain, and to vague reports, the offspring of malice and credulity, the heresy of the Priscillianists would be found to include the various abominations of magic, of impiety, and of lewdness.[38] Priscillian, who wandered about the world in the company of his spiritual sisters, was accused of praying stark-naked in the midst of the congregation; and it was confidently asserted, that the effects of his criminal intercourse with the daughter of Euchrocia, had been suppressed by means still more odious and criminal. But an accurate, or rather a candid, inquiry, will discover, that if the Priscillianists violated the laws of nature, it was not by the licentiousness, but by the austerity, of their lives. They absolutely condemned the use of the marriage-bed; and the peace of families was often disturbed by indiscreet separations. They enjoyed, or recommended, a total abstinence from all animal food; and their continual prayers, fasts, and vigils, inculcated a rule of strict and perfect devotion. The speculative tenets of the sect, concerning the person of Christ, and the

[34] Severus Sulpicius mentions the arch-heretic with esteem and pity. Fælix profecto, si non pravo studio corrupisset optimum ingenium: prorsus multa in eo animi et corporis bona cerneres. (*Hist. Sacra.* l. ii. p. 439.) Even Jerom, (tom. i. in *Script. Eccles.* p. 302), speaks with temper of Priscillian and Latronian.

[35] The bishopric, (in Old Castile), is now worth 20,000 ducats a year, (Busching's *Geography*, vol. ii. p. 308), and is therefore much less likely to produce the author of a new heresy.

[36] Exprobrabatur mulieri viduæ nimia religio, et diligentius culta divinitas. (Pacat. in *Panegyr. Vet.* xii. 9). Such was the idea of a humane, though ignorant, polytheist.

[37] One of them was sent in Sillinam insulam quæ ultra Britanniam est. What must have been the ancient condition of the rocks of Scilly? (Camden's *Britannia*, vol. ii. p. 1519.)

[38] The scandalous calumnies of Augustin, Pope Leo, &c., which Tillemont swallows like a child, and Lardner refutes like a man, may suggest some candid suspicions in favor of the older Gnostics.

nature of the human soul, were derived from the Gnostic and Manichæan system; and this vain philosophy, which had been transported from Egypt to Spain, was ill adapted to the grosser spirits of the west. The obscure disciples of Priscillian suffered, languished, and gradually disappeared: his tenets were rejected by the clergy and people; but his death was the subject of a long and vehement controversy; while some arraigned, and others applauded the justice of his sentence. It is with pleasure that we can observe the humane inconsistency of the most illustrious saints and bishops, Ambrose of Milan,[39] and Martin of Tours;[40] who, on this occasion, asserted the cause of toleration. They pitied the unhappy men who had been executed at Treves; they refused to hold communion with their episcopal murderers; and if Martin deviated from that generous resolution, his motives were laudable, and his repentance was exemplary. The bishops of Tours and Milan pronounced, without hesitation, the eternal damnation of heretics; but they were surprised and shocked by the bloody image of their temporal death, and the honest feelings of nature resisted the artificial prejudices of theology. The humanity of Ambrose and Martin was confirmed by the scandalous irregularity of the proceedings against Priscillian and his adherents. The civil and ecclesiastical ministers had transgressed the limits of their respective provinces. The secular judge had presumed to receive an appeal, and to pronounce a definite sentence, in a matter of faith and episcopal jurisdiction. The bishops had disgraced themselves, by exercising the function of accusers in a criminal prosecution. The cruelty of Ithacius,[41] who beheld the tortures and solicited the death of the heretics, provoked the just indignation of mankind; and the vices of that profligate bishop were admitted as a proof that his zeal was instigated by the sordid motives of interest. Since the death of Priscillian, the rude attempts of persecution have been refined and methodized in the holy office, which

[39] *Ambros.* tom. ii. *Epist.* xxiv. p. 891.

[40] In the *Sacred History*, and the *Life of St. Martin*, Sulpicius Severus uses some caution; but he declares himself more freely in the *Dialogues*, (iii. 15). Martin was reproved, however, by his own conscience, and by an angel; nor could he afterwards perform miracles with so much ease.

[41] The Catholic presbyter, (*Sulp. Sever.* l. ii. p. 448), and the Pagan orator, (Pacat. in *Panegyr. Vet.* xii. 29), reprobate, with equal indignation, the character and conduct of Ithacius.*

* The two principal instigators of this persecution, Ithacius or Idacius and Ursacius, were five years afterwards degraded from their episcopal dignities and expelled from the communion of the church. Clin. *F. R.* i. p. 519; ii. p. 447.—E. C.

assigns their distinct parts to the ecclesiastical and secular powers. The devoted victim is regularly delivered by the priest to the magistrate, and by the magistrate to the executioner; and the inexorable sentence of the church, which declares the spiritual guilt of the offender, is expressed in the mild language of pity and intercession.

Ambrose, archbishop of Milan. A. D. 374-397.

Among the ecclesiastics who illustrated the reign of Theodosius, Gregory Nazianzen was distinguished by the talents of an eloquent preacher; the reputation of miraculous gifts added weight and dignity to the monastic virtues of Martin of Tours;[42] but the palm of episcopal vigor and ability was justly claimed by the intrepid Ambrose.[43] He was descended from a noble family of Romans; his father had exercised the important office of prætorian præfect of Gaul; and the son, after passing through the studies of a liberal education, attained, in the regular gradation of civil honors, the station of consular of Liguria, a province which included the imperial residence of Milan. At the age of thirty-four, and before he had received the sacrament of baptism, Ambrose, to his own surprise, and to that of the world, was suddenly transformed from a governor to an archbishop. Without the least mixture, as it is said, of art or intrigue, the whole body of the people unanimously saluted him with the episcopal title: the concord and perseverance of their acclamations were ascribed to a preternatural impulse; and the reluctant magistrate was compelled to undertake a spiritual office, for which he was not prepared by the habits and occupations of his former life. But the active force of his genius soon qualified him to exercise, with zeal and prudence, the duties of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and, while he cheerfully renounced the vain and splendid trappings of temporal greatness, he condescended, for the good of the church, to direct the conscience of the emperors, and to control the administration of the empire. Gratian loved and revered him as a father; and the elaborate treatise on the faith of the Trinity, was designed for the instruction of the young prince. After his tragic death, at

42 The *Life of St. Martin*, and the *Dialogues* concerning his miracles, contain facts adapted to the grossest barbarism, in a style not unworthy of the Augustan age. So natural is the alliance between good taste and good sense, that I am always astonished by this contrast.

43 The short and superficial *Life of St. Ambrose*, by his deacon, Paulinus, (*Appendix* ad edit. Benedict. p. i-xv), has the merit of original evidence. Tillemont, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. x. p. 78-306), and the Benedictine editors, (p. xxxi.-lxiii.), have labored with their usual diligence.

a time when the empress Justina trembled for her own safety, and for that of her son Valentinian, the archbishop of Milan was dispatched, on two different embassies, to the court of Treves. He exercised, with equal firmness and dexterity, the powers of his spiritual and political characters; and perhaps contributed, by his authority and eloquence, to check the ambition of Maximus, and to protect the peace of Italy.[44] Ambrose had devoted his life and his abilities to the service of the church. Wealth was the object of his contempt; he had renounced his private patrimony; and he sold, without hesitation, the consecrated plate, for the redemption of captives. The clergy and people of Milan were attached to their archbishop; and he deserved the esteem, without soliciting the favor, or apprehending the displeasure, of his feeble sovereigns.

His successful opposition to the empress Justina, A. D. 385. April 3–10.

The government of Italy and of the young emperor naturally devolved to his mother Justina, a woman of beauty and spirit; but who, in the midst of an orthodox people, had the misfortune of professing the Arian heresy, which she endeavored to instil into the mind of her son. Justina was persuaded, that a Roman emperor might claim, in his own dominions, the public exercise of his religion; and she proposed to the archbishop, as a moderate and reasonable concession, that he should resign the use of a single church, either in the city or the suburbs of Milan. But the conduct of Ambrose was governed by very different principles.[45] The palaces of the earth might indeed belong to Cæsar; but the churches were the houses of God; and, within the limits of his diocese, he himself, as the lawful successor of the apostles, was the only minister of God. The privileges of Christianity, temporal as well as spiritual, were confined to the true believers; and the mind of Ambrose was satisfied, that his own theological opinions were the standard of truth and orthodoxy. The archbishop, who refused to hold any conference or negotiation with the instruments of Satan, declared, with modest firmness, his resolution to die a martyr, rather than to yield to the impious sacrilege; and Justina, who resented the refusal as an act of insolence and

[44] Ambrose himself, (tom. ii. *Epist.* xxiv. pp. 888–891), gives the emperor a very spirited account of his own embassy.

[45] His own representation of his principles and conduct, (tom. ii. *Epist.* xx. xxi. xxii. pp. 852–880), is one of the curious monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity. It contains two letters to his sister Marcellina, with a petition to Valentinian, and the sermon *de Basilicis non tradendis*.

rebellion, hastily determined to exert the imperial prerogative of her son. As she desired to perform her public devotions on the approaching festival of Easter, Ambrose was ordered to appear before the council. He obeyed the summons with the respsct of a faithful subject; but he was followed, without his consent, by an innumerable people: they pressed, with impetuous zeal, against the gates of the palace; and the affrighted ministers of Valentinian, instead of pronouncing a sentence of exile on the archbishop of Milan, humbly requested that he would interpose his authority, to protect the person of the emperor, and to restore the tranquillity of the capital. But the promises which Ambrose received and communicated, were soon violated by a perfidious court; and, during six of the most solemn days, which Christian piety has set apart for the exercise of religion, the city was agitated by the irregular convulsions of tumult and fanaticism. The officers of the household were directed to prepare, first, the Portian, and afterwards, the new, Basilica, for the immediate reception of the emperor and his mother. The splendid canopy and hangings of the royal seat were arranged in the customary manner; but it was found necessary to defend them, by a strong guard, from the insults of the populace. The Arian ecclesiastics who ventured to show themselves in the streets, were exposed to the most imminent danger of their lives; and Ambrose enjoyed the merit and reputation of rescuing his personal enemies from the hands of the enraged multitude.

But while he labored to restrain the effects of their zeal, the pathetic vehemence of his sermons continually inflamed the angry and seditious temper of the people of Milan. The characters of Eve, of the wife of Job, of Jezebel, of Herodias, were indecently applied to the mother of the emperor; and her desire to obtain a church for the Arians was compared to the most cruel persecutions which Christianity had endured under the reign of Paganism. The measures of the court served only to expose the magnitude of the evil. A fine of two hundred pounds of gold was imposed on the corporate body of merchants and manufacturers; an order was signified, in the name of the emperor, to all the officers and inferior servants of the courts of justice, that, during the continuance of the public disorders, they should strictly confine themselves to their houses; and the ministers of

Valentinian imprudently confessed, that the most respectable part of the citizens of Milan was attached to the cause of their archbishop. He was again solicited to restore peace to his country, by a timely compliance with the will of his sovereign. The reply of Ambrose was couched in the most humble and respectful terms, which might, however, be interpreted as a serious declaration of civil war. "His life "and fortune were in the hands of the emperor; but he "would never betray the church of Christ, or degrade the "dignity of the episcopal character. In such a cause, he "was prepared to suffer whatever the malice of the demon "could inflict; and he only wished to die in the presence "of his faithful flock, and at the foot of the altar: *he* had "not contributed to excite, but it was in the power of God "alone to appease, the rage of the people: he deprecated "the scenes of blood and confusion which were likely to "ensue: and it was his fervent prayer, that he might not "survive to behold the ruin of a flourishing city, and per-"haps the desolation of all Italy.[46]" The obstinate bigotry of Justina would have endangered the empire of her son, if, in this contest with the church and people of Milan, she could have depended on the active obedience of the troops of the palace. A large body of Goths had marched to occupy the Basilica, which was the object of the dispute; and it might be expected from the Arian principles, and barbarous manners, of these foreign mercenaries, that they would not entertain any scruples in the execution of the most sanguinary orders. They were encountered, on the sacred threshold, by the archbishop, who thundering against them a sentence of excommunication, asked them, in the tone of a father and a master, whether it was to invade the house of God, that they had implored the hospitable protection of the republic? The suspense of the barbarians allowed some hours for a more effectual negotiation; and the empress was persuaded, by the advice of her wisest counsellors, to leave the Catholics in possession of all the churches of Milan; and to dissemble, till a more convenient season, her intentions of revenge. The mother of Valentinian could never forgive the triumph of Ambrose; and

[46] Retz had a similar message from the queen, to request that he would appease the tumult of Paris. It was no longer in his power, &c. A quoi j'ajoutai tout ce que vous pouvez vous imaginer de respect, de douleur, de regret, et de soumission, &c. (*Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 140.) Certainly I do not compare either the causes or the men; yet the coadjutor himself had some idea, (p. 84), of imitating St. Ambrose.

the royal youth uttered a passionate exclamation, that his own servants were ready to betray him into the hands of an insolent priest.

The laws of the empire, some of which were inscribed with the name of Valentinian, still condemned the Arian heresy, and seemed to excuse the resistance of the Catholics. By the influence of Justina, an edict of toleration was promulgated in all the provinces which were subject to the court of Milan: the free exercise of their religion was granted to those who professed the faith of Rimini; and the emperor declared, that all persons who should infringe this sacred and salutary constitution, should be capitally punished, as the enemies of the public peace.[47] The character and language of the archbishop of Milan may justify the suspicion, that his conduct soon afforded a reasonable ground, or at least a specious pretence, to the Arian ministers, who watched the opportunity of surprising him in some act of disobedience to a law, which he strangely represents as a law of blood and tyranny. A sentence of easy and honorable banishment was pronounced, which enjoined Ambrose to depart from Milan without delay; whilst it permitted him to choose the place of his exile, and the number of his companions. But the authority of the saints who have preached and practiced the maxims of passive loyalty, appeared to Ambrose of less moment than the extreme and pressing danger of the church. He boldly refused to obey; and his refusal was supported by the unanimous consent of his faithful people.[48] They guarded by turns the person of their archbishop; the gates of the cathedral and the episcopal palace were strongly secured; and the imperial troops, who had formed the blockade, were unwilling to risk the attack of that impregnable fortress. The numerous poor, who had been relieved by the liberality of Ambrose, embraced the fair occasion of signalizing their zeal and gratitude; and as the patience of the multitude might have been exhausted by the length and uniformity of nocturnal vigils, he prudently introduced into the church of Milan the useful institution of a loud and regular psalmody. while he maintained this arduous contest, he was instructed, by a dream, to open the earth in a

A. D. 386.

[47] *Sozomen* alone, (l. vii. c. 13), throws this luminous fact into a dark and perplexed narrative.

[48] Excubabat pia plebs in ecclesia, mori parata cum episcopo suo * * * Nos, adhuc frigidi, excitabamur tamen civitate attonit atquea turbata. Augustin. *Confession*, l. ix. c. 7.

place where the remains of two martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius,[49] had been deposited above three hundred years. Immediately under the pavement of the church two perfect skeletons were found,[50] with the heads separated from their bodies, and a plentiful effusion of blood. The holy relics were presented, in solemn pomp, to the veneration of the people: and every circumstance of this fortunate discovery was admirably adapted to promote the designs of Ambrose. The bones of the martyrs, their blood, their garments, were supposed to contain a healing power; and their preternatural influence was communicated to the most distant objects, without losing any part of its original virtue. The extraordinary cure of a blind man,[51] and the reluctant confessions of several demoniacs, appeared to justify the faith and sanctity of Ambrose; and the truth of those miracles is attested by Ambrose himself, by his secretary Paulinus, and by his proselyte, the celebrated Augustin, who, at that time, professed the art of rhetoric in Milan. The reason of the present age may possibly approve the incredulity of Justina and her Arian court: who derided the theatrical representations which were exhibited by the contrivance and at the expense of the archbishop.[52] Their effect, however, on the minds of the people, was rapid and irresistible; and the feeble sovereign of Italy found himself unable to contend with the favorite of heaven. The powers likewise of the earth interposed in the defence of Ambrose; the disinterested advice of Theodosius was the genuine result of piety and friendship; and the mask of religious zeal concealed the hostile and ambitious designs of the tyrant of Gaul.[53]

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[49] Tillemont, *Mém. Eccléſ.* tom. ii. pp. 78, 498. Many churches in Italy, Gaul, &c., were dedicated to these unknown martyrs, of whom St. Gervaise seems to have been more fortunate than his companion.

[50] Invenimus miræ magnitudinis viros duos, ut prisca ætas ferebat, tom. ii. *Epist.* xxii. p. 875. The size of these skeletons was fortunately, or skillfully, suited to the popular prejudice of the gradual decrease of the human stature, which has prevailed in every age since the time of Homer.

Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

[51] *Ambros.* tom. ii. *Epist.* xxii. p. 875. Augustin. *Confeſ.* l. ix. c. 7, *de Civitat. Dei*, l. xxii. c. 8. Paulin, in *Vita St. Ambros.* c. 14, *Append.* Benedict. p. 4. The blind man's name was Severus; he touched the holy garment, recovered his sight, and devoted the rest of his life, (at least twenty-five years), to the service of the church. I should recommend this miracle to our divines, if it did not prove the worship of relics, as well as the Nicene creed.

[52] Paulin. in *Tit. St. Ambros.* c. 5, in *Append.* Benedict. p. 5.

[53] Tillemont, *Mém. Eccléſ.* tom. x. pp. 190, 750. He partially allows the mediation of Theodosius, and capriciously rejects that of Maximus, though it is attested by Prosper, Sozomen, and Theodoret.

Influence and conduct of Ambrose. A. D. 388.

The respectful attachment of the emperor [Theodosius] for the orthodox clergy, had disposed him to love and admire the character of Ambrose; who united all the episcopal virtues in the most eminent degree. The friends and ministers of Theodosius imitated the example of their sovereign; and he observed, with more surprise than displeasure, that all his secret counsels were immediately communicated to the archbishop; who acted from the laudable persuasion that every measure of civil government may have some connexion with the glory of God and the interests of the true religion. The monks and populace of Callinicum,* an obscure town on the frontier of Persia, excited by their own fanaticism, and by that of their bishop, had tumultuously burnt a conventicle of the Valentinians, and a synagogue of the Jews. The seditious prelate was condemned, by the magistrate of the province, either to rebuild the synagogue or to repay the damage; and this moderate sentence was confirmed by the emperor. But it was not confirmed by the archbishop of Milan.[54] He dictated an epistle of censure and reproach, more suitable, perhaps, if the emperor had received the mark of circumcision, and renounced the faith of his baptism. Ambrose considers the toleration of the Jewish, as the persecution of the Christian, religion; boldly declares, that he himself, and every true believer, would eagerly dispute with the bishop of Callinicum the merit of the deed, and the crown of martyrdom; and laments in the most pathetic terms, that the execution of the sentence would be fatal to the fame and salvation of Theodosius. As this private admonition did not produce an immediate effect, the archbishop, from his pulpit,[55] publicly addressed the emperor on his throne;[56] nor would he consent to offer the oblation of the altar, till he had obtained from Theodosius a solemn and positive declaration, which secured the impunity of the bishop and monks of Callinicum. The

[54] See the whole transaction in *Ambrose*, (tom. ii. *Epist.* xl. xli. pp. 946-956), and his biographer, *Paulinus*, (c. 23). Bayle and Barbeyrac, (*Morale des Pères*, c. xvii. p. 325, &c.), have justly condemned the archbishop.

[55] His sermon is a strange allegory of Jeremiah's rod, of an almond tree, of the woman who washed and anointed the feet of Christ. But the peroration is direct and personal.

[56] Hodie, Episcope, de me proposuisti. Ambrose modestly confessed it; but he sternly reprimanded Timasius, general of the horse and foot, who had presumed to say that the monks of Callinicum deserved punishment.

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* Racca, on the Euphrates.—MILMAN.

recantation of Theodosius was sincere;[57] and, during the term of his residence at Milan, his affection for Ambrose was continually increased by the habits of pious and familiar conversation.

Penance of Theodosius. A. D. 390.

When Ambrose was informed of the massacre of Thessalonica, [by the order of Theodosius], his mind was filled with horror and anguish. He retired into the country to indulge his grief, and to avoid the presence of Theodosius. But as the archbishop was satisfied that a timid silence would render him the accomplice of his guilt, he represented, in a private letter, the enormity of the crime; which could only be effaced by the tears of penitence. The episcopal vigor of Ambrose was tempered by prudence; and he contented himself with signifying[58] an indirect sort of excommunication, by the assurance, that he had been warned in a vision not to offer the oblation in the name, or in the presence, of Theodosius; and by the advice, that he would confine himself to the use of prayer, without presuming to approach the altar of Christ, or to receive the holy eucharist with those hands that were still polluted with the blood of an innocent people. The emperor was deeply affected by his own reproaches, and by those of his spiritual father; and, after he had bewailed the mischievous and irreparable consequences of his rash fury, he proceeded, in the accustomed manner, to perform his devotions in the great church of Milan. He was stopped in the porch by the archbishop; who, in the tone and language of an ambassador of Heaven, declared to his sovereign, that private contrition was not sufficient to atone for a public fault, or to appease the justice of the offended Deity. Theodosius humbly represented, that if he had contracted the guilt of homicide, David, the man after God's own heart, had been guilty, not only of murder, but of adultery. "You have imitated "David in his crime, imitate then his repentance," was the reply of the undaunted Ambrose. The rigorous conditions of peace and pardon were accepted; and the public penance of the emperor Theodosius has been recorded as one of the

[57] Yet, five years afterwards, when Theodosius was absent from his spiritual guide, he tolerated the Jews, and condemned the destruction of their synagogues. *Cod. Theodos.* l. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 9. with Godefroy's *Commentary*, tom. vi. p. 225.

[58] *Ambros.* tom. ii. *Epist.* li. pp. 997–1001. His epistle is a miserable rhapsody on a noble subject. Ambrose could act better than he could write. His compositions are destitute of taste, or genius; without the spirit of Tertullian, the copious elegance of Lactantius, the lively wit of Jerom, or the grave energy of Augustin.

most honorable events in the annals of the church. According to the mildest rules of ecclesiastical discipline, which were established in the fourth century, the crime of homicide was expiated by the penitence of twenty years:[59] and as it was impossible, in the period of human life, to purge the accumulated guilt of the massacre of Thessalonica, the murderer should have been excluded from the holy communion till the hour of his death. But the archbishop, consulting the maxims of religious policy, granted some indulgence to the rank of his illustrious penitent, who humbled in the dust the pride of the diadem; and the public edification might be admitted as a weighty reason to abridge the duration of his punishment. It was sufficient that the emperor of the Romans, stripped of the ensigns of royalty, should appear in a mournful and suppliant posture; and that, in the midst of the church of Milan, he should humbly solicit, with sighs and tears, the pardon of his sins.[60] In this spiritual cure, Ambrose employed the various methods of mildness and severity. After a delay of about eight months, Theodosius was restored to the communion of the faithful; and the edict, which interposes a salutary interval of thirty days between the sentence and the execution, may be accepted as the worthy fruits of his repentance.[61] Posterity has applauded the virtuous firmness of the archbishop: and the example of Theodosius may prove the beneficial influence of those principles which could force a monarch, exalted above the apprehension of human punishment, to respect the laws and ministers of an invisible Judge. "The prince" (says Montesquieu) "who is actuated "by the hopes and fears of religion, may be compared to a "lion, docile only to the voice, and tractable to the hand, "of his keeper."[62] The motions of the royal animal will, therefore, depend on the inclination and interest of the man who has acquired such dangerous authority over him; and

[59] According to the discipline of St. Basil, (*Canon*, lvi.), the voluntary homicide was *four* years a mourner: *five* a hearer; *seven* in a prostrate state; and *four* in a standing posture. I have the original, (Beveridge, *Pandect.* tom. ii. pp. 47–151), and a translation, (Chardon, *Hist. des Sacremens*, tom. iv. pp. 219–277), of the *Canonical Epistles of St. Basil.*

[60] The penance of Theodosius is authenticated by *Ambrose*, (tom. vi. *de Obit. Theodos.* c. 34, p. 1207), Augustin, (*de Civitat. Dei.* v. 26), and Paulinus, (in *Vit. Ambros.* c. 24). *Socrates* is ignorant; *Sozomen*, l. vii. c. 25, concise; and the copious narrative of *Theodoret*, (l. v. c. 18), must be used with precaution.

[61] *Codex Theodos.* l. ix. tit. xl. leg. 13. The date and circumstances of this law are perplexed with difficulties; but I feel myself inclined to favor the honest efforts of Tillemont, (*Hist. des Emp.* tom. v. p. 721), and Pagi, (*Critica*, tom. i. p. 578).

[62] Un prince qui aime la religion, et qui la craint, est un lion qui céde à la main qui le flatte, ou à la voix qui l'appaise. *Esprit des Loix*, l. xxiv. c. 2.

the priest who holds in his hand the conscience of a king, may inflame, or moderate, his sanguinary passions. The cause of humanity, and that of persecution, have been asserted by the same Ambrose, with equal energy and with equal success.*

* The whole course of the hierarchy was gradual in its approaches, and bold in maintaining its ground. In such manner, Ambrose proceeded with successive emperors. Gratian, on ascending the throne, withdrew the usual state allowances and other privileges from the heathen priesthood. A part of the senate of Rome deputed Symmachus to intercede for them, and implore a revocation of the harsh decree. Ambrose presented a counter-memorial from Damasus, bishop of Rome, and prevailed on the emperor to reject the petition of the profane. On the accession of Valentinian II., this petition was repeated. Ambrose then ventured a stride further. "If you yield," he said to the young prince and his advisers, "*we, bishops, could not quietly tolerate it.* You might come to the "church; but you would find there no priest; or, if any, one who would forbid "your approach." (*Symmach.* lib. 2, *Epist.* 7; lib. 10, *Epist.* 61. *Ambros. Epist.* 57.) Gibbon has shown that his subsequent progress was still more daring. From his triumph over a weak youth and a woman, he went on to control the manlier intellect of Theodosius. Crimes as horrid as the Thessalonian massacre have often been passed over in silence by the priesthood, sanctioned by their applause, or instigated by their vengeance, as circumstances required. But Ambrose saw an opportunity for a proud display of his own power, which would also confirm and extend that of his order. The penance of Theodosius, the Roman, prepared the future humiliation of Henry, the German. If a mind, like that of the former, capable of wielding the sceptre of the world, and arresting for a time the fall of a tottering state, could thus bow down from the height of imperial greatness, to humble itself before a priest, armed only with the terrors of a corrupt religion, we may judge how all inferior classes quailed in abject prostration before the same stern authority. The voice which dooms to eternal misery those whom it excludes from the rites of the church, quells every energy, and unfits the trembling devotee for the business of life. Stupefied, enervated, paralyzed, he can neither avert calamity nor achieve good; and if at times roused to action, at the bidding and for the purposes of his subduer, all his efforts evaporate in empty clamor, or the transient paroxysms of maddened ferocity. Such was the state of the Roman world fifteen centuries ago, and such is, even now, the dark picture that presents itself to our view, wherever like hierarchies trample on subdued mind.—ENG. CH.

Laocoon. Group in the Vatican.

SERAPIS.

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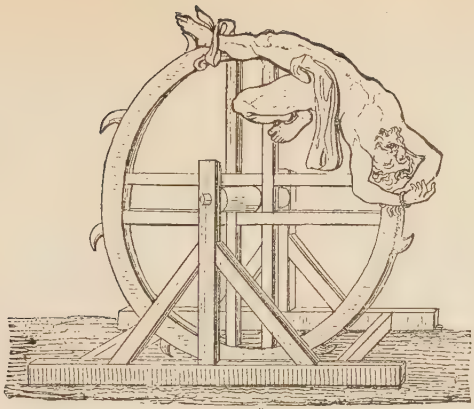
THIS was one of the Egyptian deities supposed to be identical with Osiris. Magnificent temples, called *Serapea*, were erected to this god at Memphis, Canopus, and Alexandria. The worship of Serapis was introduced at Rome by the emperor Antoninus Pius, A. D. 146, and the *Mysteries* celebrated on the sixth of May. The engraving of Serapis shown on the preceding page represents the god grasping in his left hand the tail of a huge serpent, which is entwined around his body, while the head appears at his feet. Between the folds of the reptile are seen figures of men and various animals, the symbolical meaning of which can only be conjectured. Like all the images of Serapis, the countenance has the stern aspect of Jupiter, and the head is surmounted with the *calathus* or basket peculiar to this Egyptian deity.

On page 204 of *The Diegesis*, the Rev. Robt. Taylor quotes from *Socrat. Eccl. Hist.* lib. 5. c. 17. as follows: "In the temple of Serapis, now overthrown and "rifled throughout, there were found engraven in the stones certain letters "which they call hieroglyphical; the manner of their engraving resembled the "form of the cross. The which, when both Christians and Ethnics beheld be-"fore them, every one applied them to his proper religion. The Christians "affirmed that the Cross was a sign or token of the passion of Christ, and the "proper symbol of their profession. The Ethnics avouched that therein was "contained something in common, belonging *as well to Serapis* as to Christ; and "that the sign of the cross signified one thing unto the Ethnics, and another to "the Christians. While they contended thus about the meaning of these hiero-"glyphical letters, many of the Ethnics became Christians, for they perceived at "length the sense and meaning of those letters, and that they prognosticated "salvation and LIFE TO COME."

"This most important evidence," continues Taylor, "of the utter indifference "between Christianity and ancient Paganism, is supplied by a Christian historian; "and independent of its fairness, as taken from such a source, and its inherent "verisimilitude, it is corroborated by a parallel passage from the ecclesiastical his-"tory of Sozomenes, who, about the year 443, wrote the history of the church from "the reign of Constantine the Great to that of the younger Theodosius. He is "speaking of the temple of the god Serapis:—'It is reported that when this "'temple was destroyed, there appeared some of those characters called hiero-"'glyphics, surrounding *the sign of the cross*, in engraven stones; and that, by "'the skillful in these matters, these hieroglyphics were held to have signified "'this inscription—THE LIFE TO COME! And this became a pretence for be-"'coming Christians to many of the Grecians, because there were even other "'letters which signified this sacred end when this character appeared.'"

"The charge of *Serapidolatry*, or the worship of the god Serapis, was brought "against the primitive Christians, by no vulgar accuser, no bigoted intolerant "reviler, but by that philosophic and truth-respecting witness, the emperor "Adrian. In a certain letter which he writes, while in the course of his travels, "to the Consul Servianus, he states, that he found the worshipers of the god "Serapis in that country distinguished by the name of Christians. 'Those,' he "says, 'who worship Serapis are Christians; and those who are especially con-"'secrated to Serapis, call themselves the bishops of Christ.' In relief of which "charge, the learned Kortholt, from whose valuable work, the *Paganus Obtrec-"tator*, I have taken this passage, pleads, and indeed it might be so, that when "this emperor was in Egypt, some of the Christians, actuated by fear, concealing "their true religion for a season, might have held out an appearance of having "embraced the superstition of the Pagans. Thus, in the *Ancient Martyrology*, "in the history of Epicharmus, an Egyptian martyr, it is related that all the "Christians in Alexandria, upon the coming of a cruel judge, either fled away, "or pretended to be still followers of the Pagan impiety: and if the approach of "a judge only could produce this effect, it is no wonder that the coming of the "emperor himself, and he, as they all knew, being a most strenuous assertor of "the Gentile superstitions, should have a similar effect."

In the preface to the *Mysteries of Adoni*, the learned author, S. F. Dunlap, in speaking of the Mysteries of Religion and the Religion of the Mysteries, quotes from St. Augustin the following pregnant admission, which is also quoted at greater length by Rev. Robert Taylor, page 42 of *The Diegesis*, from which latter author we have copied: "In our times is the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, "(says St. Augustin,) which to know and follow is the most sure and certain "health, called according to that name, but not according to the thing itself, of "which it is the name; for the thing itself, which is now called the CHRISTIAN "RELIGION, really was known to the ancients, nor was wanting at any time from "the beginning of the human race, until the time when Christ came in the flesh, "from whence the true religion, which had previously existed, began to be called "*Christian*; and this in our days is the Christian religion, not as having been "wanting in former times, but as having in later times received this name."—E.



Ixion.*

IX.

FINAL DESTRUCTION OF PAGANISM.—INTRODUCTION OF THE WORSHIP OF SAINTS AND RELICS, AMONG THE CHRISTIANS.†

The destruction of the Pagan religion. A. D. 378–395.

THE ruin of Paganism, in the age of Theodosius, is perhaps the only example of the total extirpation of any ancient and popular superstition; and may, therefore, deserve to be considered as a singular event in the history of the human mind. The Christians, more especially the clergy, had impatiently supported the prudent delays of Constantine, and the equal toleration of the elder Valentinian; nor could they deem their conquest perfect or secure, as long as their adversaries were permitted to exist. The influence which Ambrose and his brethren had acquired over the youth of Gratian and the piety of Theodosius, was employed to infuse the maxims of persecution into the breasts of their imperial proselytes. Two specious principles of religious jurisprudence were established, from whence they deduced a direct and rigorous conclusion against the subjects of the empire who still adhered to the ceremonies of their ancestors: *that* the magistrate is, in some measure,

* Ixion, son of Phlegyas, and king of Lapithæ. He treacherously murdered his wife's father, to avoid payment of the bridal gifts he had promised. For this murder, he was purified by Zeus, who carried him to Olympus. Ixion, proving ungrateful to the father of the gods, attempted to win the love of Hera. As a punishment for this ingratitude, Ixion was chained by Mercury to a wheel, which revolved perpetually in the air, thus symbolizing the continuous punishment of those who transgress the laws of justice and morality.—E.

† Chap. XXVIII. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

guilty of the crimes which he neglects to prohibit or to punish; and *that* the idolatrous worship of fabulous deities and real demons, is the most abominable crime against the supreme majesty of the Creator. The laws of Moses, and the examples of Jewish history,[1] were hastily, perhaps erroneously, applied, by the clergy, to the mild and universal reign of Christianity.[2] The zeal of the emperors was excited to vindicate their own honor and that of the Deity; and the temples of the Roman world were subverted about sixty years after the conversion of Constantine.

State of Paganism at Rome.

From the age of Numa to the reign of Gratian, the Romans preserved the regular succession of the several colleges of the sacerdotal order.[3] Fifteen PONTIFFS exercised their supreme jurisdiction over all things and persons, that were consecrated to the service of the gods; and the various questions which perpetually arose in a loose and traditionary system, were submitted to the judgment of their holy tribunal. Fifteen grave and learned AUGURS observed the face of the heavens, and prescribed the actions of heroes, according to the flight of birds. Fifteen keepers of the Sibylline books (their name of QUINDECEMVIRS was derived from their number) occasionally consulted the history of future, and, as it should

1 St. Ambrose, (tom. ii. de *Obit. Theodos.* p. 1208), expressly praises and recommends the zeal of Josiah in the destruction of idolatry. The language of Julius Firmicus Maternus on the same subject, (*de Errore Profan. Relig.* p. 467, edit. Gronov.), is piously inhuman. Nec filio jubet, (the Mosaic law), parci, nec fratri, et per amatam conjugem gladium vindicem ducit, &c.

2 Bayle, (tom ii. p. 406, in his *Commentaire Philosophique*), justifies, and limits these intolerant laws by the temporal reign of Jehovah over the Jews. The attempt is laudable.

3 See the outlines of the Roman hierarchy in *Cicero*, (*de Legibus*, ii. 7, 8), *Livy*, (i. 20), *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, (l. ii. pp. 119-129, edit. Hudson), Beaufort, (*Republique Romaine*, tom. i. pp. 1-90), and *Moyle*, (vol. i. pp. 10-55). The last is the work of an English whig, as well as of a Roman antiquary.*

* These colleges, though regularly kept up, had not uniformly the same number of members. In the vicissitudes of the republic, they underwent various changes. Numa instituted four Pontifices and four Augures, two of each for the Ramnes, or Latin tribe, and as many for the Tities, or Sabine tribe, who constituted, together, the first nobility of Rome. By the Ogulnian law, so called from its authors, Q. and Cn. Ogulnius, who were Tribunes of the people, A. U. C. 453, each of these two colleges was increased to nine members, by the addition of four plebes, with a Pontifex Maximus for the priests, and a Magister Collegii for the Augures. It was not till about 220 years afterwards, that their numbers were raised to 15 by Sylla, during his dictatorship. (A. U. C. 673. *Niebuhr's Lectures*, vol. i., pp. 124, 130, 523; vol. ii., p. 389.) The vestals were six from the time of the second Tarquin, who either, according to Livy, added two to Numa's four, or according to Festus, reduced them to that number. The first confraternity or college of Salii, appointed by Numa, consisted of twelve, called Palatini, from their residence on mount Palatine. Tullus Hostilius added a second college of Salii, named Collini or Quirinales, being located on the Quirinal hill. The two original confraternities of the Luperci were designated Fabii and Quinctiliani, after their two first presidents. Julius Cæsar added a third, whom he denominated Julii, in honor of his own family.—ENG. CH.

seem, of contingent, events. Six VESTALS devoted their virginity to the guard of the sacred fire, and of the unknown pledges of the duration of Rome; which no mortal had been suffered to behold with impunity.[4] Seven EPULOS prepared the table of the gods, conducted the solemn procession, and regulated the ceremonies of the annual festival. The three FLAMENS of Jupiter, of Mars, and of Quirinus, were considered as the peculiar ministers of the three most powerful deities, who watched over the fate of Rome and of the universe. The KING of the SACRIFICES represented the person of Numa, and of his successors, in the religious functions, which could be performed only by royal hands. The confraternities of the SALIANS, the LUPERCALS, &c., practiced such rites as might extort a smile of contempt from every reasonable man, with a lively confidence of recommending themselves to the favor of the immortal gods. The authority, which the Roman priests had formerly obtained in the counsels of the republic, was gradually abolished by the establishment of monarchy, and the removal of the seat of empire. But the dignity of their sacred character was still protected by the laws and manners of their country; and they still continued, more especially the college of pontiffs, to exercise in the capital, and sometimes in the provinces, the rights of their ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction. Their robes of purple, chariots of state, and sumptuous entertainments, attracted the admiration of the people; and they received, from the consecrated lands, and the public revenue, an ample stipend, which liberally supported the splendor of the priesthood, and all the expenses of the religious worship of the state. As the service of the altar was not incompatible with the command of armies, the Romans, after their consulships and triumphs, aspired to the place of pontiff, or of augur; the seats of Cicero[5] and Pompey were filled, in the fourth century, by

[4] These mystic, and perhaps imaginary, symbols have given birth to various fables and conjectures. It seems probable, that the Palladium was a small statue, (three cubits and a half high), of Minerva, with a lance and distaff; that it was usually enclosed in a *seria*, or barrel; and that a similar barrel was placed by its side to disconcert curiosity, or sacrilege. See Mezeriac, (*Comment. sur les Epitres d'Ovide*, tom. i. pp. 60–66), and *Lipsius*, (tom. iii. p. 610, *de Vesta*, &c., c. 10.)

[5] Cicero frankly, (*ad Atticum*, l. ii. *Epist.* 5), or indirectly, (*ad Familiar*, l. xv. *Epist.* 4), confesses that the *Augurate* is the supreme object of his wishes. Pliny is proud to tread in the footsteps of Cicero, (l. iv. *Epist.* 8), and the chain of tradition might be continued from history and marbles.*

* These colleges were the heads only of that establishment, whose motives for instigating the persecution of their Christian rivals, have been the subject of foregoing notes. Here are seen the endowments and the splendor which they strove to protect, and their wide connections with the powerful families whom

the most illustrious members of the senate; and the dignity of their birth reflected additional splendor on their sacerdotal character. The fifteen priests, who composed the college of pontiffs, enjoyed a more distinguished rank as the companions of their sovereign; and the Christian emperors condescended to accept the robe and ensigns, which were appropriated to the office of supreme pontiff. But when Gratian ascended the throne, more scrupulous, or more enlightened, he sternly rejected those profane symbols;[6] applied to the service of the state, or of the church, the revenues of the priests and vestals;* abolished their honors and immunities; and dissolved the ancient fabric of Roman superstition, which was supported by the opinions, and habits, of eleven hundred years. Paganism was still the constitutional religon of the senate. The hall, or temple, in which they assembled, was adorned by the statue and altar of Victory:[7] a majestic female standing on a globe, with flowing garments, expanded wings, and a crown of laurel in her outstretched hand.[8] The senators were sworn on the altar of the goddess, to observe the laws of the emperor and of the empire; and a solemn offering of wine and incense was the ordinary prelude of their public deliberations.[9] The removal of this ancient monument was the only injury which Constantius had offered to the superstition of the Romans. The altar of Victory was again restored by Julian, tolerated by Valentinian, and once more banished

[6] *Zosimus*, l. iv. pp. 249, 250. I have suppressed the foolish pun about *Pontifex* and *Maximus*.

[7] This statue was transported from Tarentum to Rome, placed in the *Curia Julia* by Cæsar, and decorated by Augustus with the spoils of Egypt.

[8] *Prudentius*, (l. ii. in initio), has drawn a very awkward portrait of Victory; but the curious reader will obtain more satisfaction from Montfaucon's *Antiquities*, (tom. i. p. 341.)

[9] See *Suetonius*, (in *August.* c. 35), and the *Exordium* of Pliny's *Panegyric.*

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they interested in their cause. The reader must add to them, the many similar bodies, distributed throughout the empire, their numerous dependents, their subordinate functionaries and the multitudes whose gains and livelihood were obtained by supplying the materials of a worship, which consumed solid testimonials of piety more largely than any other. If he considers these, he will probably arrive at the conclusion, that the Pagan hostility to Christianity was attributable to mercenary rather than religious causes.—Eng. Ch.

Mercenary motives are seldom the cause of religious persecution. It is the zeal of bigotry which condemns and tortures its opponents.—E.

* The arbitrary and oppressive character of these proceedings seems to have been in turning adrift the recipients of income, without any provision for compensation or support. The state has an unquestionable right to deal with revenues which it bestows, or which, if bestowed by others, would be invalid without its sanction. But it is equally bound to respect and maintain the tenures which it creates. It is only when the term of tenure expires, that the property and the right to dispose of it, revert to the state. The abstract claim of corporations, which exist only by the authority of the state, to a perpetuity of possession, beyond the lives of their members, is visionary. The immunity of private, cannot be extended to public, property.—Eng. Ch.

from the senate by the zeal of Gratian.[10] But the emperor yet spared the statues of the gods which were exposed to the public veneration: four hundred and twenty-four temples, or chapels, still remained to satisfy the devotion of the people: and in every quarter of Rome the delicacy of the Christians was offended by the fumes of idolatrous sacrifice.[11]

Petition of the senate for the altar of victory. A. D. 384.

But the Christians formed the least numerous party in the senate of Rome;[12] and it was only by their absence, that they could express their dissent from the legal, though profane, acts of a Pagan majority. In that assembly, the dying embers of freedom were, for a moment, revived and inflamed by the breath of fanaticism. Four respectable deputations were successively voted to the imperial court,[13] to represent the grievances of the priesthood and the senate; and to solicit the restoration of the altar of Victory. The conduct of this important business was intrusted to the eloquent Symmachus,[14] a wealthy and noble senator, who united the sacred characters of pontiff and augur, with the civil dignities of proconsul of Africa, and præfect of the city. The breast of Symmachus was animated by the warmest zeal for the cause of expiring Paganism; and his religious antagonists lamented the abuse of his genius, and the inefficacy of his moral virtues.[15] The orator, whose petition to the emperor Valentinian is extant, was conscious of the difficulty and danger of the office which he had assumed. He cautiously avoids every topic which might appear to reflect on the religion of his sovereign; humbly declares,

10 These facts are mutually allowed by the two advocates, Symmachus and Ambrose.

11 The *Notitia Urbis*, more recent than Constantine, does not find one Christian church worthy to be named among the edifices of the city. Ambrose (tom. ii. *Epist.* xvii. p. 825) deplores the public scandals of Rome, which continually offended the eyes, the ears, and the nostrils of the faithful.

12 Ambrose repeatedly affirms, in contradiction to common sense, (*Moyle's Works*, vol. ii. p. 147), that the Christians had a majority in the senate.

13 The *first* (A. D. 382) to Gratian, who refused them audience; the *second* (A. D. 384) to Valentinian, when the field was disputed by Symmachus and Ambrose; the *third* (A. D. 388) to Theodosius; and the *fourth* (A. D. 392) to Valentinian. Lardner (*Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. pp. 372–399) fairly represents the whole transaction.

14 Symmachus, who was invested with all the civil and sacerdotal honors represented the emperor under the two characters of *Pontifex Maximus and Princeps Senatus*. See the proud inscription at the head of his works.*

15 As if any one, says Prudentius (in *Symmach.* i. 639) should dig in the mud with an instrument of gold and ivory. Even saints, and polemic saints, treat this adversary with respect and civility.

* M. Beugnot has made it doubtful whether Symmachus was more than Pontifex Major. *Destruction du Paganisme*, vol. i. p. 459.—M.

that prayers and entreaties are his only arms; and artfully draws his arguments from the schools of rhetoric, rather than from those of philosophy. Symmachus endeavors to seduce the imagination of a young prince, by displaying the attributes of the goddess of Victory: he insinuates, that the confiscation of the revenues, which were consecrated to the service of the gods, was a measure unworthy of his liberal and disinterested character; and he maintains, that the Roman sacrifices would be deprived of their force and energy, if they were no longer celebrated at the expense, as well as in the name of the republic. Even scepticism is made to supply an apology for superstition. The great and incomprehensible *secret* of the universe eludes the inquiry of man. Where reason cannot instruct, custom may be permitted to guide; and every nation seems to consult the dictates of prudence, by a faithful attachment to those rites and opinions which have received the sanction of ages. If those ages have been crowned with glory and prosperity, if the devout people have frequently obtained the blessings which they have solicited at the altars of the gods, it must appear still more advisable to persist in the same salutary practice, and not to risk the unknown perils that may attend any rash innovations. The test of antiquity and success was applied with singular advantage to the religion of Numa; and ROME herself, the celestial genius that presided over the fates of the city, is introduced by the orator to plead her own cause before the tribunal of the emperors. "Most excellent princes," (says the venerable matron), "fathers of your country! pity and respect my age, which "has hitherto flowed in an uninterrupted course of piety. "Since I do not repent, permit me to continue in the

Victory.

" practice of my ancient rites. Since I am born free, allow " me to enjoy my domestic institutions. This religion has " reduced the world under my laws. These rites have re- " pelled Hannibal from the city, and the Gauls from the " capitol. Were my grey hairs reserved for such intolerable " disgrace? I am ignorant of the new system, that I am " required to adopt; but I am well assured, that the " correction of old age is always an ungrateful and ignomi- " nious office."[16] The fears of the people supplied what the discretion of the orator had suppressed; and the calamities, which afflicted, or threatened, the declining empire, were unanimously imputed, by the Pagans, to the new religion of Christ and of Constantine.

Conversion of Rome, A. D. 388, &c.

But the hopes of Symmachus were repeatedly baffled by the firm and dexterous opposition of the archbishop of Milan; who fortified the emperor against the fallacious eloquence of the advocate of Rome. In this controversy, Ambrose condescends to speak the language of a philosopher, and to ask, with some contempt, why it should be thought necessary to introduce an imaginary and invisible power, as the cause of those victories, which were sufficiently explained by the valor and discipline of the legions. He justly derides the absurd reverence for antiquity, which could only tend to discourage the improvements of art, and to replunge the human race into their original barbarism. From thence gradually rising to a more lofty and theological tone, he pronounces, that Christianity alone is the doctrine of truth and salvation; and that every mode of polytheism conducts its deluded votaries, through the paths of error, to the abyss of eternal perdition.[17] Arguments like these, when they were suggested by a favorite bishop, had power to prevent the restoration of the altar of Victory; but the same arguments fell, with much

[16] See the fifty-fourth Epistle of the tenth book of *Symmachus*. In the form and disposition of his ten books of *Epistles*, he imitated the younger Pliny; whose rich and florid style he was supposed, by his friends, to equal or excel (*Macrob. Saturnal.* l. 5, c. 1). But the luxuriancy of Symmachus consists of barren leaves, without fruits and even without flowers. Few facts and few sentiments, can be extracted from his verbose correspondence.

[17] See Ambrose (tom ii. *Epist.* xvii. xviii. pp. 825-833). The former of these epistles is a short caution; the latter is a formal reply to the petition or *libel* of Symmachus. The same ideas are more copiously expressed in the poetry, if it may deserve that name, of Prudentius; who composed his two books against Symmachus (A. D. 404) while that senator was still alive. It is whimsical enough that Montesquieu (*Considerations, &c.* c. xix. tom. iii. p. 487) should overlook the two professed antagonists of Symmachus, and amuse himself with descanting on the more remote and indirect confutations of Orosius, St. Augustine, and Salvian.*

* Gibbon omits the threat held out to Valentinian, of turning him away at the door of the church, and excluding him from the rites of religion.—ENG. CH.

more energy and effect, from the mouth of a conqueror; and the gods of antiquity were dragged in triumph at the chariot-wheels of Theodosius.[18] In a full meeting of the senate, the emperor proposed, according to the forms of the republic, the important question, Whether the worship of Jupiter, or that of Christ, should be the religion of the Romans?* The liberty of suffrages, which he affected to allow, was destroyed by the hopes and fears that his presence inspired; and the arbitrary exile of Symmachus was a recent admonition, that it might be dangerous to oppose the wishes of the monarch. On a regular division of the senate, Jupiter was condemned and degraded by the sense of a very large majority; and it is rather surprising, that any members should be found bold enough to declare, by their speeches and votes, that they were still attached to the interest of an abdicated deity.[19] The hasty conversion

[18] See Prudentius, (in *Symmach.* l. i. 545, &c.) The Christian agrees with the Pagan Zosimus, (l. iv. p. 283), in placing this visit of Theodosius after the *second* civil war, gemini bis victor cæde Tyranni, (l. i. 410). But the time and circumstances are better suited to his first triumph.

[19] Prudentius, after proving that the sense of the senate is declared by a legal majority, proceeds to say, (609, &c.)—

Adspice quam pleno subsellia nostra Senatu
Discernant infame Jovis pulvinar, et omne
Idolium longe purgata ex urbe fugandum,
Qua vocat egregii sententia Principis, illuc
Libera, cum pedibus, tum corde, frequentia transit.

Zosimus ascribes to the conscript fathers a heathenish courage, which few of them are found to possess.†

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* M. Beugnot, (in his *Histoire de la Destruction du Paganisme en Occident*, i. pp. 433–488), questions, altogether, the truth of this statement. It is very remarkable that Zosimus and Prudentius concur in asserting the fact of the question being solemnly deliberated by the senate, though with directly opposite results. Zosimus declares that the majority of the assembly adhered to the ancient religion of Rome; Gibbon has adopted the authority of Prudentius, who, as a Latin writer, though a poet, deserves more credit than the Greek historian. Both concur in placing the scene after the second triumph of Theodosius; but it has been almost demonstrated, (and Gibbon—see the preceding note—seems to have acknowledged this), by Pagi and Tillemont, that Theodosius did not visit Rome after the defeat of Eugenius. M. Beugnot urges, with much force, the improbability that the Christian emperor would submit such a question to the senate, whose authority was nearly obsolete, except on one occasion, which was almost hailed as an epoch in the restoration of her ancient privileges. The silence of Ambrose and of Jerom on an event so striking, and redounding so much to the honor of Christianity, is of considerable weight. M. Beugnot would ascribe the whole scene to the poetic imagination of Prudentius; but I must observe, that, however, Prudentius is sometimes elevated by the grandeur of his subject, to vivid and eloquent language, this flight of invention would be so much bolder and more vigorous than usual with this poet, that I cannot but suppose there must have been some foundation for the story, though it may have been exaggerated by the poet, and misrepresented by the historian.—MILMAN.

† In a note on this passage, Dean Milman says, that M. Beugnot "questions "altogether the truth of the statement." Neander takes a middle cause (*Hist. of Chris.* vol. iii., p. 111), which is probably the most correct. He says: "When "Theodosius marched into Rome, after the death of Eugenius, in the year 394, "he made a speech before the assembled senate, in which he called upon the 'Pagans, who, under the short reign of Eugenius, had once more enjoyed the "free exercise of their religion, to desist from their idolatry, and to embrace the

of the senate must be attributed either to supernatural or to sordid motives; and many of these reluctant proselytes betrayed, on every favorable occasion, their secret disposition to throw aside the mask of odious dissimulation. But they were gradually fixed in the new religion, as the cause of the ancient became more hopeless; they yielded to the authority of the emperor, to the fashion of the times, and to the entreaties of their wives and children,[20] who were instigated and governed by the clergy of Rome and the monks of the east. The edifying example of the Anician family was soon imitated by the rest of the nobility: the Bassi, the Paulini, the Gracchi, embraced the Christian religion; and "the luminaries of the world, the venerable "assembly of Catos," (such are the high-flown expressions of Prudentius,) "were impatient to strip themselves of their "pontifical garment; to cast the skin of the old serpent; "to assume the snowy robes of baptismal innocence; and "to humble the pride of the consular fasces before the "tombs of the martyrs."[21] The citizens, who subsisted by their own industry, and the populace, who were supported by the public liberality, filled the churches of the Lateran, and Vatican, with an incessant throng of devout proselytes. The decrees of the senate, which proscribed the worship of idols, were ratified by the general consent of the Romans;[22] the splendor of the capitol was defaced, and the solitary temples were abandoned to ruin and contempt.[23] Rome submitted to the yoke of the gospel; and the vanquished

20 Jerom specifies the pontiff Albinus, who was surrounded with such a believing family of children and grandchildren, as would have been sufficient to convert even Jupiter himself; an extraordinary proselyte! (tom. i. ad Lætam, p. 54.)

21 Exultare Patres videas, pulcherrima mundi
Lumina; Conciliumque senum gestire Catonum
Candidiore toga niveum pietatis amictum
Sumere; et exuvias deponere pontificales.
The fancy of Prudentius is warmed and elevated by victory.

22 Prudentius, after he had described the conversion of the senate and people, asks, with some truth and confidence,
Et dubitamus adhuc Roman, tibi, Christe, dicatam
In leges transisse tuas?

23 Jerom exults in the desolation of the Capitol, and the other temples of Rome, (tom. i. p. 54, tom. ii. p. 95.)

"faith in which alone they could find forgiveness of their sins. In spite of all "their representations, he withdrew from the Pagans what Eugenius had ac- "corded to them." Disregarding the testimony of Prudentius, he accepts that of Zosimus, which admits no other construction; but he acknowledges him, at the same time, to be "in this case, a suspicious witness," and therefore discredits all that he reports respecting the courage of the Pagan senators. Neander suspects also, that "what the pseudo-Prosper says (*de promiss. et predict.* Dei, pars "3, 38) of the disgraceful banishment of Symmachus, may be a fable."—ENG. CH.

provinces had not yet lost their reverence for the name and authority of Rome.*

Destruction of the temples in the provinces. A. D. 381, &c.

The filial piety of the emperors themselves engaged them to proceed, with some caution and tenderness, in the reformation of the eternal city. Those absolute monarchs acted with less regard to the prejudices of the provincials. The pious labor which had been suspended near twenty years since the death of Constantius,[24] was vigorously resumed, and finally accomplished, by the zeal of Theodosius. Whilst that warlike prince yet struggled with the Goths, not for the glory but for the safety of the republic, he ventured to offend a considerable party of his subjects, by some acts which might perhaps secure the protection of heaven, but which must seem rash and unseasonable in the eye of human prudence. The success of his first experiments against the Pagans, encouraged the pious emperor to reiterate and enforce his edicts of proscription; the same laws, which had been originally published in the provinces of the east, were applied, after the defeat of Maximus, to the whole extent of the western empire; and every victory of the orthodox Theodosius contributed to the triumph of the Christian and Catholic faith.[25] He attacked superstition in her most vital part, by prohibiting the use of sacrifices, which he declared to be criminal as well as infamous; and if the terms of his edicts more strictly condemned the impious curiosity which examined the entrails of the victims,[26] every subsequent explanation tended to involve, in the same guilt, the general

24 Libanius (Orat. pro Templis, p. 10, Genev. 1634, published by James Godefroy, and now extremely scarce) accuses Valentinian and Valens of prohibiting sacrifices. Some partial order may have been issued by the Eastern emperor; but the idea of any general law is contradicted by the silence of the *Code*, and the evidence of ecclesiastical history.†

25 See his laws in the *Theodosian Code*, l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 7–11.

26 Homer's sacrifices are not accompanied with any inquisition of entrails, (see *Feithius Antiquitat. Homer.* l. i. c. 10, 16). The Tuscans, who produced the first *Haruspices*, subdued both the Greeks and the Romans. (*Cicero de Devinatione*, 2, 23.)

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* M. Beugnot is more correct in his general estimate of the measures enforced by Theodosius for the abolition of Paganism. He seized (according to Zosimus) the funds bestowed by the public for the expense of sacrifices. The public sacrifices ceased, not because they were positively prohibited, but because the public treasury would no longer bear the expense. The public and the private sacrifices in the provinces, which were not under the same regulations with those of the capital, continued to take place. In Rome itself, many Pagan ceremonies, which were without sacrifice, remained in full force. The gods, therefore, were invoked, the temples were frequented, the pontificates inscribed, according to ancient usage, among the family titles of honor; and it cannot be asserted that idolatry was completely destroyed by Theodosius. See *Beugnot*, p. 491.—MILMAN.

† See in Reiske's edition of *Libanius*, tom. ii. p. 155. Sacrifice was prohibited by Valens, but not the offering of incense.—MILMAN.

practice of *immolation*, which essentially constituted the religion of the Pagans. As the temples had been erected for the purpose of sacrifice, it was the duty of a benevolent prince to remove from his subjects the dangerous temptation, of offending against the laws which he had enacted. A special commission was granted to Cynegius, the prætorian præfect of the east, and afterwards to the counts Jovius and Gaudentius, two officers of distinguished rank in the west; by which they were directed to shut the temples, to seize or destroy the instruments of idolatry, to abolish the privileges of the priests, and to confiscate the consecrated property for the benefit of the emperor, of the church, or of the army.[27] Here the desolation might have stopped; and the naked edifices, which were no longer employed in the services of idolatry, might have been protected from the destructive rage of fanaticism. Many of those temples were the most splendid and beautiful monuments of Grecian architecture; and the emperor him-

27 *Zosimus*, l. 4, p. 245, 249. *Theodoret*, l. 5, c. 21. Idatius in *Chron. Prosper. Aquitan.* l. 3, c. 38, apud Baronium, *Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 389, No. 52. Libanius (*pro Templis*, p. 10) labors to prove, that the commands of Theodosius were not direct and positive.*

* Libanius appears to be the best authority for the East, where, under Theodosius, the work of devastation was carried on with very different degrees of violence, according to the temper of the local authorities and of the clergy; and more especially the neighborhood of the more fanatical monks. Neander well observes, that the prohibition of sacrifice would be easily misinterpreted into an authority for the destruction of the buildings in which sacrifices were performed. (*Geschichte der Christlichen Religion.* ii. p. 156.) An abuse of this kind led to this remarkable oration of Libanius. Neander, however, justly doubts whether this bold vindication, or at least exculpation, of Paganism was ever delivered before, or ever placed in the hands of, the Christian emperor.—MILMAN.

Which of the three parties had the largest share of the spoil and manifested the greatest avidity for it? The ascendant hierarchy considered themselves to be defrauded of whatever was bestowed on their Pagan rivals, and therefore not only denounced every such act as impious and sacrilegious, but demanded the revenues, which they deflected from their previous course. Ecclesiastics were the keepers of the imperial conscience; they dictated the decrees, strained the interpretations of them to authorize acts of violence, assumed the power of executing the laws which they so perverted, led tumultuous bands to plunder and destroy heathen temples, Jewish synagogues, and heretical churches, and when the government was roused to check and punish such enormities, interfered to stop the correcting hand of justice. When any such merciful disposition was manifested by Theodosius, "his purpose was counteracted by the powerful influence of the bishops." (Neander, *Hist. of Christ.* vol. iii., p. 105). Gibbon cites as an instance of this, the reversal of the judgment on the "seditious prelate," and monks of Callinicum in Mesopotamia, whom the mighty Ambrose of Milan successfully defended, against the majesty both of the law, which they had broken, and of the emperor who had condemned them. Still the mischief became so intolerable, that five years afterwards Theodosius was obliged to enact a law (*Code*, l. 16, tit. 8, l. 9), ordering punishment for those who, "in the name of Christianity, committed such illegal spoliations." The worldly spirit, which puts on the mask of religion, sometimes found it most profitable in those days, not merely to allow Pagan temples to remain, but even to connive at the worship practiced in them. There were Christian land-owners, who permitted their peasants to offer sacrifices, because there were imposts on the temples, which produced a revenue to the landlord. Neander, *Hist. of Christ.* vol. iii. p. 113.—E. C.

self was interested not to deface the splendor of his own cities, or to diminish the value of his own possessions. Those stately edifices might be suffered to remain as so many lasting trophies of the victory of Christ. In the decline of the arts, they might be usefully converted into magazines, manufactures, or places of public assembly; and perhaps, when the walls of the temple had been sufficiently purified by holy rites, the worship of the true Deity might be allowed to expiate the ancient guilt of idolatry. But as long as they subsisted, the Pagans fondly cherished the secret hope, that an auspicious revolution, a second Julian, might again restore the altars of the gods; and the earnestness with which they addressed their unavailing prayers to the throne,[28] increased the zeal of the Christian reformers to extirpate, without mercy, the root of superstition. The laws of the emperors exhibit some symptoms of a milder disposition;[29] but their cold and languid efforts were insufficient to stem the torrent of enthusiasm and rapine, which was conducted, or rather impelled, by the spiritual rulers of the church. In Gaul, the holy Martin, bishop of Tours,[30] marched at the head of his faithful monks to destroy the idols, the temples, and the consecrated trees of his extensive diocese; and, in the execution of this arduous task, the prudent reader will judge whether Martin was supported by the aid of miraculous powers, or of carnal weapons. In Syria, the divine and excellent Marcellus,[31] as he is styled by Theodoret, a bishop animated with apostolic fervor, resolved to level with the ground the stately temples within the diocese of Apamea. His attack was resisted, by the skill and solidity with which the temple of Jupiter had been constructed. The building was seated on an eminence: on each of the four sides, the lofty roof was

[28] *Cod. Theodos.* l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 8, 18. There is room to believe that this temple of Edessa, which Theodosius wished to save for civil uses, was soon afterwards a heap of ruins. (Libanius *pro Templis*, pp. 26, 27, and Godefroy's notes, p. 59.)

[29] See this curious oration of Libanius *pro Templis*, pronounced, or rather composed about the year 390. I have consulted, with advantage, Dr. Lardner's version and remarks. (*Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. pp. 135–163).*

[30] See the *Life of Martin* by Sulpicius Severus, c. 9–14. The saint once mistook (as Don Quixote might have done) a harmless funeral for an idolatrous procession, and imprudently committed a miracle.

[31] Compare *Sozomen* (l. vii. c. 15) with *Theodoret* (l. v. c. 21). Between them, they relate the crusade and death of Marcellus.

* Neander thinks, that Libanius "could scarcely have ventured to utter before "the emperor" such a discourse, which he conjectures to have been "delivered "or *written*, only as a specimen of rhetorical art." *Hist. of Christ.* vol. iii, p. 107.—ENG. CH.

supported by fifteen massy columns, sixteen feet in circumference; and the large stones of which they were composed, were firmly cemented with lead and iron. The force of the strongest and sharpest tools had been tried without effect. It was found necessary to undermine the foundations of the columns, which fell down as soon as the temporary wooden props had been consumed with fire; and the difficulties of the enterprise are described under the allegory of a black dæmon, who retarded, though he could not defeat, the operations of the Christian engineers. Elated with victory, Marcellus took the field in person against the powers of darkness; a numerous troop of soldiers and gladiators marched under the episcopal banner, and he successively attacked the villages and country temples of the diocese of Apamea. Whenever any resistance or danger was apprehended, the champion of the faith, whose lameness would not allow him either to fight or fly, placed himself at a convenient distance, beyond the reach of darts. But this prudence was the occasion of his death: he was surprised and slain by a body of exasperated rustics; and the synod of the province pronounced without hesitation, that the holy Marcellus had sacrificed his life in the cause of God. In the support of this cause, the monks, who rushed, with tumultuous fury, from the desert, distinguished themselves by their zeal and diligence. They deserved the enmity of the Pagans; and some of them might deserve the reproaches of avarice and intemperance; of avarice, which they gratified with holy plunder, and of intemperance, which they indulged at the expense of the people, who foolishly admired their tattered garments, loud psalmody, and artificial paleness.[32] A small number of temples were protected by the fears, the venality, the taste, or the prudence, of the civil and ecclesiastical governors. The temple of the celestial Venus at Carthage, whose sacred precincts formed a circumference of two miles, was judiciously converted into a Christian church;[33] and a similar consecration has preserved inviolate the majestic dome of the Pantheon at Rome.[34] But in almost

[32] Libanius *pro Templis*, pp. 10–13. He rails at these black-garbed men, the Christian monks, who eat more than elephants. Poor elephants! *they* are temperate animals.

[33] Prosper. *Aquitan.* l. iii. c. 38, apud Baronium; *Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 389, No. 58, &c. The temple had been shut some time, and the access to it was overgrown with brambles.

[34] Donatus, *Roma Antiqua et Nova.* l. iv. c. 4, p. 468. This consecration was performed by Pope Boniface IV. I am ignorant of the favorable circumstances which had preserved the Pantheon above two hundred years after the reign of Theodosius.

every province of the Roman world an army of fanatics, without authority, and without discipline, invaded the peaceful inhabitants; and the ruin of the fairest structures of antiquity still displays the ravages of *those* barbarians who alone had time and inclination to execute such laborious destruction.

The temple of Serapis at Alexandria.

In this wide and various prospect of devastation, the spectator may distinguish the ruins of the temple of Serapis, at Alexandria.[35] Serapis does not appear to have been one of the native gods, or monsters, who sprung from the fruitful soil of superstitious Egypt.[36] The first of the Ptolemies had been commanded, by a dream, to import the mysterious stranger from the coast of Pontus, where he had been long adored by the inhabitants of Sinope; but his attributes and his reign were so imperfectly understood, that it became a subject of dispute, whether he represented the bright orb of day, or the gloomy monarch of the subterraneous regions.[37] The Egyptians, who were obstinately devoted to the religion of their fathers, refused to admit this foreign deity within the walls of their cities.[38] But the obsequious priests, who were seduced by the liberality of the Ptolemies, submitted, without resistance, to the power of the god of Pontus: an honorable and domestic genealogy was provided; and this fortunate usurper was introduced into the throne and bed of Osiris,[39] the husband of Isis, and the celestial monarch of Egypt. Alexandria, which claimed his peculiar protection, gloried in the name of the city of Serapis. His

[35] Sophronius composed a recent and separate history (*Jerom. in Script. Eccles.* tom. i. p. 303), which has furnished materials to *Socrates* (l. v, c. 16), *Theodoret* (l. v. c. 22), and *Rufinus* (l. ii. c. 22). Yet the last, who had been at Alexandria before and after the event, may deserve the credit of an original witness.

[36] Gerard Vossius (*Opera*, tom. v. p. 80, and *de Idololatria*, l, i. c. 29) strives to support the strange notion of the Fathers; that the patriarch Joseph was adored in Egypt, as the bull Apis, and the god Serapis.*

[37] Origo dei nondum nostris celebrata. Ægyptorium antistites *sic* memorant, &c., Tacit. *Hist.* iv. 83. The Greeks who had traveled into Egypt, were alike ignorant of this new deity.

[38] Macrobius, *Saturnal*, l. i. c. 7. Such a living fact decisively proves his foreign extraction.

[39] At Rome, Isis and Serapis were united in the same temple. The precedency which the queen assumed, may seem to betray her unequal alliance with the stranger of Pontus. But the superiority of the female sex was established in Egypt as a civil and religious institution (Diodor. *Sicul.* tom i. l. i. p. 31, edit. Wesseling), and the same order is observed in Plutarch's *Treatise of Isis* and *Osiris*; whom he identifies with *Serapis*.

* Consult *du Dieu Sérapis et son Origine, par* J. D. Guigniaut (the translator of Creuzer's *Symbolique*), Paris, 1828; and in the fifth volume of Bournouf's translation of *Tacitus*.—MILMAN.

temple,[40] which rivalled the pride and magnificence of the Capitol, was erected on the spacious summit of an artificial mount, raised one hundred steps above the level of the adjacent parts of the city; and the interior cavity was strongly supported by arches, and distributed into vaults and subterraneous apartments. The consecrated buildings were surrounded by a quadrangular portico; the stately halls, and exquisite statues, displayed the triumph of the arts; and the treasures of ancient learning were preserved in the famous Alexandrian library, which had arisen with new splendor from its ashes.[41] After the edicts of Theodosius had severely prohibited the sacrifices of the Pagans, they were still tolerated in the city and temple of Serapis; and this singular indulgence was imprudently ascribed to the superstitious terrors of the Christians themselves: as if they had feared to abolish those ancient rites, which could alone secure the inundations of the Nile, the harvests of Egypt, and the subsistence of Constantinople.[42]

Its final destruction, A. D. 389.

At that time[43] the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria was filled by Theophilus,[44] the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue; a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold and with blood. His pious indignation was excited by the honors of Serapis; and the insults which he offered to an ancient chapel of Bacchus,‡ convinced the Pagans that he

[40] *Ammianus* (xxii. 16). The *Expositio totius Mundi* (p. 8, in Hudson's *Geograph. Minor.* tom. iii.), and *Rufinus* (l. ii. c. 22), celebrate the *Serapeum*, as one of the wonders of the world.

[41] See *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tom. ix. pp. 397–416. The *old* library of the Ptolomies was *totally* consumed in Cæsar's Alexandrian war. Marc Antony gave the whole collection of Pergamus (200,000 volumes) to Cleopatra, as the foundation of the *new* library of Alexandria.

[42] Libanius (*pro Templis*, p. 21) indiscreetly provokes his Christian masters by this insulting remark.

[43] We may choose between the date of Marcellinus (A. D. 389) or that of Prosper (A. D. 391). Tillemont (*Hist. des Emp.* tom. v. pp. 310, 756) prefers the former, and Pagi the latter.*

[44] Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. xi. pp. 441–500. The ambiguous situation of Theophilus—a *saint*, as the friend of Jerom; a *devil*, as the enemy of Chrysostom—produces a sort of impartiality; yet, upon the whole, the balance is justly inclined against him.†

* Clinton, (*F. R.* i. 522), says 390.—ENG. CH

† Some ecclesiastical writers have feared to lower the credit of Jerome, by exhibiting Theophilus in his true colors. Even Mosheim was tender of him, and gives little more than an account of his crusade with an armed force against a troop of itinerant monks, whose admiration of Origen led them to maintain some heretical opinions. His English translator, however, says in a note, that Theophilus was "a man of strong, active, courageous mind, but crafty, unscrupulous, "artful and ambitious." Neander is the most honest, and describes him (*Hist. of Chris.* vol. iii. p. 108) as "a man of an altogether worldly spirit, who had little or "no hearty interest in the cause of Christ, and whose manner of administering "the episcopal office was least of all calculated to exert a good influence, in "building up the temple of the Lord in the hearts of men." Such were the materials out of which in those days one Saint made another.—ENG. CH.

‡ No doubt a temple of Osiris. *St. Martin*, iv. 398.—MILMAN.

meditated a more important and dangerous enterprise. In the tumultuous capital of Egypt, the slightest provocation was sufficient to inflame a civil war. The votaries of Serapis, whose strength and numbers were much inferior to those of their antagonists, rose in arms at the instigation of the philosopher Olympius,[45] who exhorted them to die in the defence of the altars of the gods. The Pagan fanatics fortified themselves in the temple, or rather fortress, of Serapis; repelled the besiegers by daring sallies, and a resolute defence; and, by the inhuman cruelties which they exercised on their Christian prisoners, obtained the last consolation of despair. The efforts of the prudent magistrate were usefully exerted for the establishment of a truce, till the answer of Theodosius should determine the fate of Serapis. The two parties assembled, without arms, in the principal square; and the imperial rescript was publicly read. But when a sentence of destruction against the idols of Alexandria was pronounced, the Christians sent up a shout of joy and exultation, whilst the unfortunate Pagans, whose fury had given way to consternation, retired with hasty and silent steps, and eluded, by their flight or obscurity, the resentment of their enemies. Theophilus proceeded to demolish the temple of Serapis, without any other difficulties than those which he found in the weight and solidity of the materials; but these obstacles proved so insuperable, that he was obliged to leave the foundations; and to content himself with reducing the edifice itself to a heap of rubbish, a part of which was soon afterwards cleared away to make room for a church erected in honor of the Christian martyrs. The valuable library of Alexandria was pillaged or destroyed; and, near twenty years afterwards, the appearance of the empty shelves excited the regret and indignation of every spectator, whose mind was not totally darkened by religious prejudice.[46] The compositions of ancient genius, so many of which have irretrievably perished, might surely

[45] Lardner (*Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. p. 411) has alleged a beautiful passage from Suidas, or rather from Damasius, which shows the devout and virtuous Olympius, not in the light of a warrior, but of a prophet.

[46] Nos vidimus armaria librorum quibus direptis, exinanita ea a nostris hominibus, nostris temporibus memorant. *Orosius*, l. vi c. 15, p. 421, edit. Havercamp. Though a bigot, and a controversial writer, Orosius seems to blush.*

* Two hundred and forty years after this event, the literary treasures of Alexandria are said to have been destroyed by another barbarian. But those who represent the Saracenic desolation as one of the causes of the "dark ages" that ensued, are silent on the earlier havoc committed by a pseudo-Christian bishop.–E. C.

The Mahometan fanatics completed the destruction the Christian bigots inaugurated; and both religions, by depriving the world of the accumulated knowledge of the past, have proved inimical to the welfare of mankind.—E.

have been excepted from the wreck of idolatry, for the amusement and instruction of succeeding ages; and either the zeal or the avarice of the archbishop,[47] might have been satiated with the rich spoils which were the reward of his victory. While the images and vases of gold and silver were carefully melted, and those of a less valuable metal were contemptuously broken, and cast into the streets,* Theophilus labored to expose the frauds and vices of the ministers of the idols; their dexterity in the management of the loadstone: their secret methods of introducing a human actor into a hollow statue;† and their scandalous abuse of the confidence of devout husbands and unsuspecting females.[48] Charges like these may seem to deserve some degree of credit, as they are not repugnant to the crafty and interested spirit of superstition. But the same spirit is equally prone to the base practice of insulting and calumniating a fallen enemy; and our belief is naturally checked by the reflection, that it is much less difficult to invent a fictitious story, than to support a practical fraud. The colossal statue of Serapis[49] was involved in the ruin of his temple and religion. A great number of plates of different metals, artificially joined together, composed the majestic figure of the deity, who touched on either side the walls of the sanctuary. The aspect of Serapis, his sitting

[47] Eunapius in the *Lives of Antoninus and Ædesius*, execrates the sacrilegious rapine of Theophilus. Tillemont *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. xiii. p. 453) quotes an epistle of Isidor of Pelusium, which reproaches the primate with the *idolatrous* worship of gold, the auri *sacra* fames.

[48] Rufinus names the priest of Saturn, who, in the character of the god, familiarly conversed with many pious ladies of quality; till he betrayed himself, in a moment of transport, when he could not disguise the tone of his voice. The authentic and impartial narrative of Æschines (see Bayle. *Dictionnaire Critique*, SCAMANDRE), and the adventures of Mundus (Joseph. *Antiquitat. Judaic.* l. xviii. c. 3, p. 877, edit. Havercamp) may prove that such amorous frauds have been practiced with success.

[49] See the images of Serapis in *Montfaucon* (tom. ii. p, 297); but the description of Macrobius (*Saturnal* l. i. c. 20) is much more picturesque and satisfactory.

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*"The early Christians destroyed paintings and statues," says Ingersoll, in *Interviews on Talmage*, page 111. "They were the enemies of all beauty. They "hated and detested every expression of art. They looked upon the love of "statues as a form of idolatry. They looked upon every painting as a remnant "of Paganism. They destroyed all upon which they could lay their ignorant "hands. Hundreds of years afterwards, the world was compelled to search for "the fragments that Christian fury had left. The Greeks filled the world with "beauty. For every stream and mountain and cataract they had a god or "goddess. Their sculptors impersonated every dream and hope, and their "mythology feeds, to-day, the imagination of mankind. The Venus de Milo is "the impersonation of beauty, in ruin—the sublimest fragment of the ancient "world."—E.

† An English traveler, Mr. Wilkinson, has discovered the secret of the vocal Memnon. There was a cavity in which a person was concealed, and struck a stone, which gave a ringing sound like brass. The Arabs, who stood below when Mr. Wilkinson performed the miracle, described the sound just as the author of the epigram, ὡς χάλκοιο τύπεντος.—MILMAN.

posture, and the sceptre which he bore in his left hand, were extremely similar to the ordinary representations of Jupiter. He was distinguished from Jupiter by the basket or bushel which was placed on his head; and by the emblematic monster which he held in his right hand: the head and body of a serpent branching into three tails, which were again terminated by the triple heads of a dog, a lion, and a wolf. It was confidently affirmed, that if any impious hand should dare to violate the majesty of the god, the heavens and the earth would instantly return to their original chaos. An intrepid soldier, animated by zeal, and armed with a weighty battle axe, ascended the ladder; and even the Christian multitude expected, with some anxiety, the event of the combat.[50] He aimed a vigorous stroke against the cheek of Serapis; the cheek fell to the ground; the thunder was still silent, and both the heavens and the earth continued to preserve their accustomed order and tranquillity. The victorious soldier repeated his blows: the huge idol was overthrown and broken in pieces; and the limbs of Serapis were ignominiously dragged through the streets of Alexandria. His mangled carcass was burnt in the amphitheatre, amidst the shouts of the populace; and many persons attributed their conversion to this discovery of the impotence of their tutelar deity. The popular modes of religion, that propose any visible and material objects of worship, have the advantage of adapting and familiarizing themselves to the senses of mankind; but this advantage is counterbalanced by the various and inevitable accidents to which the faith of the idolater is exposed. It is scarcely possible, that, in every disposition of mind, he should preserve his implicit reverence for the idols, or the relics, which the naked eye, and the profane hand, are unable to distinguish from the most common productions of art, or nature; and if, in the hour of danger, their secret and miraculous virtue does not operate for their own preservation, he scorns the vain apologies of his priests, and justly derides the object, and the folly, of his superstitious attach-

50 Sed fortes tremuere manus, motique verenda
Majestate loci, si robora sacra ferirent
In sua credebant redituras membra secures.

(*Lucan* iii, 429). "Is it true" (said Augustus to a veteran of Italy, at whose house he supped), "that the man who gave the first blow to the golden statue of Anaitis, "was instantly deprived of his eyes, and of his life?"—"Twas that man," replied the clear-sighted veteran, "and you now sup on one of the legs of the goddess." (Plin. *Hist. Natur.* xxxiii. 24.)

ment.[51] After the fall of Serapis, some hopes were still entertained by the Pagans, that the Nile would refuse his annual supply to the impious masters of Egypt; and the extraordinary delay of the inundation seemed to announce the displeasure of the river-god. But this delay was soon compensated by the rapid swell of the waters. They suddenly rose to such an unusual height, as to comfort the discontented party with the pleasing expectation of a deluge; till the peaceful river again subsided to the well-known and fertilizing level of sixteen cubits, or about thirty English feet.[52]

The Pagan religion is prohibited, A. D. 390.

The temples of the Roman empire were deserted, or destroyed; but the ingenious superstition of the Pagans still attempted to elude the laws of Theodosius, by which all sacrifices had been severely prohibited. The inhabitants of the country, whose conduct was less exposed to the eye of malicious curiosity, disguised their *religious*, under the appearance of *convivial* meetings. On the days of solemn festivals, they assembled in great numbers under the spreading shade of some consecrated trees; sheep and oxen were slaughtered and roasted; and this rural entertainment was sanctified by the use of incense, and by the hymns, which were sung in honor of the gods. But it was alleged, that, as no part of the animal was made a burnt-offering, as no altar was provided to receive the blood, and as the previous oblation of salt cakes, and the concluding ceremony of libations, were carefully omitted, these festal meetings did not involve the guests in the guilt, or penalty, of an illegal sacrifice.[53] Whatever might be the truth of the facts,

[51] The history of the reformation affords frequent examples of the sudden change from superstition to contempt.*

[52] *Sozomen*, l. vii. c. 20. I have supplied the measure. The same standard, of the inundation, and consequently of the cubit, has uniformally subsisted since the time of Herodotus. See Freret, in the *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xvi. pp. 344-353. Greaves's *Miscellaneous Works*, vol. i. p. 233. The Egyptian cubit is about twenty-two inches of the English measure.†

[53] Libanius (*pro Templis*, pp. 15, 16, 17) pleads their cause with gentle and insinuating rhetoric. From the earliest age, such feasts had enlivened the country; and those of Bacchus (*Georgic.* ii. 380) had produced the theatre of Athens. See Godefroy, ad. loc. *Liban.* and *Codex Theodos.* tom. vi. p. 284.‡

* When Boniface cut down the "Thunder-Oak" of the German Pagans, a similar scene was witnessed. (Neander, *Hist. of Christ* vol. iii. p. 109.)—E. C.

† Compare Wilkinson's *Thebes and Egypt*, p. 313.—MILMAN.

Dr. Lepsius, in July, 1843, discovered rock inscriptions near Semneh, which prove that the Nile "above four thousand years ago rose more than twenty-four "feet higher than now." (*Letters from Egypt, &c.* p. 239, edit. Bohn.) See also observations on this discovery by L. Horner, Esq. and the reply of Dr. Lepsius (ib. p. 530). The fact is important, and seems to indicate the gradual depression of the Mediterranean, the basin into which the floods of the Nile are drained. (See note vol. i., of this History, p. 273, and Humboldt's *Views of Nature*, p. 264, edit. Bohn.)—ENG. CH.

‡ Amid all its absurdities, the heathenism of antiquity had one redeeming

or the merit of the distinction,[54] these vain pretences were swept away by the last edict of Theodosius; which inflicted a deadly wound on the superstition of the Pagans.[55]* This

[54] Honorius tolerated these rustic festivals, (A. D. 399.) "Absque ullo sacrificio, "atque ulla superstitione damnabili." But nine years afterwards, he found it necessary to reiterate and enforce the same proviso. (*Codex Theodos.* l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 17, 19.)

[55] *Cod. Theodos.* l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 12. Jortin, (*Remarks on Eccles. History*, vol. iv. p. 134,) censures, with becoming asperity, the style and sentiments of this intolerant law.

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quality; it was a cheerful religion. The song, the dance, and the banquet, intermingled with its rites; and to conduct these was the only duty that devolved on some of its priests. Sacrifices were preludes to well-spread tables and social repasts, whether on occasions of public rejoicing, or in the hilarious communions of private hospitality. When Horace called upon the Romans to celebrate the victory of Actium, (*Carm.* i, 37,) it was by dancing and feasting in the temples; when he invited Mæcenas to commemorate with him his escape from the falling tree, (*Carm.* 3, 8,) the altar of green turf was prepared for the incense and the white goat; and again, (*Carm.* 4, 11,) bound with garlands, it stood ready for the lamb, when he called Phillis to share his festivities on his patron's birthday. Sacrifices thus contributed to prolong the attachment of the ancients to their Pagan worship, after the general discovery of its intrinsic insufficiency for the wants of the age. This was more particularly the case with the country population. Neither their proverbial antipathy to a change of habits, nor the impediments to instruction opposed by their servile condition, will so well account for this, as their desire to retain the "rustic holiday," which nothing but the services of the temple allowed them. In their sequestered homes, they could not share the amusements of the circus, and the other games and exhibitions by which the citizens were so often entertained; and therefore they prized the more, every relaxation of toil and animation of pleasure. By these associated practices, as also by the perquisites, which it brought in for interested parties, "the use of "sacrifice" helped to keep superstition alive; but it was not "its most vital "part." So long as it retained allowances from the state, and consecrated lands, it never wanted priests to give it a decent appearance of vigor, and gather votaries before its idols. It was by the withdrawal of the first and the confiscation of the last, that the fatal blow was given.—ENG. CH.

* Paganism maintained its ground for a considerable time in the rural districts. Endelechius, a poet who lived at the beginning of the fifth century, speaks of the cross as

Signum quod perhibent esse crucis Dei,
Magnis qui colitur solus inurbibus.

In the middle of the same century, Maximus, bishop of Turin, writes against the heathen deities as if their worship was still in full vigor in the neighborhood of his city. Augustine complains of the encouragement of the Pagan rites by heathen landowners; and Zeno of Verona, still later, reproves the apathy of the Christian proprietors in conniving at this abuse. (Compare *Neander*, ii. p. 169.) M. Beugnot shows that this was the case throughout the north and centre of Italy and in Sicily. But neither of these authors has adverted to one fact, which must have tended greatly to retard the progress of Christianity in these quarters. It was still chiefly a slave population which cultivated the soil; and however, in the towns, the better class of Christians might be eager to communicate "the "blessed liberty of the gospel" to this class of mankind; however their condition could not but be silently ameliorated by the humanizing influence of Christianity; yet, on the whole, no doubt the servile class would be the least fitted to receive the gospel; and its general propagation among them would be embarrassed by many peculiar difficulties. The rural population was probably not entirely converted before the general establishment of the monastic institutions. Compare *Quarterly Review* of Beugnot, vol. lvii. p. 52.—MILMAN.

The English Churchman has shown that Paganism "was a cheerful religion," and increased the sum of human happiness. Orthodox Christianity commends penance, prayer, and suffering on earth, while it promises happiness hereafter. Dean Milman thinks the "servile class" were "silently ameliorated" by this Christian belief; or rather, that they were happier because they were more miserable. The humanizing influence of Christianity on slavery was clearly shown in our Southern states prior to the late civil war; and the "servile class" were so exquisitely happy in the service of their Christian masters, that they never neglected an opportunity of escaping into freedom.—E.

prohibitory law is expressed in the most absolute and comprehensive terms. "It is our will and pleasure," says the emperor, "that none of our subjects, whether magistrates "or private citizens, however exalted or however humble "may be their rank and condition, shall presume, in any "city, or in any place, to worship an inanimate idol, by the "sacrifice of a guiltless victim." The art of sacrificing, and the practice of divination by the entrails of the victim, are declared (without any regard to the object of the inquiry) a crime of high treason against the state; which can be expiated only by the death of the guilty. The rites of Pagan superstition, which might seem less bloody and atrocious, are abolished, as highly injurious to the truth and honor of religion; luminaries, garlands, frankincense, and libations of wine, are specially enumerated and condemned; and the harmless claims of the domestic genius, of the household gods, are included in this rigorous proscription. The use of any of these profane and illegal ceremonies, subjects the offender to the forfeiture of the house, or estate, where they have been performed; and if he has artfully chosen the property of another for the scene of his impiety, he is compelled to discharge, without delay, a heavy fine of twenty-five pounds of gold, or more than one thousand pounds sterling. A fine, not less considerable, is imposed on the connivance of the secret enemies of religion, who shall neglect the duty of their respective stations, either to reveal, or to punish, the guilt of idolatry. Such was the persecuting spirit of the laws of Theodosius, which were repeatedly enforced by his sons and grandsons, with the loud and unanimous applause of the Christian world.[56]

Oppressed.

In the cruel reigns of Decius and Diocletian, Christianity had been proscribed, as a revolt

[56] Such a charge should not be lightly made; but it may surely be justified by the authority of St. Augustine, who thus addresses the Donatists: "Quis nostrum, quis vestrum non laudat leges ab Imperatoribus datas adversus sacrificia "Paganorum? Et certe longe ibi pœna severior constituta est; illius quippe impietatis capitale supplicium est." *Epist.* xciii. No. 10, quoted by Le Clerc (*Bibliothèque Choisie*, tom. viii. p. 277,) who adds some judicious reflections on the intolerance of the victorious Christians.*

* Yet Augustine, with laudable inconsistency, disapproved of the forcible demolition of the temples. "Let us first extirpate the idolatry of the hearts of "the heathen, and they will either themselves invite us or anticipate us in the "execution of this good work," tom. v. s. 62. Compare *Neander*, ii. 169, and, in p. 155, a beautiful passage from Chrysostom against all violent means of propagating Christianity.—MILMAN.

St Augustine summons his warriors to attack the Pagans, but to spare their temples. "Let us first extirpate the idolatry of the hearts of the heathen," is the brutal language of this model saint. Dean Milman calls this intolerance a "laudable inconsistency." He would doubtless style an *Auto da fe* an "amiable "weakness."—E.

from the ancient and hereditary religion of the empire; and the unjust suspicions which were entertained of a dark and dangerous faction, were, in some measure, countenanced by the inseparable union, and rapid conquests, of the Catholic church. But the same excuses of fear and ignorance cannot be applied to the Christian emperors, who violated the precepts of humanity and of the gospel. The experience of ages had betrayed the weakness, as well as folly, of Paganism; the light of reason and of faith had already exposed, to the greatest part of mankind, the vanity of idols; and the declining sect, which still adhered to their worship, might have been permitted to enjoy, in peace and obscurity, the religious customs of their ancestors. Had the Pagans been animated by the undaunted zeal, which possessed the minds of the primitive believers, the triumph of the church must have been stained with blood; and the martyrs of Jupiter and Apollo might have embraced the glorious opportunity of devoting their lives and fortunes at the foot of their altars. But such obstinate zeal was not congenial to the loose and careless temper of polytheism. The violent and repeated strokes of the orthodox princes, were broken by the soft and yielding substance against which they were directed; and the ready obedience of the Pagans protected them from the pains and penalties of the Theodosian code.[57] Instead of asserting, that the authority of the gods was superior to that of the emperor, they desisted, with a plaintive murmur, from the use of those sacred rites which their sovereign had condemned. If they were sometimes tempted, by a sally of passion, or by the hopes of concealment, to indulge their favorite superstition; their humble repentance disarmed the severity of the Christian magistrate, and they seldom refused to atone for their rashness, by submitting, with some secret reluctance, to the yoke of the gospel. The churches were filled with the increasing multitude of these unworthy proselytes, who had conformed, from temporal motives, to the reigning religion; and whilst they devoutly imitated the postures, and recited the prayers of the faithful, they satisfied their conscience by the silent

[57] *Orosius*, l. vii. c. 28, p. 537. Augustin (Enarrat. in *Psalm* cxl. apud Lardner *Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iv. p. 458,) insults their cowardice. "Quis eorum "comprehensus est in sacrificio (cum his legibus ista prohiberentur) et non "negavit?" *

* Without the artificial support of the state, and unsustained by the external accessories of wealth and revenue, heathenism had no internal strength to have induced, if it could have provoked, persecution. Thrown upon its own resources, it is not suprising that its decline was so rapid, its extinction so complete. After-traces of it, which some archæologists have turned up, are but insignificant.—E. C.

and sincere invocation of the gods of antiquity.[58] If the Pagans wanted patience to suffer, they wanted spirit to resist; and the scattered myriads, who deplored the ruin of the temples, yielded, without a contest, to the fortune of their adversaries.* The disorderly opposition[59] of the peasants of Syria, and the populace of Alexandria, to the rage of private fanaticism, was silenced by the name and authority of the emperor. The Pagans of the west, without contributing to the elevation of Eugenius, disgraced, by their partial attachment, the cause and character of the usurper. The clergy vehemently exclaimed, that he aggravated the crime of rebellion by the guilt of apostasy; that, by his permission, the altar of Victory was again restored; and that the idolatrous symbols of Jupiter and Hercules were displayed in the field, against the invincible standard of the cross. But the vain hopes of the Pagans were soon annihilated by the defeat of Eugenius; and they were left exposed to the resentment of the conqueror, who labored to deserve the favor of heaven by the extirpation of idolatry.[60]

Paganism finally extinguished. A. D. 390–420, &c.

A nation of slaves is always prepared to applaud the clemency of their master, who, in the abuse of absolute power, does not proceed to the last extremes of injustice and oppression. Theodosius might undoubtedly have proposed to his Pagan subjects the alternative of baptism or of death; and the eloquent Libanius has praised the moderation of a prince, who never enacted, by any positive law, that all his subjects should immediately embrace and practice the religion of their sovereign.[61] The profession of Christianity was not

58 Libanius, (*pro Templis*, pp. 17, 18) mentions, without censure, the occasional conformity, and as it were theatrical play, of these hypocrites.

59 Libanius concludes his apology (p. 32) by declaring to the emperor, that unless he expressly warrants the destruction of the temples, ἴσθι τοὺς τῶν ἀγρῶν δεσπότας, καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ νόμῳ βοηθήσοντας the proprietors will defend themselves and the laws.

60 Paulinus, in *Vit. Ambros.* c. 26. Augustin de Civitat. *Dei*, l. v. c. 26. *Theodoret.* l. v. c. 24.

61 Libanius suggests the form of a persecuting edict, which Theodosius might enact (*pro Templis*, p. 32); a rash joke, and a dangerous experiment. Some princes would have taken his advice.

* It is no disparagement to Paganism that it was overthrown by Christianity. Before the invention of gunpowder, the more civilized nations were not necessarily the best soldiers. In fact, the savage hordes of barbarians frequently overrun the fairest portions of Europe. Among sects, the more ignorant and credulous were generally the conquerors. The Arians, who believed in one God, though at one time the most powerful, were ultimately conquered by the Trinitarians, who believed in three. The tolerating spirit of Paganism, as illustrated by Julian, could not cope with the persecuting faith of Theodosius. The Huguenots of France were at least as intelligent and brave as their Catholic fellow-citizens, but these qualities could not avert the horrors of St. Bartholomew.—E.

made an essential qualification for the enjoyment of the civil rights of society, nor were any peculiar hardships imposed on the sectaries, who credulously received the fables of Ovid, and obstinately rejected the miracles of the gospel. The palace, the schools, the army, and the senate, were filled with declared and devout Pagans; they obtained, without distinction, the civil and military honors of the empire.* Theodosius distinguished his liberal regard for virtue and genius, by the consular dignity, which he bestowed on Symmachus;[62] and by the personal friendship which he expressed to Libanius;[63] and the two eloquent apologists of Paganism were never required either to change, or to dissemble, their religious opinions. The Pagans were indulged in the most licentious freedom of speech and writing; the historical and philosophical remains of Eunapius, Zosimus,[64] and the fanatic teachers of the school of

[62] Denique pro meritis terrestribus æqua rependens
Munera, sacricolis summos impertit honores.
Dux bonus, et certare sinit cum laude suorum,
Nec pago implicitos per debita culmina mundi
Ire viros prohibet.†
Ipse magistratum tibi consulis, ipse tribunal
Contulit.

Prudent. in Symmach. i. 617, &c.‡

[63] Libanius (*pro Templis*, p. 32) is proud that Thedosius should thus distinguish a man, who even in his *presence* would swear by Jupiter. Yet this presence seems to be no more that a figure of rhetoric.

[64] Zosimus who styles himself Count and ex-advocate of the Treasury, reviles, with partial and indecent bigotry, the Christian princes, and even the father of

* The most remarkable instance of this, at a much later period, occurs in the person of Merobaudes, a general and a poet, who flourished in the first half of the fifth century. A statue in honor of Merobaudes was placed in the Forum of Trajan, of which the inscription is still extant. Fragments of his poems have been recovered by the industry and sagacity of Niebuhr. In one passage, Merobaudes, in the genuine heathen spirit, attributes the ruin of the empire to the abolition of Paganism, and almost renews the old accusation of Atheism against Christianity. He impersonates some deity, probably Discord, who summons Bellona to take arms for the destruction of Rome; and in a strain of fierce irony recommends to her, among other fatal measures, to extirpate the gods of Rome:—

Roma, ipsique tremant furialia murmura reges.
Jam superos terris atque hospita numina pelle:
Romanos populare Deos, et nullus in aris
Vestæ exoratæ fotus strue palleat ignis.
His instructa dolis palatia celsa subibo
Majorum mores, et pectora prisca fugabo
Funditus; atque simul, nullo discrimine rerum;
Spernantur fortes, nec sic reverentia justis.
Attica neglecto pereat facundia Phœbo
Indignis contingat honos, et pondera rerum;
Non virtus sed casus agat; tristisque cupido;
Pectoribus sævi demens furor æstuet ævi;
Omniaque hæc sine mente Jovis, sine numine summo.

Merobaudes in Niebuhr's edit. of the *Byzantines*, p. 14.—MILMAN.

† I have inserted some [three] lines omitted by Gibbon.—MILMAN.

‡ The reader may here call to mind Neander's doubts respecting the asserted banishment of Symmachus. He was not only consul in 391, but also at different periods prefect of the city, corrector of Lucania and Bruttium, proconsul of Africa, and held other offices commemorated in an inscription by his son. (Clin. *F. R.* 1,523.)—ENG. CH.

Plato, betray the most furious animosity, and contain the sharpest invectives, against the sentiments and conduct of their victorious adversaries. If these audacious libels were publicly known, we must applaud the good sense of the Christian princes, who viewed, with a smile of contempt, the last struggles of superstition and despair.[65] But the imperial laws, which prohibited the sacrifices and ceremonies of Paganism, were rigidly executed; and every hour contributed to destroy the influence of a religion, which was supported by custom, rather than by argument. The devotion of the poet, or the philosopher, may be secretly nourished by prayer, meditation, and study; but the exercise of public worship appears to be the only solid foundation of the religious sentiments of the people, which derive their force from imitation and habit. The interruption of that public exercise may consummate, in the period of a few years, the important work of a national revolution. The memory of theological opinions cannot long be preserved, without the artificial helps of priests, of temples, and of books.[66] The ignorant vulgar, whose minds are still agitated by the blind hopes and terrors of superstition, will be soon persuaded by their superiors, to direct their vows to the reigning deities of the age; and will insensibly imbibe an ardent zeal for the support and propagation of the new doctrine, which spiritual hunger at first compelled them to accept. The generation that arose in the world after the promulgation of the imperial laws, was attracted within the pale of the Catholic church; and so rapid, yet so gentle, was the fall of Paganism, that only twenty-eight years after the death of Theodosius, the faint and minute vestiges were no longer visible to the eye of the legislator.[67]

his sovereign. His work must have been privately circulated, since it escaped the invectives of the ecclesiastical historians prior to Evagrius, (l. iii. c. 40–42,) who lived towards the end of the sixth century.*

65 Yet the Pagans of Africa complained, that the times would not allow them to answer with freedom the City of God; nor does *St. Augustin* (v. 26) deny the charge.

66 The Moors of Spain, who secretly preserved the Mahometan religion above a century, under the tyranny of the Inquisition, possessed the *Koran*, with the peculiar use of the Arabic tongue. See the curious and honest story of their expulsion in Geddes, (*Miscellanies*, vol. i. pp. 1–198.)

67 Paganos qui supersunt, quanquam jam nullos esse credamus, &c. *Cod. Theodos.* l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 22. A. D. 423. The younger Theodosius was afterwards satisfied that his judgment had been somewhat premature.†

* Heyne, in his Disquisitio in Zosimum Ejusque Fidem, places Zosimus towards the close of the fifth century. Zosim. *Heynii*, p. xvii.—MILMAN.

† The statement of Gibbon is much too strongly worded. M. Beugnot has traced the vestiges of Paganism in the West, after this period, in monuments and inscriptions with curious industry. Compare likewise note on the more tardy progress of Christianity in the rural districts.—MILMAN.

The worship of the Christian martyrs.

The ruin of the Pagan religion is described by the sophists, as a dreadful and amazing prodigy, which covered the earth with darkness, and restored the ancient dominion of chaos and of night. They relate, in solemn and pathetic strains, that the temples were converted into sepulchres, and that the holy places, which had been adorned by the statues of the gods, were basely polluted by the relics of Christian martyrs. "The "monks," a race of filthy animals, to whom Eunapius is tempted to refuse the name of men, "are the authors of "the new worship, which, in the place of those deities who "are conceived by the understanding, has substituted the "meanest and most contemptible slaves. The heads, salted "and pickled, of those infamous malefactors, who, for the "multitude of their crimes, have suffered a just and ignomin-"ious death; their bodies, still marked by the impression "of the lash, and the scars of those tortures which were "inflicted by the sentence of the magistrate; such" continues Eunapius "are the gods which the earth produces "in our days; such are the martyrs, the supreme arbitrators "of our prayers and petitions to the Deity, whose tombs "are now consecrated as the objects of the veneration of "the people."[68] Without approving the malice, it is natural enough to share the surprise, of the sophist, the spectator of a revolution, which raised those obscure victims of the laws of Rome, to the rank of celestial and invisible protectors of the Roman empire. The grateful respect of the Christians for the martyrs of the faith, was exalted, by time and victory, into religious adoration; and the most illustrious of the saints and prophets were deservedly associated to the honors of the martyrs. One hundred and fifty years after the glorious deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Vatican and the Ostian road were distinguished by the tombs, or rather by the the trophies, of those spiritual heroes.[69] In the age which followed the conversion of Constantine, the emperors, the consuls, and the generals of armies, devoutly visited the sepulchres of a tentmaker and a fisherman;[70]

[68] See Eunapius, in the life of the sophist Ædesius; in that of Eustathius he foretells the ruin of Paganism, καί τι μυθώδες, καὶ ἀειδὲς κότος τυράννησει τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς πάλλιστα.

[69] Caius, (apud Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* l. ii. c. 25), a Roman presbyter, who lived in the time of Zephyrinus, (A. D. 202–219,) is an early witness of this superstitious practice.

[70] Chrysostom. *Quod Christus sit Deus.* tom. i. nov. edit. No. 9. I am indebted for this quotation to Benedict the XIVth's pastoral letter on the Jubilee of the year 1750. See the curious and entertaining letters of M. Chais, tom. iii.

and their venerable bones were deposited under the altars of Christ, on which the bishops of the royal city continually offered the unbloody sacrifice.[71] The new capital of the eastern world, unable to produce any ancient and domestic trophies, was enriched by the spoils of dependent provinces. The bodies of St. Andrew, St. Luke, and St. Timothy, had reposed, near three hundred years, in the obscure graves, from whence they were transported, in solemn pomp, to the church of the apostles, which the magnificence of Constantine had founded on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus.[72] About fifty years afterwards, the same banks were honored by the presence of Samuel, the judge and prophet of the people of Israel. His ashes, deposited in a golden vase, and covered with a silken veil, were delivered by the bishops into each other's hands. The relics of Samuel were received by the people, with the same joy and reverence which they would have shown to the living prophet; the highways, from Palestine to the gates of Constantinople, were filled with an uninterrupted procession; and the emperor Arcadius himself, at the head of the most illustrious members of the clergy and senate, advanced to meet his extraordinary guest, who had always deserved, and claimed the homage of kings.[73] The example of Rome and Constantinople confirmed the faith and discipline of the Catholic world. The honors of the saints and martyrs, after a feeble and ineffectual murmur of profane reason,[74]

71 Male facit ergo Romanus episcopus? qui super mortuorum hominum, Petri et Pauli, secundum nos, ossa veneranda * * * offert Domino sacrificia, et tumulos eorum, Christi arbitratur altaria. *Jerom.* tom. ii. advers. *Vigilant.* p. 153.

72 *Jerom.* (tom. ii. p. 122) bears witness to these translations, which are neglected by the ecclesiastical historians. The passion of St. Andrew at Patræ is described in an epistle from the clergy of Achaia, which Baronius (*Annal Eccles.* A. D. 60, No. 34) wishes to believe, and Tillemont is forced to reject. St. Andrew was adopted as the spiritual founder of Constantinople, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. i. pp. 317–323, 588–594.)

73 *Jerom.* (tom. ii. p. 122) pompously describes the translation of Samuel, which is noticed in all the chronicles of the times.

74 The presbyter Vigilantius, the Protestant of his age, firmly, though ineffectually, withstood the superstition of monks, relics, saints, fasts, &c., for which *Jerom* compares him to the Hydra, Cerberus, the Centaurs, &c., and considers him only as the organ of the Dæmon, (tom. ii. pp. 120–126.) Whoever will peruse the controversy of St. Jerom and Vigilantius, and St. Augustin's account of the miracles of St. Stephen may speedily gain some idea of the spirit of the Fathers.*

* This controversy attracts more particular notice, since it illustrates the most important feature of the age and some other interesting facts. Vigilantius was guilty of the deadly sin of not thinking as Jerome did, respecting the celibacy of the clergy and other points of church discipline, as well as on the subjects mentioned by Gibbon. The heretic was therefore painted in the darkest colors that polemical ingenuity could invent. Although at that time an ecclesiastic of Spain, he was a native of Convenæ, a Gallic canton at the foot of the Pyrenees, denominated Cominges by the modern French. There was a tradition, that Pompey, returning from his victorious career in Spain, had planted a colony of his pris-

were universally established; and in the age of Ambrose and Jerom, something was still deemed wanting to the sanctity of a Christian church, till it had been consecrated by some portion of holy relics, which fixed and inflamed the devotion of the faithful.

General reflections.

In the long period of twelve hundred years, which elapsed between the reign of Constantine and the reformation of Luther, the worship of saints and relics corrupted the pure and perfect simplicity of the Christian model; and some symptoms of degeneracy may be observed even in the first generations which adopted and cherished this pernicious innovation.

I. Fabulous martyrs and relics.

I. The satisfactory experience, that the relics of saints were more valuable than gold or precious stones,[75] stimulated the clergy to multiply the treasures of the church. Without much regard for truth or probability, they invented names for skeletons, and actions for names. The fame of the apostles, and of the holy men who had imitated their virtues, was darkened by religious fiction. To the invincible band of genuine and primitive martyrs, they added myriads of imaginary heroes, who had never existed, except in the fancy of crafty or

[75] M. de Beausobre, (*Hist. du Manicheisme*, tom. ii. p. 648), has applied a worldly sense to the pious observations of the clergy of Smyrna, who carefully preserved the relics of St. Polycarp the martyr.

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oners on this spot and given the community its Latin name. Julius Cæsar, (*De Bell Civ.* l. 3, c. 17,) referred obscurely to a treaty with some lawless banditti among the wilds of the Pyrenees. In the bitterness of controversial rancor, Jerome availed himself of these grounds, for a furious asault on his adversary. "Worthy," he says, "is Vigilantius of his descent from that rabble of thieves "whom Cn. Pompey, on his return to celebrate his triumph for the conquest of "Spain, collected among the Pyrenean mountains and planted in one town to "which he gave the name of Convenæ." *Hieron. adv. Vig. Op.* tom. i. p. 589.) This vituperative ebullition of provoked sainthood has since been taken by our classical critics, among them Oudendorp and D'Anville, as sound historical evidence of a fact unknown to earlier writers. Neither Strabo nor Pliny had heard of this origin of Convenæ. The former is remarkable for having collected and recorded every current tradition relative to the early history of tribes and cities. In this instance he is silent. But he has used an expression, which, as he seems to have traveled through the region, probably indicates the true derivation of the name. He calls it (lib. 4) τῶν Κονουένων συγκλύδων, a term which his different editors and annotators are at a loss to explain, and for which they have proposed to substitute various readings. The meaning of it is, *confluvium*, a flowing together of waters. The whole district is full of torrents rushing down from the heights of the Pyrenees, and successively uniting to form the head of the Garonne. The *Aquæ Convenarum* and streams that are formed in that tract of country are mentioned by Cellarius, (tom. i. p. 145.) Instead, therefore, of affording the delusive grounds on which Jerome relied, in the gratification of his malignity, it is evident that the Latin *Convenæ* and the French *Cominges* are corrupted forms of the *Coman* or *Covan*, by which the Celtic inhabitants designated the *meetings of waters* in that region. Their language supplied also the name of the river which finally issues from these waters, for the Garonne is their *Garwan* (see Armstrong's *Gaelic Dictionary*,) *the rough water*, so graphically and characteristically described by *Pomponius Mela*, (lib. 3, c. 2.)—ENG. CH.

credulous legendaries; and there is reason to suspect, that Tours might not be the only diocese in which the bones of a malefactor were adored instead of those of a saint.[76] A superstitious practice, which tended to increase the temptations of fraud, and credulity, insensibly extinguished the light of history and of reason in the Christian world.

II. Miracles.

II. But the progress of superstition would have been much less rapid and victorious, if the faith of the people had not been assisted by the seasonable aid of visions and miracles, to ascertain the authenticity and virtue of the most suspicious relics. In the reign of the younger Theodosius, Lucian,[77] a presbyter of Jerusalem, and the ecclesiastical minister of the village of Caphargamala, about twenty miles from the city, related a very singular dream, which, to remove his doubts, had been repeated on three successive Saturdays. A venerable figure stood before him in the silence of the night, with a long beard, a white robe, and a gold rod; announced himself by the name of Gamaliel, and revealed to the astonished presbyter, that his own corpse, with the bodies of his son Abibas, his friend Nicodemus, and the illustrious Stephen, the first martyr of the Christian faith, were secretly buried in the adjacent field. He added, with some impatience, that it was time to release himself, and his companions, from their obscure prison; that their appearance would be salutary to a distressed world; and that they had made choice of Lucian to inform the bishop of Jerusalem of their situation and their wishes. The doubts and difficulties which still retarded this important discovery, were successively removed by new visions; and the ground was opened by the bishop, in the presence of an innumerable multitude. The coffins of Gamaliel, of his son, and of his friend, were found in regular order; but when the fourth coffin, which contained the remains of Stephen, was shown to the light, the earth trembled, and an odor, such as that of Paradise, was smelt, which instantly cured the various diseases of seventy-three of the assistants. The companions of Stephen were

[76] Martin of Tours, (see his *Life*, c. 8, by Sulpicius Severus), extorted this confession from the mouth of the dead man. The error is allowed to be natural; the discovery is supposed to be miraculous. Which of the two was likely to happen most frequently?

[77] Lucian composed in Greek his original narrative, which has been translated by Avitus, and published by Baronius. (*Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 415, No. 7—16.) The Benedictine editors of St. Augustin have given (at the end of the work *de Civitate Dei*) two several copies, with many various readings. It is the character of falsehood to be loose and inconsistent. The most incredible parts of the legend, &c., are smoothed and softened by Tillemont *Mém. Eccles.* tom. ii., p. 9, &c.

left in their peaceful residence of Caphargamala: but the relics of the first martyr were transported, in solemn procession, to a church constructed in their honor on mount Sion; and the minute particles of those relics, a drop of blood,[78] or the scrapings of a bone, were acknowledged, in almost every province of the Roman world, to possess a divine and miraculous virtue. The grave and learned Augustin,[79] whose understanding scarcely admits the excuse of credulity, has attested the innumerable prodigies which were performed in Africa by the relics of St. Stephen; and this marvellous narrative is inserted in the elaborate work of the *City of God*, which the bishop of Hippo designed as a solid and immortal proof of the truth of Christianity. Augustin solemnly declares, that he had selected those miracles only which were publicly certified by the persons who were either the objects, or the spectators, of the power of the martyr.* Many prodigies were omitted, or forgotten; and Hippo had been less favorably treated than the other cities of the province. And yet the bishop enumerates above seventy miracles, of which three were resurrections from the dead, in the space of two years, and within the limits of his own diocese.[80] If we enlarge our view to all the dioceses, and all the saints, of the Christian world, it will not be easy to calculate the fables, and the errors, which issued from this inexhaustible source. But we may surely be allowed to observe, that a miracle, in that age of superstition and credulity, lost its name and its merit, since it could scarcely be considererd as a deviation from the ordinary, and established, laws of nature.

III. Revival of Polytheism.

III. The innumerable miracles, of which the tombs of the martyrs were the perpetual theatre, revealed to the pious believer, the actual state

[78] A phial of St. Stephen's blood was annually liquified at Naples, till he was superseded by St. Januarius (Ruinart. *Hist. Persecut. Vandal.* p. 529.)

[79] Augustin composed the two-and-twenty books *de Civitate Dei* in the space of thirteen years, A. D. 413—426 (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. xiv. p. 608, &c.) His learning is too often borrowed, and his arguments are too often his own; but the whole work claims the merit of a magnificent design, vigorously, and not unskillfully, executed.†

[80] See Augustin *de Civitat. Dei*, l. xxii. c. 22, and the *Appendix*, which contains two books of St. Stephen's miracles, by Evodius, bishop of Uzalis. Freculphus (apud Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, tom. viii. p. 249) has preserved a Gallic or a Spanish proverb, "Whoever pretends to have read all the miracles of St. Stephen, "he lies."

* St. Augustin wished to "extirpate the idolatry of the hearts of the heathen," and Dean Milman, in a preceding note, approved this sentiment. And yet St. Augustin believed in the miraculous power of the scrapings of a decayed bone, and the medical virtue of the dried blood of a Christian martyr.—E.

† Clinton shows that Augustin was employed on the work seventeen years, from A. D. 411 to 428. See *F. H.* i. p. 291; *F. R.* i. p. 464.—ENG. CH.

and constitution of the invisible world; and his religious speculations appeared to be founded on the firm basis of fact and experience. Whatever might be the condition of vulgar souls, in the long interval between the dissolution and the resurrection of their bodies, it was evident that the superior spirits of the saints and martyrs did not consume that portion of their existence in silent and inglorious sleep.[81] It was evident (without presuming to determine the place of their habitation, or the nature of their felicity,) that they enjoyed the lively and active consciousness of their happiness, their virtue, and their powers; and that they had already secured the possession of their eternal reward. The enlargement of their intellectual faculties surpassed the measure of the human imagination; since it was proved by *experience*, that they were capable of hearing and understanding the various petitions of their numerous votaries; who, in the same moment of time, but in the most distant parts of the world, invoked the name and assistance of Stephen or of Martin.[82] The confidence of their petitioners was founded on the persuasion that the saints, who reigned with Christ, cast an eye of pity upon earth; that they were warmly interested in the prosperity of the Catholic church; and that the individuals, who imitated the example of their faith and piety, were the peculiar and favorite objects of their most tender regard. Sometimes, indeed, their friendship might be influenced by considerations of a less exalted kind; they viewed, with partial affection, the places which had been consecrated by their birth, their residence, their death, their burial, or the possession of their relics. The meaner passions of pride, avarice, and revenge, may be deemed unworthy of a celestial breast; yet the saints themselves condescended to testify their grateful approbation of the liberality of their votaries: and the sharpest bolts of punishment were hurled against those impious wretches, who violated their magnificent shrines, or disbelieved their

[81] Burnet (*de Statu Mortuorum*, pp. 56—84) collects the opinions of the Fathers, as far as they assert the sleep, or repose, of human souls till the day of judgment. He afterward exposes (p. 91, &c.,) the inconveniences which must arise, if they possessed a more active and sensible existence.

[82] Vigilantius placed the souls of the prophets and martyrs either, in the bosom of Abraham (in loco refrigerii), or else under the altar of God. Nec posse suis tumulis et ubi voluerunt adesse præsentes. But *Jerom* (tom. ii. p. 122,) sternly refuted this *blasphemy*. Tu Deo leges pones? Tu apostolis vincula injicies, ut usque ad diem judicii teneantur custodia, nec sint cum Domino suo: de quibus scriptum est, Sequuntur Agnum quocunque vadit. Si Agnus ubique, ergo, et hi, qui cum Agno sunt, ubique esse credendi sunt. Et cum diabolus et dæmones, toto vagentur in orbe, &c.

supernatural power.[83] Atrocious, indeed, must have been the guilt, and strange would have been the skepticism, of those men, if they had obstinately resisted the proofs of a divine agency, which the elements, the whole range of the animal creation, and even the subtle and invisible operations of the human mind, were compelled to obey.[84] The immediate, and almost instantaneous, effects, that were supposed to follow the prayer, or the offence, satisfied the Christians of the ample measure of favor and authority which the saints enjoyed in the presence of the supreme God; and it seemed almost superfluous to inquire, whether they were continually obliged to intercede before the throne of grace; or whether they might not be permitted to exercise, according to the dictates of their benevolence and justice, the delegated powers of their subordinate ministry. The imagination, which had been raised by a painful effort to the contemplation and worship of the Universal Cause, eagerly embraced such inferior objects of adoration as were more proportioned to its gross conceptions and imperfect faculties. The sublime and simple theology of the primitive Christians was gradually corrupted; and the MONARCHY of heaven, already clouded by metaphysical subtilities, was degraded by the introduction of a popular mythology* which tended to restore the reign of polytheism.[85]

IV. Introduction of Pagan ceremonies.

IV. As the objects of religion were gradually reduced to the standard of the imagination, the rites and ceremonies were introduced that seemed most powerfully to affect the senses of the vulgar. If, in the beginning of the fifth century,[86]

[83] Fleury, *Discours sur l'Hist. Ecclésiastique*, iii. p. 80.

[84] At Minorca, the relics of St. Stephen converted, in eight days, 540 Jews; with the help, indeed, of some wholesome severities, such as burning the Synagogue, driving the obstinate infidels to starve among the rocks, &c. See the original letter of Severus, bishop of Minorca (ad calcem St. Augustin. *de Civ. Dei*,) and the judicious remarks of Basnage (tom. viii. pp. 245–251.)

[85] Mr. Hume (*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 434,) observes, like a philosopher the natural flux and reflux of Polytheism and Theism.†

[86] D'Aubigné (see his own *Mémoires*, pp. 156—160) frankly offered, with the consent of the Huguenot ministers, to allow the first 400 years as the rule of faith. The Cardinal du Perron haggled for forty years more, which were indiscreetly given. Yet neither party would have found their account in this foolish bargain.

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* The popularity of the Christian mythology does not prove its truth. It found Rome powerful, prosperous and civilized: and it banished liberty, enthroned superstition, and destroyed the Roman empire. Faith, ignorance, and intolerance were its weapons, and the Dark Ages of oppression and enthrallment its unhappy results.—E.

† Such alterations are not the natural movements of the human mind. Its course is ever onward, nor does it halt or retrograde save by the pressure of external forces. Against these, though it may struggle for a time unavailingly, it finally prevails.—ENG. CH.

Tertullian, or Lactantius,[87] had been suddenly raised from the dead, to assist at the festival of some popular saint, or martyr,[88] they would have gazed with astonishment, and indignation, on the profane spectacle, which had succeeded to the pure and spiritual worship of a Christian congregation. As soon as the doors of the church were thrown open, they must have been offended by the smoke of incense, the perfume of flowers, and the glare of lamps and tapers, which diffused, at noon-day, a gaudy, superfluous, and, in their opinion, a sacrilegious light. If they approached the balustrade of the altar, they made their way through the prostrate crowd, consisting for the most part of strangers and pilgrims, who resorted to the city on the vigil of the feast, and who already felt the strong intoxication of fanaticism, and, perhaps, of wine. Their devout kisses were imprinted on the walls and pavement of the sacred edifice; and their fervent prayers were directed, whatever might be the language of their church, to the bones, the blood, or the ashes, of the saint, which were usually concealed, by a linen or silken veil, from the eyes of the vulgar. The Christians frequented the tombs of the martyrs, in the hope of obtaining, from their powerful intercession, every sort of spiritual, but more especially of temporal, blessings. They implored the preservation of their health, or the cure of their infirmities; the fruitfulness of their barren wives, or the safety and happiness of their children. Whenever they undertook any distant or dangerous journey, they requested, that the holy martyrs would be their guides and protectors on the roads; and if they returned without having experienced any misfortune, they again hastened to the tombs of the martyrs, to celebrate, with grateful thanksgivings, their obligations to the memory and relics of those heavenly patrons. The walls were hung round with symbols of the favors which they had received; eyes, and hands, and feet, of gold and silver: and edifying pictures, which could not long escape the abuse of indiscreet or idolatrous devotion, represented the image, the attributes, and the miracles of the tutelar saint. The same uniform original spirit of superstition

[87] The worship practiced and inculcated by Tertullian, Lactantius, Arnobius, &c., is so *extremely* pure and spiritual, that their declamations against the Pagan, sometime glance against the Jewish, ceremonies.

[88] Faustus the Manichæan accuses the Catholics of idolatry. Vertitis idola in martyres * * * quos votis similibus colitis. M. de Beausobre, (*Hist. Critique du Manicheisme*, tom. ii. pp. 629–700,) a Protestant, but a philosopher, has represented, with candor and learning, the introduction of *Christian idolatry* in the fourth and fifth centuries.

might suggest, in the most distant ages and countries, the same method of deceiving the credulity, and of affecting the senses, of mankind:[89] but it must ingenuously be confessed, that the ministers of the Catholic church imitated the profane model, which they were impatient to destroy. The most respectable bishops had persuaded themselves, that the ignorant rustics would more cheerfully renounce the superstition of Paganism, if they found some resemblance, some compensation, in the bosom of Christianity. The religion of Constantine achieved, in less than a century, the final conquest of the Roman empire: but the victors themselves were insensibly subdued by the arts of their vanquished rivals.[90]*

[89] The resemblance of superstition, which could not be imitated, might be traced from Japan to Mexico. Warburton has seized this idea, which he distorts, by rendering it too general and absolute (*Divine Legation*, vol. iv. p. 126, &c.)

[90] The imitation of Paganism is the subject of Dr. Middleton's agreeable letter from Rome. Warburton's animadversions obliged him to connect (vol. iii. pp. 120–132) the history of the two religions, and to prove the antiquity of the Christian copy.†

* But there was always this important difference between Christian and heathen Polytheism. In Paganism this was the whole religion; in the darkest ages of Christianity, some, however obscure and vague, Christian notions of future retribution, of the life after death, lurked at the bottom, and operated to a certain extent, on the thoughts and feelings, sometimes on the actions.—M.‡

† That subjugation of mind, which the hierarchy had been for three centuries effecting, begins now to develop rapidly its necessary consequences. Delusions so gross, impostures so impudent, could only find credit where neglected education and stolid ignorance had prepared weakened intellects to receive them. They were the rivets and bolts of the deadly chain by which a worldly priesthood was dragging back enslaved mind into the barbarism whence it had been for eighteen centuries emerging. Well might Niebuhr say, when closing his review of learning and art in the time of Theodosius, (*Lectures*, vol. iii., p. 327,) "Ignorance and indifference to literature increased more and more among the "higher classes, whilst the memory of the olden times had been entirely lost." Thus was it, that a generation had been trained so submissive to their enslavers, so spirit-broken, so helpless, that they were incapable of defending their country or themselves, and tamely yielded to the stern, rough, but manly invaders who crowded upon them. All this, be it remembered, had been in progress, long before the irruption of those unlettered races, who have been calumniated as the authors of the darkness which for the next thousand years overspread mankind.

* * * Niebuhr has concisely stated this in his *Lectures* (vol. iii. p. 330). "Not "only literature and creative genius," he says, "but the spirit of bravery also had "died away; the Italians were now a mere helpless rabble." Thus had the descendants of the world's conquerors and instructors degenerated in the space of four hundred years. Yet, during all that time, a religion was becoming ascendant among them, by which they ought to have been improved; and by which, in defiance of these incontestable facts, some strangely maintain and still more blindly believe, that they actually were improved. Why it had failed in its sublime vocation, and why its advancing steps were marked by growing depravity instead of maturing virtue, is the problem for history to solve.—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

‡ The Rev. Robt. Taylor in his Diegesis asserts that during the fifth century, "when all there was of religion in the world merged in the palpable obscurity of "the Dark Ages, Christianity, as a religion distinct from Paganism, had gained "no extensive footing; that priests, altars, temples, solemn festivals, melancholy "grimaces, ridiculous attitudes, trinkets, banners, bells, candles, cushions, holy "water, holy wine, holy biscuits, holy oil, holy smoke, holy vestments, holy books, "state candlesticks, dim-painted windows, chalices, salvers, pictures, tablets, "music, &c., were substantially the same in both religions; and further that, "Ammonius Saccus, the teacher of Origen, had taught that 'Christianity and "'Paganism when rightly understood, differed in no essential points, but had a "'common origin, and really were one and the same religion.'"—E.

CENTAUR.

MERCURY.

ÆSCULAPIUS.

HYGEIA.

ÆSCULAPIUS was the god of Medicine—the benefactor and *Savior* of mankind. He was the son of Apollo and the nymph Coronis, who was the daughter of a Thessalian king, and his most celebrated grove and temple was at Epidaurus, where the great physician was worshiped under the form of a serpent. His daughter HYGEIA—identical with the Roman goddess of health, SALUS—also received divine honors, and her statue at Ægrium, in Achaia, was sacred to the priests.

In the engraving on the preceeding page ÆSCULAPIUS is seen as presented in an ancient statue. On his left hand is the trunk of a tree, around which a serpent winds, symbolizing renovation, health, prudence, and foresight. His son, TELESPHORUS—the god of convalescents—is on his right hand, and wears the curious hood and mantle in which he is always represented. HYGEIA is seated on a rock. In her right hand she holds a sceptre, and in her left, a bowl, towards which a large serpent is advancing. CHIRON, the wise Centaur, who taught ÆSCULAPIUS Botany and the secret efficacy of plants, is shown in the upper left hand corner, and in the opposite corner is seen the god MERCURY, holding in his right hand the *caduceus*, or wand, with the twined serpents in congress—the symbol of strength and virility—which was presented to him by Apollo, and which was endowed with miraculous powers. The *petasus*, or winged cap, and the *talaria*, or winged sandals, were gifts from Zeus.

Holy prophets foretold the birth of Æsculapius, and joyfully proclaimed to an expectant world, the blessings the god would bestow upon mankind. His worship was first established in Egypt, and from thence propagated throughout Greece. Within a short time after his death he was deified and received divine honors, and his worship continued, with scarcely diminished splendor, for centuries after the establishment of Christianity. Taylor has shown the remarkable resemblance between the prophecies of Ovid and Isaiah, as follows:

ÆSCULAPIUS.

"Mr. ADDISON'S versification of the prophecies which foretold the life and actions of Æsculapius, from the Metamorphoses of Ovid.

Once, as the sacred infant she surveyed,
The god was kindled in the raving maid;
And thus she uttered her prophetic tale,
'Hail, great physician of the world! all hail.
Hail mighty infant, who in years to come,
Shalt heal the nations, and defraud the tomb!
Swift be thy growth, thy triumphs unconfined,
Make kingdoms thicker, and increase mankind.
Thy daring art shall animate the dead,
And draw the thunder on thy guilty head;
Then shalt thou die, but from the dark abode
Shalt rise victorious, and be twice a god.'"

JESUS CHRIST.

"Mr. POPE'S versification of the prophecies which foretold the life and actions of Jesus Christ, from the prophecies of Isaiah.

Ye nymphs of Solyma, begin the song!
O thou my voice inspire,
That touched Isaiah's hallowed lips with fire,
Rapt into future times the bard begun—
A virgin shall conceive, a virgin bear a son.
Swift fly the years, and rise th' expected morn—
O spring to light, auspicious babe be born.
He from thick films shall purge the visual ray,
And on the sightless eyeball pour the day:
'Tis he, th' obstructed paths of sound shall clear,
And bid new music charm th' unfolding ear;
The dumb shall sing, the lame his crutch forego,
And leap exulting, like the bounding roe."

"Among the Greeks it was believed," continues Taylor, "that the god Apollo "himself had represented Æsculapius as his son by a voice from the oracle: and "it is a striking coincidence of fact, if it be no more than a coincidence, that we "find the Christian Father, Eusebius, attempting to prove the divinity of Jesus "Christ from an answer given by the same oracle; while the text of the Gospel "of St. Matthew, iii. 17, written certainly much later than those answers, runs, "'*Lo, a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased.*' It was believed that Æsculapius was so expert in medicine, as not "only to cure the sick, but even to raise the dead." PLUTO, the destroying power, protested against this latter miracle; and JUPITER in anger hurled his lightnings at the benignant god and savior, thus destroying ÆSCULAPIUS, the second benefactor of mankind, as he had formerly punished PROMETHEUS, the creator and preserver of the human race.—E.

Hector and Andromache.*

X.

ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND EFFECTS OF THE MONASTIC LIFE.—CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS TO CHRISTIANITY AND ARIANISM.—PERSECUTION OF THE VANDALS IN AFRICA.—EXTINCTION OF ARIANISM AMONG THE BARBARIANS.†

THE indissoluble connection of civil and ecclesiastical affairs has compelled and encouraged me to relate the progress, the persecutions, the establishment, the divisions, the final triumph, and the gradual corruption of Christianity. I have purposely delayed the consideration of two religious events, interesting in the study of human nature, and important in the decline and fall of the Roman

* The poetry of Homer has immortalized the heroes of the Trojan war, and Hector is one of the noblest conceptions of the Grecian poet. Among the brave defenders of Troy, none were found more valiant than the son of Priam and Hecuba, who slew Patroclus, but could not withstand the power of Achilles. He anticipated his untimely death, which he bravely met in defence of his country, and, fearing the cruelty of the Greeks, thus mournfully addresses his wife:

"I see thee weeping, trembling, captive led."

Indeed, the *Iliad* contains nothing more pathetic than the parting scene between Hector and Andromache.—E.

† Chap. XXXVII. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*

empire. I. The institution of the monastic life;[1] and, II. The conversion of the northern barbarians.

I. THE MONASTIC LIFE. Origin of the monks.

I. Prosperity and peace introduced the distinction of the *vulgar* and the *ascetic Christians*.[2] The loose and imperfect practice of religion satisfied the conscience of the multitude. The prince or magistrate, the soldier or merchant, reconciled their fervent zeal, and implicit faith, with the exercise of their profession, the pursuit of their interest, and the indulgence of their passions; but the Ascetics, who obeyed and abused the rigid precepts of the gospel, were inspired by the savage enthusiasm, which represents man as a criminal, and God as a tyrant. They seriously renounced the business, and the pleasures, of the age; abjured the use of wine, of flesh, and of marriage; chastised their body, mortified their affections, and embraced a life of misery, as the price of eternal happiness. In the reign of Constantine, the Ascetics fled from a profane and degenerate world, to perpetual solitude, or religious society. Like the first Christians of Jerusalem,[3]* they resigned the use, or the

[1] The origin of the monastic institution has been laboriously discussed by Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. pp. 1419–1426) and Helyot *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. i. pp. 1–66.) These authors are very learned and tolerably honest, and their difference of opinion shows the subject in its full extent. Yet the cautious Protestant, who distrusts *any* Popish guides, may consult the seventh book of Bingham's *Christian Antiquities*.

[2] See Euseb. *Demonstrat. Evangel.* (l. i. pp. 20, 21, edit. Græc. Rob. Stephani, Paris, 1545.) In his *Ecclesiastical History*, published twelve years after the *Demonstration*, Eusebius (l. ii. c. 17) asserts the Christianity of the Therapeutæ; but he appears ignorant that a similar institution was actually revived in Egypt.†

[3] Cassian, (*Collat.* xviii. 5), claims this origin for the institution of the *Cœnobites*, which gradually decayed till it was restored by Antony and his disciples.

* It has been before shown that the first Christian community was not strictly Cœnobitic. See vol. ii.—MILMAN.

† Neander (*Hist. of Chris.* vol. iii., p. 323) justly remarks that "the ascetic "tendency cannot, in itself considered, be regarded as a phenomenon peculiar to "Christianity and springing simply out of the spirit of this religion. Something "like it is to be found in other religions." Not only in other religions, but in human nature itself. Amid our endless varities of temper and character, there always will be some more or less disposed to seek retirement from the world. The studious, the toil-worm, the persecuted, the disappointed, the disgusted, all in their own way, withdraw into a solitude where they may escape the cares of social life. Christianity undoubtedly favored this tendency, by encouraging in its earnest professors a desire to avoid the contamination of licentious manners. Mosheim (*Institutes*, i. 167) assumes it to be almost coeval with the religion itself, and to have originated in the wish of the earliest Greek believers to assimilate themselves to the Pythagoreans and Platonists of the day, who affected a rigid austerity of manners and a sublime dignity of deportment. Like those, the zealous converts desired to elevate themselves to a position where they might "live above nature," and prove the moral superiority to which they laid claim. The connection between primitive Christianity and philosophy, is generally denied by Mosheim; but this very explanation affords additional evidence of a fact so extensively and lucidly indicated by other circumstances. The monastic system (the organized form of asceticism), would not, however, have grown to such consistency and importance, had not the hierarchy perceived that these devotees might be used, not merely as a defensive, but also as an aggressive host, to fortify and extend their authority.—ENG. CH.

property, of their temporal possessions; established regular communities of the same sex, and a similar disposition; and assumed the names of *Hermits*, *Monks*, and *Anachorets*, expressive of their lonely retreat in a natural or artificial desert. They soon acquired the respect of the world, which they despised; and the loudest applause was bestowed on this DIVINE PHILOSOPHY,[4] which surpassed, without the aid of science or reason, the laborious virtues of the Grecian schools. The monks might indeed contend

[4] Ὠφελιμώτατον γάρ τι χρῆμα εἰς ἄνθρωπους ἐλθοῦσα παρὰ Θέου ἡ τοιαύτηφιλοσοφία. These are the expressive words of Sozomen, who copiously and agreeably describes (l. i. c. 12, 13, 14) the origin and progress of this monkish philosophy, (see *Suicer. Thesau. Eccles.* tom. ii. p. 1441.) Some modern writers, *Lipsius*, (tom. iv. p. 448, *Manuduct ad Philosoph. Stoic.* iii. 13) and *La Mothe le Vayer* (tom. ix. *de la Vertu des Payens*, pp. 228–262), have compared the Carmelites to the Pythagoreans,* and the Cynics to the Capuchins.

* Pythogoras was born 586 years before the Christian era, and his birth was foretold by Apollo Pythus. Like Jesus, he was credited with a supernatural origin, and his soul was believed to have "descended from its primeval state of "companionship with the divine Apollo." He taught the doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*, or transmigration of souls, from which the Christian doctrine of original sin, and the Christian theory of the soul's *deuxième naissance*, or second birth, is probably derived. The purity of the system of morals taught by the Samian sage has been justly commended by all nations, and "no Christian "writings," says Taylor, in *Diegesis*, "even to this day, can compete in sub"limity and grandeur with what this illustrious philosopher has laid down "concerning God, and the end of all our actions. It is likely, says Bayle, that "he would have carried his orthodoxy much farther, had he had the courage to "expose himself to martyrdom. The strongest type of resemblance or coinci"dence with the apostolic story, which the history of the Samian sage presents "is, that the Egyptian Therapeuts boasted of his name as a member of their "monastic institution; and that Pythagoras certainly made his disciples live in "common, and that they renounced their property in their patrimony, and that '*as* "'*many as were possessors of lands or houses, sold them, and brought the prices* "'*of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet; and dis*"'*tribution was made to every man according as he had need.*'—*Acts*, iv. 34."

Taylor quotes from Mr. John Adams, the following free poetical version of the celebrated *Golden Verses of Pythagoras*:

"Let not soft slumber close thine eyes,
"Before thou recollectest thrice
"Thy train of actions though the day:
"'Where have my feet found out their way?
"'What have I learn'd, where'er I've been,
"'From all I've heard, from all I've seen?
"'What know I more that's worth the knowing?
"'What have I done that's worth the doing?
"'What have I sought that I should shun?
"'What duty have I left undone?
"'Or into what new follies run?'
"These self-inquiries are the road
"That leads to virtue and to God."

In Collyer's *Lectures*, quoted by G. Higgins, Esq., *Celtic Druids*, 4to. p. 126, the *Creed of Pythagoras* is given, and his conception of God compares favorably with the Hebrew idea of Jehovah: "God is neither the object of sense, nor "subject to passion but invisible, only intelligible, and supremely intelligent. "In his body he is like the light, and in his soul he resembles truth. He is the "universal spirit that pervades and diffuseth itself over all nature. All beings "receive their life from him. *There is but One only God!* who is not, as some "are apt to imagine, seated above the world beyond the orb of the universe; "but being himself all in all, he sees all the beings that fill his immensity, the "only principle, the light of heaven, the Father of all. He produces every"thing, he orders and disposes every thing; he is the reason, the life, and the "motion of all beings."—E.

with the stoics, in the contempt of fortune, of pain, and of death: the Pythagorean silence and submission were revived in their servile discipline; and they disdained, as firmly as the cynics themselves, all the forms and decencies of civil society. But the votaries of this divine philosophy aspired to imitate a purer and more perfect model. They trod in the footsteps of the prophets, who had retired to the desert;[5] and they restored the devout and contemplative life, which had been instituted by the Essenians, in Palestine and Egypt. The philosophic eye of Pliny had surveyed with astonishment a solitary people, who dwelt among the palm-trees near the Dead sea; who subsisted without money, who were propagated without women, and who derived from the disgust and repentance of mankind, a perpetual supply of voluntary associates.[6]

Antony and the monks of Egypt. A. D. 305.

Egypt, the fruitful parent of superstition, afforded the first example of the monastic life. Antony,[7] an illiterate[8] youth of the lower parts

[5] The Carmelites derive their pedigree, in regular succession, from the prophet Elijah (see the *Theses of Beziers*, A. D. 1682, in Bayle's *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Œuvres, tom. i. p. 82, &c., and the prolix irony of the *Ordres Monastiques*, an anonymous work, tom. i. pp. 1–433, Berlin, 1751). Rome, and the inquisition of Spain, silenced the profane criticism of the Jesuits of Flanders (Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques*, tom. i. pp. 282–300), and the statue of Elijah, the Carmelite, has been erected in the church of St. Peter. (*Voyages du P. Labat*, tom. iii. p. 87.)

[6] Plin. *Hist. Natur.* v. 15. Gens sola, et in toto orbe præter cæteras mira, sine ulla femina, omni venere abdicata, sine pecunia, socia palmarum. Ita per seculorum millia (incredibile dictu) gens æterna est in qua nemo nascitur. Tam fœcunda illis aliorum vitæ pœnitentia est. He places them just beyond the noxious influence of the lake, and names Engaddi and Massada as the nearest towns. The Laura, and monastery of St. Sabas, could not be far distant from this place. See Reland. *Palestin.*, tom. i. p. 295; tom. ii. pp. 763, 874, 880, 890.

[7] See *Athanas. Op.* tom. ii. pp. 450–505, and the *Vit. Patrum*, pp. 26–74, with Rosweyde's *Annotations*. The former is the Greek original, the latter, a very ancient Latin version by Evagrius, the friend of St. Jerome.

[8] Γράμματα μὲν μαθειν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο. *Athanas.* tom. ii. in *Vit. St. Anton.* p. 452, and the assertion of his total ignorance has been received by many of the ancient and moderns. But Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. vii. p. 666) shows, by some probable arguments, that Antony could read and write in the Coptic, his native tongue, and that he was only a stranger to the *Greek letters*. The philosopher Synesius (p. 51) acknowledges that the natural genius of Antony did not require the aid of learning.*

* *Neander* (vol. iii., p. 323) supplies a more correct account of Antony's first movements, and the origin of a regular monastic life. "In the fourth century, "men were not agreed on the question as to who was to be considered the "founder of monasticism, whether Paul or Antony. If by this was to be understood the individual from whom the *spread* of this mode of life proceeded, the "name was unquestionably due to the latter, for if Paul was the first Christian "hermit, yet, without the influence of Antony, he must have remained unknown "to the rest of the Christian world, and would have found no followers. Before "Antony, there may have been many who by inclination or by peculiar circumstances, were led to adopt this mode of life; but they remained at least "unknown. The first, who is named by tradition—which in this case it must be "confessed is entitled to little confidence and much distorted by fable—is the "above-mentioned Paul. He is said to have been moved by the Decian persecution, to withdraw himself, when a young man, to a grotto in a remote "mountain. To this mode of life he became attached, and was supplied with

of Thebais, distributed his patrimony,[9] deserted his family and native home, and executed his *monastic* penance with original and intrepid fanaticism. After a long and painful noviciate, among the tombs, and in a ruined tower, he boldly advanced into the desert three days' journey to the eastward of the Nile; discovered a lonely spot, which possessed the advantages of shade and water, and fixed his last residence on mount Colzim, near the Red Sea; where an ancient monastery still preserves the name and memory of the saint.[10] The curious devotion of the Christians pursued him to the desert;* and when he was obliged to appear at Alexandria, in the face of mankind, he supported his fame with discretion and dignity. He enjoyed the friendship of Athanasius, whose doctrine he approved; and the Egyptian peasant respectfully declined a respectful invitation from the emperor Constantine. The venerable patriarch (for Antony attained the age of one hundred and five years) beheld the A. D. 251–356.

9 *Arurœ* autem erant ei trecentæ uberes, et valde optimæ (*Vit. Patr.* l. i. p. 36.) If the *Arura* be a square measure of a hundred Egyptian cubits (Rosweyde, *Onomasticon ad Vit. Patrum*, pp. 1014–1015,) and the Egyptian cubit of all ages be equal to twenty-two English inches (*Greaves*, vol. i. p. 233,) the arura will consist of about three quarters of an English acre.

10 The description of the monastry is given by *Jerom.* (tom. i. pp. 248–249,) in *Vit. Hilarion*) and the P. Sicard, (*Missions du Levant*, tom. ii. pp. 122–200.) Their accounts cannot always be reconciled; the father painted from his fancy, and the Jesuit from his experience.

"food and raiment by a neighboring palm tree. Antony having heard of him, "visited him and made him known to others." After reciting this story, Neander questions its authenticity. Yet Athanasius, in his *Life of Antony*, states, that the excited youth "heard of a venerable old man, who was living as an ascetic, "on the border of a neighboring village. He sought him out and made him his "pattern." Whether the old man's name was Paul or not, is quite unimportant; we see how Antony's early propensity for solitude became more decided. He first breathed a spirit into the inert mass of asceticism; and Athanasius, ever quick in discerning and improving advantages, accelerated, regulated, and directed the movement. The patriarch of Alexandria, if not the actual parent, was, by his patronage, the godfather and rearer of monasticism.†—ENG. CH.

* The persecutions of Diocletian were one cause of peopling the desert with Christians who chose to lead the life of the anchorite rather than remain candidates for the crown of martyrdom. (Planck. *Hist. de la Constit. de l'Eglise Chretien.* vol. i. chap. 14. § 3.—GUIZOT.

† Rev. Robt. Taylor has called attention to the fact that Philo Judæus wrote his treatise on *The Contemplate Life*, or Monkery, when Jesus Christ was not above ten years of age, and that the monastic institution was established prior to the apostolic age. This agrees with Gibbon's statement in note 162, page 189, chapter 2, that the Therapeutæ, as early as the time of Augustus, "changed "their name, preserved their manners, and gradually became the fathers of the "Egyptian Ascetics." Taylor is, therefore, forced to admit that "The epocha "and reign of monkish influence and monkish principles, has been willfully mis-"dated; those who are known, and demonstrated by the clearest evidence of "independent history, to have existed for ages *before* the Christian era, are "represented to have sprung up, in the second, third, or fourth century of that "era, and in spite of the still remaining awkwardness of the dilemma, that so "pure and holy a religion, should have come so soon to have been so universally "misunderstood. The monks who originated, are branded as the monks who "corrupted—the makers, for the marrers."—E.

numerous progeny which had been formed by his example and his lessons. The prolific colonies of monks multiplied with rapid increase on the sands of Libya, upon the rocks of Thebais, and in the cities of the Nile. To the south of Alexandria, the mountain, and adjacent desert, of Nitria, were peopled by five thousand anachorets; and the traveler may still investigate the ruins of fifty monasteries, which were planted in that barren soil by the disciples of Antony.[11] In the Upper Thebais, the vacant island of Tabenne[12] was occupied by Pachomius and fourteen hundred of his brethren. That holy abbot successively founded nine monasteries of men, and one of women; and the festival of Easter sometimes collected fifty thousand religious persons, who followed his *angelic* rule of discipline.[13] The stately and populous city of Oxyrinchus, the seat of Christian orthodoxy, had devoted the temples, the public edifices, and even the ramparts, to pious and charitable uses; and the bishop, who might preach in twelve churches, computed ten thousand females and twenty thousand males of the monastic profession.[14] The Egyptians, who gloried in this marvellous revolution, were disposed to hope, and to believe, that the number of the monks was equal to the remainder of the people,[15] and posterity might repeat the saying, which had formerly been applied to the sacred animals of the same country, that, in Egypt, it was less difficult to find a god than a man.

[11] *Jerom.* tom. i. p. 146, ad Eustochium. *Hist. Lausiac.* d. 7, in *Vit. Patrum*, p. 712. The P. Sicard (*Missions du Levant*, tom. ii. pp. 29–79) visited, and has described this desert which now contains four monasteries, and twenty or thirty monks. See D'Anville, *Description de l'Egypte*, p. 74.*

[12] Tabenne is a small island in the Nile, in the diocese of Tentyra or Dendera, between the modern town of Girge and the ruins of ancient Thebes. (*D'Anville*, p. 194.) M. de Tillemont doubts whether it was an isle; but I may conclude, from his own facts, that the primitive name was afterwards transferred to the great monastery of Bau or Pabau (*Mém. Eccléс.* tom. vii. pp. 678, 688.)

[13] See in the *Codes Regularum* (published by Lucas Holstenius, Rome, 1661,) a preface of St. Jerom to his Latin version of the *Rule of Pachomius*, tom. i. p. 61.

[14] *Rufin.* c. 5, in *Vit. Patrum*, p. 459. He calls it civitas ampla valde et populosa, and reckons twelve churches. *Strabo* (l. xvii. p. 1166) and *Ammianus* (xxii. 16) have made honorable mention of Oxyrinchus, whose inhabitants adored a small fish in a magnificent temple.

[15] Quanti populi habentur in urbibus, tantæ pæne habentur in desertis multitudines monachorum. *Rufin.* c. 7, in *Patrum*, p. 461. He congratulates the fortunate change.

* M. Guizot, quoting Planck, (*Hist. Ecc.* i. 14. 3.) says that, "The persecutions "of Diocletian contributed largely to fill the desert with Christian fugitives, who "preferred safety as anchorites, to glory as martyrs." To which it may be added from Neander, that Antony was born in 251, and consequently more than fifty years of age when Diocletian's decrees were issued. It is therefore, very probable that the example of his security attracted many at that time to seek such an asylum. In the year 311, his reputation for sanctity was so great, that having occasion to visit Alexandria during the persecution, renewed by Maximin, "while other monks who had come into the city concealed themselves, Antony "appeared in public, yet no one dared to touch him."—ENG, CH.

Athanasius introduced into Rome the knowledge and practice of the monastic life; and a school of this new philosophy was opened by the disciples of Antony, who accompanied their primate to the holy threshold of the Vatican. The strange and savage appearance of these Egyptians excited, at first, horror and contempt, and, at length, applause and zealous imitation. The senators, and more especially the matrons, transformed their palaces and villas into religious houses; and the narrow institution of *six* vestals, was eclipsed by the frequent monasteries, which were seated on the ruins of ancient temples, and in the midst of the Roman forum.[16] Inflamed by the example of Antony, a Syrian youth, whose name was Hilarion,[17] fixed his dreary abode on a sandy beach, between the sea and a morass, about seven miles from Gaza. The austere penance in which he persisted forty-eight years, diffused a similar enthusiasm; and the holy man was followed by a train of two or three thousand anachorets, whenever he visited the innumerable monasteries of Palestine. The fame of Basil is immortal in the monastic history of the east. With a mind, that

Propagation of the monastic life at Rome, A. D. 341.

Hilarion in Palestine, A. D. 328.

Basil in Pontus, A. D. 360.

16 The introduction of the monastic life into Rome and Italy is occasionally mentioned by *Jerom*, tom. i. pp. 119, 120, 199).*

17 See the *Life of Hilarion*, by St. Jerom (tom. i. pp. 241, 252.) The stories of Paul, Hilarion, and Malchus, by the same author, are admirably told: and the only defect of these pleasing compositions is the want of truth and common sense.

* Monastic institutions were largely indebted, during their early growth, to the vigorous intellect of Athanasius. His biography of Antony proves the interest which he took in them, and reveals his guiding hand. In the year 352, he ordered the patriarch of asceticism, then a hundred years old, to visit Alexandria, that he might assist in putting down Arianism, favored and supported by the emperor Constantius. The appearance of the archbishop's celebrated friend made so great a sensation, that even Pagans crowded to church that they might see "the man of God," and the diseased pressed round him to touch his garments, in the hope of being healed. In the few days of his residence, more were converted to Christianity and orthodoxy, than during a year at other times. (*Neander*, 3, p. 231.) The six years of his next exile (356—361) were passed by Athanasius in the deserts of Thebais. Antony was dead, but the primate of Egypt was welcomed and sheltered in the numerous monasteries that had risen there; nor can it be doubted that he employed himself in disciplining their inmates, and digesting for them the rules of Pachomius. The monks were, on all occasions, his faithful guardians, cunning emissaries, and discreet ministers. In the West, monachism was altogether introduced and recommended by him. It found at first little favor there, but his powerful intervention soon secured for it a warm reception. "Athanasius was the first who, during his residence at different times, when banished from the East, among the Western people, introduced among them a better knowledge of the Oriental monachism. His biographical account of the monk Antony, which was early translated into the Latin, had a great influence in this matter." (*Neander*, 3. 367.) He made the bishops sensible of the advantages to be derived from it, and the most eminent leaders of the Western church continued during the next eighty years, to aid its progress. Eusebius of Vercelli, Ambrose of Milan, Martin of Tours, Jerome and Augustin, all "contributed still further to awaken and diffuse this tendency of the Christian spirit of Italy, in Gaul, and in Africa."—Eng. Ch.

had tasted the learning and eloquence of Athens; with an ambition, scarcely to be satisfied by the archbishopric of Cæsarea, Basil[18] retired to a savage solitude in Pontus; and deigned, for a while, to give laws to the spiritual colonies which he profusely scattered along the coast of the Black sea. In the west, Martin of Tours,[19] a soldier, a hermit, a bishop, and a saint, established the monasteries of Gaul; two thousand of his disciples followed him to the grave; and his eloquent historian challenges the deserts of Thebais, to produce, in a more favorable climate, a champion of equal virtue. The progress of the monks was not less rapid, or universal, than that of Christianity itself. Every province, and, at last, every city, of the empire, was filled with their increasing multitudes; and the bleak and barren isles, from Lerins to Lipari, that arise out of the Tuscan sea, were chosen by the anachorets for the place of their voluntary exile. An easy and perpetual intercourse by sea and land connected the provinces of the Roman world; and the life of Hilarion displays the facility with which an indigent hermit of Palestine might traverse Egypt, embark for Sicily, escape to Epirus, and finally settle in the island of Cyprus.[20] The Latin Christians embraced the religious institutions of Rome. The pilgrims, who visited Jerusalem, eagerly copied, in the most distant climates of the earth, the faithful model of the monastic life. The disciples of Antony spread themselves beyond the tropic, over the Christian empire of Æthiopia.[21] The monastery of Banchor,[22] in Flintshire, which contained above two thousand brethren, dispersed a numerous colony among the barbarians of Ireland:[23] and Iona, one of the

Martin in Gaul, A. D. 370.

[18] His original retreat was in a small village on the banks of the Iris, not far from Neo-Cæsarea. The ten or twelve years of his monastic life were disturbed by long and frequent avocations. Some critics have disputed the authenticity of his Ascetic rules; but the external evidence is weighty, and they can only prove that it is the work of a real or affected enthusiast. See Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. ix. pp. 636–644. Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques.* tom i. pp. 175–181.

[19] See his life, and the three *Dialogues* by Sulpicius Severus, who asserts (*Dialog.* i, 16) that the booksellers of Rome were delighted with the quick and ready sale of his popular work.

[20] When Hilarion sailed from Parætonium to Cape Pachynus, he offered to pay his passage with a book of the Gospels. Posthumian, a Gallic monk, who had visited Egypt, found a merchant ship bound from Alexandria to Marseilles, and performed the voyage in thirty days (*Sulp. Sever. Dialog.* i. 1.) Athanasius, who addressed his *Life of St. Antony* to the foreign monks, was obliged to hasten the composition, that it might be ready for the sailing of the fleets (tom. ii. p. 451.)

[21] See *Jerom* (tom. i. p. 126), Assemanni, *Bibliot. Orient.* tom. iv. p. 92. pp. 857–919, and Geddes, *Church History of Æthiopia*, pp. 29–31. The Abyssinian monks adhere very strictly to the primitive institution.

[22] Camden's *Britannia*, vol. i. pp. 666, 667.

[23] All that learning can extract from the rubbish of the dark ages is copiously stated by Archbishop Usher in his *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, cap. xvi. pp. 425–503.

Hebrides, which was planted by the Irish monks, diffused over the northern regions a doubtful ray of science and superstition.[24]

These unhappy exiles from social life were impelled by the dark and implacable genius of superstition. Their mutual resolution was supported by the example of millions, of either sex, of every age, and of every rank; and each proselyte, who entered the gates of a monastery, was persuaded, that he trod the steep and thorny path of eternal happiness.[25] But the operation of these religious motives was variously determined by the temper and situation of mankind. Reason might subdue, or passion might suspend, their influence: but they acted most forcibly on the infirm minds of children and females; they were strengthened by secret remorse, or accidental misfortune; and they might derive some aid from the temporal considerations of vanity or interest. It was naturally supposed, that the pious and humble monks, who had renounced the world, to accomplish the work of their salvation, were the best qualified for the spiritual government of the Christians. The reluctant hermit was torn from his cell, and seated, amidst the acclamations of the people, on the episcopal throne: the monasteries of Egypt, of Gaul, and of the east, supplied a regular succession of saints and bishops; and ambition soon discovered the secret road which led to the possession of wealth and honors.[26] The

Causes of its rapid progress.

[24] This small, though not barren spot, Iona, Hy, or Columbkill, only two miles in length, and one mile in breadth, has been distinguished, 1. By the monastery of St. Columba, founded A. D. 566: whose abbot exercised an extraordinary jurisdiction over the bishops of Caledonia, 2. By a *classic* library, which afforded some hopes of an entire Livy; and, 3. By the tombs of sixty kings, Scots, Irish, and Norwegians, who reposed in holy ground. See *Usher* (pp. 311, 360-370) and Buchanan (*Rer. Scot.* l. ii. p. 15, edit. Ruddiman).*

[25] Chrysostom (in the first tome of the Benedictine edition) has consecrated three books to the praise and defence of the monastic life. He is encouraged, by the example of the ark, to presume that none but the elect (the monks) can possibly be saved (l. i. pp. 55. 56). Elsewhere, indeed, he becomes more merciful (l. iii. pp. 83, 84), and allows different degrees of glory, like the sun, moon, and stars. In his lively comparison of a king and a monk (l. iii. pp. 116-121), he supposes (what is hardly fair) that the king will be more sparingly rewarded, and more rigorously punished.

[26] Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. pp. 1426-1469) and Mabillon (*Œuvres Posthumes*, tom. ii. pp. 115-158). The monks were gradually adopted, is a part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.†

* The original accounts of Columba and his monastery are to be found in the *Chron. Sax.* A. D. 565, and in Bede's *Ecc. Hist.* l. iii. c. 4. (Bohn's edit. p. 113, 114, 313.) Columbkill was a name, not of the island, but of the saint. (*Ib.* p. 248.) He has by some been confounded with his contemporary Columbanus, who founded the monasteries of Luxovium in Gaul, and of Bobium in Lombardy. Clinton, *F. R.* ii. 484.—ENG. CH.

† This was the regular course of progressive management. Through successive ages, cathedral and monastery rose side by side; bishops, mitred abbots, and priors, acted in concert to rivet the chains of ignorance on the passive laity.—ENG. CH.

popular monks, whose reputation was connected with the fame and success of the order, assiduously labored to multiply the number of their fellow-captives. They insinuated themselves into noble and opulent families; and the specious arts of flattery and seduction were employed to secure those proselytes, who might bestow wealth or dignity on the monastic profession. The indignant father bewailed the loss, perhaps, of an only son;[27] the credulous maid was betrayed by vanity to violate the laws of nature; and the matron aspired to imaginary perfection, by renouncing the virtues of domestic life.* Paula yielded to the persuasive eloquence of Jerom;[28] and the profane title of mother-in-law of God,[29] tempted that illustrious widow to consecrate the virginity of her daughter Eustochium. By the advice, and in the company, of her spiritual guide, Paula abandoned Rome and her infant son; retired to the holy village of Bethlem; founded an hospital and four monasteries; and acquired, by her alms and penance, an eminent and conspicuous station in the Catholic church. Such rare and illustrious penitents were celebrated as the glory and example of their age; but the monasteries were filled by a crowd of obscure and abject plebeians,[30] who gained in the cloister much more than they had sacrificed in the world. Peasants, slaves, and mechanics, might escape from poverty and contempt, to a safe and honorable profession; whose apparent hardships were mitigated by custom, by popular applause, and by the secret relaxation

[27] *Dr. Middleton* (vol. i. p. 110) liberally censures the conduct and writings of Chrysostom, one of the most eloquent and successful advocates for the monastic life.

[28] Jerom's devout ladies form a very considerable portion of his works; the particular treatise, which he styles the *Epitaph of Paula* (tom. i. pp. 169-192), is an elaborate and extravagant panegyric. The exordium is ridiculously turgid: "If all the members of my body were changed into tongues, and if all my limbs "resounded with a human voice, yet should I be incapable," &c.

[29] Socrus Dei esse cœpisti (*Jerom*, tom. i. p. 140, ad Eustochium). Rufinus (in *Hieronym. Op.* tom. iv. p. 223), who was justly scandalized, asks his adversary, From what Pagan poet he had stolen an expression so impious and absurd.

[30] Nunc autem veniunt *plerumque* ad hanc professionem servitutis Dei, et ex conditione servili, vel etiam liberati, vel propter hoc a Dominis liberati sive liberandi; et ex vita rusticana, et ex opificum exercitatione, et plebeio labore. Augustin. *de Oper Monach.* c. 22. ap. Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. iii. p. 1094. The Egyptian, who blamed Arsenius, owned that he led a more comfortable life as a monk than as a shepherd. See Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. xiv. p. 679.

* Such abuses were prohibited by the first statutes that regulated the organization of monasteries. Of a wedded pair, one could not embrace the monastic life without the consent of the other. (*Basil. Reg.* maj. qu. 12.) A minor was not admitted without parental concurrence. (*Ib.* qu. 15. *Conc. Gangr.* c. 16.) The owner's leave must be obtained, before a slave could join the fraternity. But the emperor Justinian removed these restraints, and allowed slaves, children, and wives, to be received into monasteries even against the will of masters, parents, and husbands. (*Novell.* 5, c. 2. *Cod. Just.* l. i, tom. iii., leg. 53, 55.)—GUIZOT.

of discipline.[31] The subjects of Rome, whose persons and fortunes were made responsible for unequal and exorbitant tributes, retired from the oppression of the imperial government; and the pusillanimous youth preferred the penance of a monastic, to the dangers of a military, life.* The affrighted provincials of every rank, who fled before the barbarians, found shelter and subsistence; whole legions were buried in these religious sanctuaries; and the same cause, which relieved the distress of individuals, impaired the strength and fortitude of the empire.[32]

Obedience of the monks.

The monastic profession of the ancients[33] was an act of voluntary devotion. The inconstant fanatic was threatened with the eternal vengeance of the God whom he deserted; but the doors of the monastery were still open for repentance. Those monks, whose conscience was fortified by reason or passion, were at liberty to resume the character of men and citizens; and even the spouses of Christ might accept the legal embraces of an earthly lover.[34] The examples of scandal, and the progress

31 A Dominican friar (*Voyages du P. Labat*, tom. i. p. 10), who lodged at Cadiz in a convent of his brethren, soon understood that their repose was never interrupted by nocturnal devotion; "quoiqu'on ne laisre pas de sonner pour l'édification du peuple."

32 See a very sensible preface of Lucas Holstenius to the *Codex Regularum*. The emperors attempted to support the obligation of public and private duties; but the feeble dikes were swept away by the torrent of superstition; and Justinian surpassed the most sanguine wishes of the monks. (*Thomassin*. tom. i. p. 1782–1799, and *Bingham*, l. vii. c. 3. p. 253).†

33 The monastic institutions, particularly those of Egypt, about the year 400, are described by four curious and devout travelers; Rufinus (*Vit. Patrum*, l. ii. iii. pp. 424-536), Posthumian (*Sulp. Sever. Dialog.* i), Palladius (*Hist. Lausiac.* in *Vit. Patrum*, pp. 709-863), and Cassian (see in tom. vii. *Bibliothec. Max. Patrum*, his first four books of *Institutes*, and the twenty-four *Collations* or *Conferences*.)

34 The example of Malchus (*Jerom*, tom. i. p. 256), and the design of Cassian and his friend (*Collation.* xxiv. 1), are incontestable proofs of their freedom; which is elegantly described by Erasmus in his *Life of St. Jerom*. See Chardon, *Hist. des Sacremens*, tom. vi. pp. 279-300.

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* "And had vanity," says Voltaire, "never any share in these public mortifications, which attracted the eyes of the multitude? 'I scourge myself, but it is 'to expiate your faults; I go naked, but it is to reproach you with the richness 'of your garments; I feed on herbs and snails, but it is to correct in you the 'vice of gluttony; I wear an iron ring, to make you blush at your lewdness. 'Reverence me as one cherished by the gods, and who will bring down their 'favors on you. When you shall be accustomed to reverence me, you will not 'find it hard to obey me; I will be your master, in the name of the gods; and 'then, if any one of you disobey my will, in the smallest particular, I will have 'you impaled to appease the wrath of heaven.'

"If the first fakirs did not pronounce these words, it is very probable that they had them engraved at the bottom of their hearts."—E.

† A law of the emperor Valens was particularly directed "Contra ignaviæ quosdam sectatores, qui, desertis civitatum muneribus, captant solitudines ac secreta, et specie religionis, cœtibus monochorum congregantur." *Cod. Theod.* l. 12, tit. 1, leg. 63.—GUIZOT.

The laws, canons, and rules to which Guizot, in this and his preceding note, refers as palliatives of the evil, were not of long duration; the influence and perseverance of the priesthood, at no distant period, accomplished their abrogation.—ENG CH.

of superstition, suggested the propriety of more forcible restraints. After a sufficient trial, the fidelity of the novice was secured by a solemn and perpetual vow; and his irrevocable engagement was ratified by the laws of the church and state. A guilty fugitive was pursued, arrested, and restored to his perpetual prison; and the interposition of the magistrate oppressed the freedom and merit, which had alleviated, in some degree, the abject slavery of the monastic discipline.[35] The actions of a monk, his words, and even his thoughts, were determined by an inflexible rule,[36] or a capricious superior: the slightest offences were corrected by disgrace or confinement, extraordinary fasts or bloody flagellation: and disobedience, murmur, or delay, were ranked in the catalogue of the most heinous sins.[37] A blind submission to the commands of the abbot, however absurd, or even criminal, they might seem, was the ruling principle, the first virtue, of the Egyptian monks; and their patience was frequently exercised by the most extravagant trials. They were directed to remove an enormous rock; assiduously to water a barren staff, that was planted in the ground, till, at the end of three years, it should vegetate and blossom like a tree; to walk into a fiery furnace; or to cast their infant into a deep pond: and several saints, or madmen, have been immortalized in monastic story, by their thoughtless and fearless obedience.[38] The freedom of the mind, the source of every generous and rational sentiment, was destroyed by the habits of credulity and submission; and the monk, contracting the vices of a slave, devoutly followed the faith and passions of his

[35] See the Laws of Justinian (*Novel.* cxxiii. No. 42.) and of Lewis the Pious (in the *Historians of France*, tom. vi. p. 427), and the actual jurisprudence of France, in Denissart (*Decisions, &c.*, tom. iv. p. 855, &c.

[36] The ancient *Codex Regularum*, collected by Benedict Anianinus, the reformer of the monks in the beginning of the ninth century, and published in the seventeenth, by Lucas Holstenius, contains thirty different rules for men and women. Of these, seven were composed in Egypt, one in the East, one in Cappadocia, one in Italy, one in Africa, four in Spain, eight in Gaul, or France, and one in England.

[37] The rule of Columbanus, so prevalent in the West, inflicts one hundred lashes for very slight offences. (*Cod. Reg.* part ii. p. 174). Before the time of Charlemagne, the abbots indulged themselves in mutilating their monks, or putting out their eyes; a punishment much less cruel than the tremendous *vade in pace*, (the subterraneous dungeon or sepulchre), which was afterwards invented. See an admirable discourse of the learned Mabillon (*Œuvres Posthumes*, tom. ii. p. 321–336), who, on this occasion, seems to be inspired by the genius of humanity. For such an effort, I can forgive his defence of the holy tear of Vendome (p. 361–399.)

[38] *Sulp. Sever. Dialog.* i. 12, 13, p. 533, &c. Cassian, *Institut.* l. iv. c. 26, 27, "Præcipua ibi virtus et prima est obedientia." Among the Verba seniorum (in *Vit Patrum*, l. v. p. 617,) the fourteenth libel or discourse is on the subject of obedience; and the Jesuit Rosweyde, who published that huge volume for the use of convents, has collected all the scattered passages in his two copious indexes.

ecclesiastical tyrant. The peace of the eastern church was invaded by a swarm of fanatics, incapable of fear, or reason, or humanity; and the imperial troops acknowledged, without shame, that they were much less apprehensive of an encounter with the fiercest barbarians.[39]

Their dress and habitations.

Superstition has often framed and consecrated the fantastic garments of the monks:[40] but their apparent singularity sometimes proceeds from their uniform attachment to a simple and primitive model, which the revolutions of fashion have made ridiculous in the eyes of mankind. The father of the Benedictines expressly disclaims all idea of choice or merit; and soberly exhorts his disciples to adopt the coarse and convenient dress of the countries which they may inhabit.[41] The monastic habits of the ancients varied with the climate, and their mode of life; and they assumed, with the same indifference, the sheep-skin of the Egyptian peasants, or the cloak of the Grecian philosophers. They allowed themselves the use of linen in Egypt, where it was a cheap and domestic manufacture; but in the West, they rejected such an expensive article of foreign luxury.[42] It was the practice of the monks either to cut or shave their hair; they wrapped their heads in a cowl, to escape the sight of profane objects; their legs and feet were naked, except in the extreme cold of winter; and their slow and feeble steps were supported

39 Dr. Jortin (*Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. iv. p. 161) has observed the scandalous valor of the Cappadocian monks, which was exemplified in the banishment of Chrysostom.*

40 Cassian has simply, though copiously, described the monastic habit of Egypt, (*Institut.* l. i.), to which Sozomen (l. iii. c. 14) attributes such allegorical meaning and virtue.

41 *Regul. Benedict.* No. 55, in *Cod. Regul.* part. ii. p. 51.

42 See the *Rule of Ferreolus*, bishop of Usez, (No. 31, in *Cod. Regul* part ii. p. 136), and of Isidore, bishop of Seville, (No. 31, in *Cod. Regul.* part ii. p. 214.)

* Not too dark are the colors in which Gibbon has here painted the process of destroying "the freedom of the mind, the source of every generous and rational "sentiment." To the force of his description nothing can be added; but it may be remarked that the mischievous delusions, which he exposes and condemns, were not the offspring of religion, but the arts employed by its faithless and treacherous ministers. Before the introduction of the monastic expedient, society, as has been shown, had gradually lost its energetic tone. But when this engine was brought to bear, the work went on rapidly. The influence of this new movement was not confined to the cloister and the cell. The example of abandoned duties, the contagion of indolent habits, the soporific atmosphere of ignorance, the lessons of abject servility, the warning penalties of refractory insubordination, and the honors paid to sainted folly, involved all classes in one common hallucination, and invested subservient stupidity with the merit of pious docility. Under those auspices was achieved that conquest of the state which is falsely called the triumph of Christianity. It was the triumph of a power that trampled Christianity under foot and scorned every sacred obligation. In less than a hundred and fifty years after this, it made all weak but itself, subverted everything but its own domination, and planting its throne on the wreck, reigned for ten centuries in clouds and darkness.—ENG. CH.

by a long staff. The aspect of a genuine anachoret was horrid and disgusting: every sensation that is offensive to man, was thought acceptable to God;* and the angelic rule of Tabenne condemned the salutary custom of bathing the limbs in water, and of anointing them with oil.[43]† The austere monks slept on the ground, on a hard mat, or a rough blanket; and the same bundle of palm-leaves served them as a seat in the day, and a pillow in the night. Their original cells were low narrow huts, built of the slightest materials; which formed, by the regular distribution of the streets, a large and populous village, enclosing, within the common wall, a church, an hospital, perhaps a library, some necessary offices, a garden, and a fountain or reservoir of fresh water. Thirty or forty brethren composed a family of separate discipline and diet; and the great monasteries of Egypt consisted of thirty or forty families.

Their diet.

Pleasure and guilt are synonymous terms in the language of the monks; and they had discovered, by experience, that rigid fasts and abstemious diet, are the most effectual preservatives against the impure desires of the flesh.[44] The rules of abstinence, which they imposed, or practiced, were not uniform or perpetual: the cheerful festival of the Pentecost was balanced by the extraordinary mortification of Lent; the fervor of new monasteries was insensibly relaxed; and the voracious appetite of the Gauls could not imitate the patient and temperate virtue of the Egyptians.[45] The disciples of Antony and Pachomius were satisfied with their daily pittance,[46] of

[43] Some partial indulgences were granted for the hands and feet. "Totum autem "corpus nemo unguet nisi causa infirmitatis, nec lavabitur aqua nudo corpore, "nisi languor perspicuus sit." (*Regul. Pachom.* xcii. part i. p. 78.)

[44] St. Jerom, in strong, but indiscreet, language, expresses the most important use of fasting and abstinence: "Non quod Deus universitatis Creator et Domi-"nus, intestinorum nostrorum rugitu, et inanitate ventris, pulmonisque ardore "delectetur, sed quod aliter pudicitia tuta esse non possit." (*Op.* tom. i. p. 137, ad *Eustochium.*) See the twelfth and twenty-second *Collations of Cassian, de Castitate* and *de Illusionibus Nocturnis.*

[45] Edacitas in Græcis gula est in Gallis natura (*Dialog.* i. c. 4, p. 521). Cassian fairly owns, that the perfect model of abstinence cannot be imitated in Gaul, on account of the ærum temperies, and the qualitas nostræ fragilitatis. (*Institut.* iv. 11). Among the Western rules, that of Columbanus is the most austere; he had been educated amidst the poverty of Ireland, as rigid, perhaps, and inflexible as the abstemious virtue of Egypt. The rule of Isidore of Seville is the mildest; on holidays he allows the use of flesh.

[46] "Those who drink only water, and have no nutritious liquor, ought, at least, "to have a pound and a half (*twenty-four ounces*) of bread every day." *State of Prisons*, p. 40, by Mr. Howard.

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* And all that was pleasing to man, was considered repugnant to Jehovah. Great, indeed, "is the mystery of godliness."—E.

† Athanasius (*Vit. Ant.* c. 47) boasts of Antony's holy horror of clean water, by which his feet were uncontaminated, except under dire necessity.—MILMAN.

twelve ounces of bread, or rather biscuit,[47] which they divided into two frugal repasts, of the afternoon, and of the evening. It was esteemed a merit, and almost a duty, to abstain from the boiled vegetables which were provided for the refectory; but the extraordinary bounty of the abbot sometimes indulged them with the luxury of cheese, fruit, salad, and the small dried fish of the Nile.[48] A more ample latitude of sea and river fish was gradually allowed or assumed; but the use of flesh was long confined to the sick or travelers; and when it gradually prevailed in the less rigid monasteries of Europe, a singular distinction was introduced; as if birds, whether wild or domestic, had been less profane than the grosser animals of the field. Water was the pure and innocent beverage of the primitive monks; and the founder of the Benedictines regrets the daily portion of half a pint of wine, which had been extorted from him by the intemperance of the age.[49] Such an allowance might be easily supplied by the vineyards of Italy; and his victorious disciples, who passed the Alps, the Rhine, and the Baltic, required, in the place of wine, an adequate compensation of strong beer or cider.

Their manual labor.

The candidate who aspired to the virtue of evangelical poverty, abjured, at his first entrance into a regular community, the idea, and even the name, of all separate or exclusive possession.[50] The brethren were supported by their manual labor; and the duty of labor was strenuously recommended as a penance, as an exercise, and as the most laudable means of securing their daily subsistence.[51] The garden, and fields, which the industry

47 See Cassian. *Collat* l. ii. 19–21. The small loaves, or biscuit, of six ounces each, had obtained the name of *Paximacia* (Rosweyde, *Onomasticon*, p. 1045). Pachomius, however, allowed his monks some latitude in the quantity of their food; but he made them work in proportion as they ate, (*Pallad. in Hist. Lausiac.* c. 38, 39, in *Vit. Patrum*, l. viii. pp. 736, 737).*

48 See the banquet to which Cassian (*Collation* viii. 1) was invited by Serenus, an Egyptian abbot.

49 See the *Rule of St. Benedict*, No. 39, 40, (in *Cod. Reg.* part ii. pp. 41, 42.) Licet legamus vinum omnino monachorum non esse, sed quia nostris temporibus id monachis persuaderi non potest; he allows them a Roman *hemina*, a measure which may be ascertained from *Arbuthnot's Tables.*

50 Such expressions as *my* book, *my* cloak, *my* shoes, (Cassian. *Institut.* l. iv. c. 13), were not less severely prohibited among the Western monks, (*Cod. Regul.* part ii. pp. 174, 235, 288); and the *Rule of Columbanus* punished them with six lashes. The ironical author of the *Ordres Monastiques*, who laughs at the foolish nicety of modern convents, seems ignorant that the ancients were equally absurd.

51 Two great masters of ecclesiastical science, the P. Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. iii. pp. 1090–1139), and the P. Mabillon, (*Etudes Monastiques*, tom. i. pp. 116–155), have seriously examined the manual labor of the monks, which the former considers as a *merit*, and the latter as a *duty.*

* The proper term for one of these six-ounce portions was *paximatium.* See *Du Cange*, 5. 307. He gives it the meaning of "panis subcinericius vel recoctus." *Biscuit* is therefore its correct designation. Suidas derived the name from one Paxamus, by whom it was said to have been invented.—ENG. CH.

of the monks had often rescued from the forest or the morass, were diligently cultivated by their hands. They performed, without reluctance, the menial offices of slaves and domestics; and the several trades that were necessary to provide their habits, their utensils, and their lodging, were exercised within the precincts of the great monasteries. The monastic studies have tended, for the most part, to darken, rather than to dispel, the cloud of superstition. Yet the curiosity or zeal of some learned solitaries has cultivated the ecclesiastical, and even the profane, sciences: and posterity must gratefully acknowledge, that the monuments of Greek and Roman literature have been preserved and multiplied by their indefatigable pens.[52] But the more humble industry of the monks, especially in Egypt, was contented with the silent, sedentary occupation, of making wooden sandals, or of twisting the leaves of the palm-tree into mats and baskets. The superfluous stock, which was not consumed in domestic use, supplied, by trade, the wants of the community: the boats of Tabenne, and the other monasteries of Thebais, descended the Nile as far as Alexandria; and, in a Christian market, the sanctity of the workmen might enhance the intrinsic value of the work.

Their riches.

But the necessity of manual labor was insensibly superseded. The novice was tempted to bestow his fortune on the saints, in whose society he was resolved to spend the remainder of his life; and the pernicious indulgence of the laws permitted him to receive, for their use, any future accessions of legacy or inheritance.[53] Melania contributed her plate, three hundred pounds weight of silver; and Paula contracted an immense debt,

[52] Mabillon, (*Etudes Monastiques*, tom. i. pp. 47–55), has collected many curious facts to justify the literary labors of his predecessors, both in the East and West. Books were copied in the ancient monasteries of Egypt, Cassian, *Institut.* l. iv. c. 12), and by the disciples of St, Martin, (*Sulp. Sever* in *Vit. Martin.* c. 7, p. 473). Cassiodorus has allowed an ample scope for the studies of the monks; and *we* shall not be scandalized, if their pens sometimes wandered from *Chrysostom* and *Augustin* to *Homer* and *Virgil.**

[53] Thomassin, (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. iii. pp. 118, 145, 146, 171,–179) has examined the revolution of the civil, canon, and common law. Modern France confirms the death which monks have inflicted on themselves, and justly deprives them of all right of inheritance.

* It would indeed have been strange, if among the millions of monks, in so many ages, a few had not relieved by study the monotony of their lives, and even betaken themselves by choice to literary pursuits. Yet what is the sum of their labors? Gibbon has truly said, that they "tended for the most part rather "to darken than dispel the cloud of superstition." That they have preserved for us some portions of ancient literature, is but an equivocal merit. How were the rest destroyed? The praise of having "led Europe forth from the dark ages," has been of late ostentatiously claimed for them by some, and inconsiderately accorded by others; but we must bear in mind, that it is to them we owe those dark ages.—ENG. CH.

for the relief of their favorite monks; who kindly imparted the merits of their prayers and penance to a rich and liberal sinner.[54] Time continually increased, and accidents could seldom diminish, the estates of the popular monasteries, which spread over the adjacent country and cities: and, in the first century of their institution, the infidel Zosimus has maliciously observed, that, for the benefit of the poor, the Christian monks had reduced a great part of mankind to a state of beggary.[55] As long as they maintained their original fervor, they approved themselves, however, the faithful and benevolent stewards of the charity which was intrusted to their care. But their discipline was corrupted by prosperity: they gradually assumed the pride of wealth, and at last indulged the luxury of expense. Their public luxury might be excused by the magnificence of religious worship, and the decent motive of erecting durable habitations for an immortal society. But every age of the church has accused the licentiousness of the degenerate monks; who no longer remembered the object of their institution, embraced the vain and sensual pleasures of the world, which they had renounced,[56] and scandalously abused the riches which had been acquired by the austere virtues of their founders.[57] Their natural descent, from such painful and dangerous virtue, to the common vices of humanity, will not, perhaps, excite much grief or indignation in the mind of a philosopher.

Their solitude.

The lives of the primitive monks were consumed in penance and solitude; undisturbed by the various occupations which fill the time, and exercise the faculties, of reasonable, active, and social beings. When-

54 See *Jerom* (tom. i. pp. 176, 183). The monk Pambo made a sublime answer to Melania, who wished to specify the value of her gift: "Do you offer it to me, "or to God? If to God, HE who suspends the mountains in a balance, need not "be informed of the weight of your plate." (*Pallad. Hist. Lausiac.* c. 10, in the *Vit. Patrum*, l. viii. p. 715.)

55 Τὸ πολύ μέρος τῆς γῆς ὠκειώσκαντο, προφασει τοῦ μεταδιδόναι πάντων πτωχοῖς, πάντας (ὡς εἰπεῖν) πτωχοὺς καταστησαντες. *Zosim.* l. v. p. 325. Yet the wealth of the Eastern monks was far surpassed by the princely greatness of the Benedictines.

56 The sixth general council, (the *Quinisext in Trullo, Canon* xlvii. in Beveridge, tom. i. p. 213), restrains women from passing the night in a male, or men in a female, monastery. The seventh general council, (the second Nicene, *Canon* xx. in Beveridge, tom. i. p. 325) prohibits the erection of double or promiscuous monasteries of both sexes: but it appears from Balsamon, that the prohibition was not effectual. On the irregular pleasures and expenses of the clergy and *monks*, see *Thomassin*, tom. iii. pp. 1334–1368.

57 I have somewhere heard or read the frank confession of a Benedictine abbot; "My vow of poverty has given me a hundred thousand crowns a year: my vow "of obedience has raised me to the rank of a sovereign prince."—I forget the consequences of his vow of chastity.

ever they were permitted to step beyond the precincts of the monastery, two jealous companions were the mutual guards and spies of each other's actions; and, after their return, they were condemned to forget, or, at least, to suppress, whatever they had seen or heard in the world. Strangers, who professed the orthodox faith, were hospitably entertained in a separate apartment; but their dangerous conversation was restricted to some chosen elders of approved discretion and fidelity. Except in their presence, the monastic slave might not receive the visits of his friends or kindred; and it was deemed highly meritorious, if he afflicted a tender sister, or an aged parent, by the obstinate refusal of a word or look.[58] The monks themselves passed their lives, without personal attachments, among a crowd, which had been formed by accident, and was detained, in the same prison, by force or prejudice. Recluse fanatics have few ideas or sentiments to communicate; a special license of the abbot regulated the time and duration of their familiar visits; and, at their silent meals, they were enveloped in their cowls, inaccessible, and almost invisible, to each other.[59] Study is the resource of solitude: but education had not prepared and qualified for any liberal studies the merchanics and peasants, who filled the monastic communities. They might work: but the vanity of spiritual perfection was tempted to disdain the exercise of manual labor; and the industry must be faint and languid, which is not excited by the sense of personal interest.

Their devotion and visions.

According to their faith and zeal, they might employ the day, which they passed in their cells, either in vocal or mental prayer: they assembled in the evening, and they were awakened in the night, for the public worship of the monastery. The precise moment was determined by the stars, which are seldom clouded in the serene sky of Egypt; and a rustic horn, or trumpet, the signal of devotion, twice interrupted the vast silence of the desert.[60] Even sleep, the last refuge of the unhappy, was rigorously measured: the vacant hours of the monk heavily rolled along, without business or pleasure; and,

[58] Prior, an Egyptian monk, allowed his sister to see him,; but he shut his eyes during the whole visit. See *Vit. Patrum*, l. iii. p. 504. Many such examples might be added.

[59] The 7th, 8th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 34th, 57th, 60th, 86th, and 95th articles of the *Rule of Pachomius*, impose most intolerable *laws* of silence and mortification.

[60] The diurnal and nocturnal prayers of the monks are copiously discussed by Cassian, in the third and fourth books of his *Institutions*, and he constantly prefers the liturgy, which an angel had dictated to the monasteries of Tebenne.

before the close of each day, he had repeatedly accused the tedious progress of the sun.[61] In this comfortless state, superstition still pursued and tormented her wretched votaries.[62] The repose which they had sought in the cloister was disturbed by tardy repentance, profane doubts, and guilty desires; and, while they considered each natural impulse as an unpardonable sin, they perpetually trembled on the edge of a flaming and bottomless abyss. From the painful struggles of disease and despair, these unhappy victims were sometimes relieved by madness or death; and, in the sixth century, an hospital was founded at Jerusalem for a small portion of the austere penitents, who were deprived of their senses.[63] Their visions, before they attained this extreme and acknowledged term of frenzy, have afforded ample materials of supernatural history. It was their firm persuasion, that the air, which they breathed, was peopled with invisible enemies; with innumerable dæmons, who watched every occasion, and assumed every form, to terrify, and above all to tempt, their unguarded virtue. The imagination, and even the senses, were deceived by the illusions of distempered fanaticism; and the hermit, whose midnight prayer was oppressed by involuntary slumber, might easily confound the phantoms of horror or delight, which had occupied his sleeping, and his waking, dreams.[64]

The monks were divided into two classes: the *Cœnobites*, who lived under a common and regular discipline; and the *Anachorets*, who indulged their unsocial, independent fanaticism.[65] The

The Cœnobites and Anachorets.

[61] Cassian, from his own experience, describes the *acedia*, or listlessness of mind and body, to which a monk was exposed, when he sighed to find himself alone. Sæpiusque egreditur et ingreditur cellam, et Solem velut ad occasum tardius properantem crebrius intuetur (*Institut.* x. 1.)

[62] The temptations and sufferings of Stagirius were communicated by that unfortunate youth to his friend St. Chrysostom. See *Middleton's Works*, vol. i. pp. 107–110. Something similar introduces the life of every saint; and the famous Inigo, or Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuits, (*vide d'Inigo de Guiposcoa*, tom. i. pp. 29–38), may serve as a memorable example.

[63] Fleury, *Hist. Ecclésiastique*, tom. vii. p. 46. I have read, somewhere, in the *Vitæ Patrum*, but I cannot recover the place, that *several*, I believe *many*, of the monks, who did not reveal their temptations to the abbot, became guilty of suicide.

[64] See the seventh and eighth *Collations of Cassian*, who gravely examines, why the demons were grown less active and numerous since the time of St. Antony. Rosweyde's copious index to the *Vitæ Patrum* will point out a variety of infernal scenes. The devils were most formidable in a female shape.

[65] For the distinction of the *Cœnobites* and the *Hermits*, especially in Egypt, see *Jerom*, (tom. i. p. 45, ad Rusticum), the first *Dialogue of Sulpicius Severus*, *Rufinus*, (c. 22, in *Vit. Patrum*, l. ii. p. 478), *Palladius* (c. 7, 69, in *Vit. Patrum*, l. viii. pp. 712–758,) and, above all, the eighteenth and nineteenth *Collations* of Cassian. These writers, who compare the common and solitary life, reveal the abuse and danger of the latter.

most devout, or the most ambitious, of the spiritual brethren, renounced the convent, as they had renounced the world. The fervent monasteries of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, were surrounded by a *Laura*,[66] a distant circle of solitary cells; and the extravagant penance of the hermits was stimulated by applause and emulation.[67] They sunk under the painful weight of crosses and chains; and their emaciated limbs were confined by collars, bracelets, gauntlets, and greaves, of massy and rigid iron. All superfluous encumbrance of dress they contemptuously cast away; and some savage saints of both sexes have been admired, whose naked bodies were only covered by their long hair. They aspired to reduce themselves to the rude and miserable state in which the human brute is scarcely distinguished above his kindred animals: and a numerous sect of Anachorets derived their name from their humble practice of grazing in the fields of Mesopotamia, with the common herd.[68] They often usurped the den of some wild beast whom they affected to resemble; they buried themselves in some gloomy cavern, which art or nature had scooped out of the rock; and the marble quarries of Thebais are still inscribed with the monuments of their penance.[69] The most perfect hermits are supposed to have passed many days without food, many nights without sleep, and many years without speaking; and glorious was the *man* (I abuse that name) who contrived any cell, or seat, of a peculiar construction, which might expose him, in the most inconvenient posture, to the inclemency of the seasons.*

Simeon Stylites. A. D. 395-451.

Among these heroes of the monastic life, the name and genius of Simeon Stylites[70] have been

[66] *Suicer. Thesaur. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. pp. 205, 218. Thomassin, (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. pp. 1501, 1502,) gives a good account of these cells. When Gerasimus founded his monastry in the wilderness of Jordan, it was accompanied by a Laura of seventy cells.

[67] Theodoret, in a large volume (the *Philotheus in Vit. Patrum*, l. ix. pp. 793-863), has collected the lives and miracles of thirty Anachorets *Evagrius*, (l. i. c. 12), more briefly celebrates the monks and hermits of Palestine.

[68] *Sozomen*, l. vi. c. 33. The great St. Ephrem composed a panegyric on these Βόσκοι, or grazing monks, (Tillemont, *Mém. Ecclés.* tom. vii. p. 292.)

[69] The P. Sicard, (*Missions du Levant*, tom. ii. pp. 217-233), examined the caverns of the Lower Thebais with wonder and devotion. The inscriptions are in the old Syriac character, which was used by the Christians of Abyssinia.

[70] See Theodoret, (in *Vit. Patrum*, l. ix. pp. 848-854), Antony, (in *Vit. Patrum*, l. i. pp. 107-177,) Cosmas. (in *Asseman. Bibliot Oriental.* tom. i. pp. 239-253), *Evagrius*, (l. i. c. 13, 14), and Tillemont, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. xv. pp. 347-392.)

* "If you are desirous," says Voltaire, "of obtaining a great name, of becoming "the founder of a sect or establishment, be completely mad; but, be sure that "your madness corresponds with the turn and temper of your age. Have in "your madness reason enough to guide your extravagancies; and forget not to "be excessively opinionated and obstinate. It is certainly possible that you may "get hanged; but if you escape hanging, you will have altars erected to you."—E.

immortalized by the singular invention of an aerial penance. At the age of thirteen, the young Syrian deserted the profession of a shepherd, and threw himself into an austere monastery. After a long and painful novitiate, in which Simeon was repeatedly saved from pious suicide, he established his residence on a mountain, about thirty or forty miles to the east of Antioch. Within the space of a *mandra*, or circle of stones, to which he had attached himself by a ponderous chain, he ascended a column, which was successively raised from the height of nine, to that of sixty, feet from the ground.[71] In this last and lofty station, the Syrian anachoret resisted the heat of thirty summers, and the cold of as many winters. Habit and exercise instructed him to maintain his dangerous situation without fear or giddiness, and successively to assume the different postures of devotion. He sometimes prayed in an erect attitude, with his out-stretched arms, in the figure of a cross; but his most familiar practice was that of bending his meagre skeleton from the forehead to the feet; and a curious spectator, after numbering twelve hundred and forty-four repetitions, at length desisted from the endless account. The progress of an ulcer in his thigh[72] might shorten, but it could not disturb, this *celestial* life; and the patient hermit expired, without descending from his column. A prince, who should capriciously inflict such tortures, would be deemed a tyrant; but it would surpass the power of a tyrant, to impose a long and miserable existence on the reluctant victims of his cruelty. This voluntary martyrdom must have gradually destroyed the sensibility both of the mind and body; nor can it be presumed that the fanatics, who torment themselves, are susceptible of any lively affection for the rest of mankind. A cruel unfeeling temper has distinguished the monks of every age and country: their stern indifference, which is seldom mollified by personal friendship, is inflamed by religious hatred; and their merciless zeal has strenuously administered the holy office of the Inquisition.

[71] The narrow circumference of two cubits, or three feet, which Evagrius assigns for the summit of the column, is inconsistent with reason, with facts, and with the rules of architecture. The people who saw it from below might be easily deceived.

[72] I must not conceal a piece of ancient scandal concerning the origin of this ulcer. It has been reported that the Devil, assuming an angelic form, invited him to ascend, like Elijah, into a fiery chariot. The saint too hastily raised his foot, and Satan seized the moment of inflicting this chastisement on his vanity.

Miracles and worship of the monks.

The monastic saints, who excite only the contempt and pity of a philosopher, were respected, and almost adored, by the prince and people. Successive crowds of pilgrims from Gaul and India saluted the divine pillar of Simeon: the tribes of Saracens disputed in arms the honor of his benediction; the queens of Arabia and Persia gratefully confessed his supernatural virtue; and the angelic hermit was consulted by the younger Theodosius, in the most important concerns of the church and state. His remains were transported from the mountain of Telenissa, by a solemn procession of the patriarch, the master-general of the East, six bishops, twenty-one counts or tribunes, and six thousand soldiers; and Antioch revered his bones, as her glorious ornament and impregnable defence. The fame of the apostles and martyrs was gradually eclipsed by these recent and popular anachorets; the Christian world fell prostrate before their shrines; and the miracles ascribed to their relics, exceeded, at least in number and duration, the spiritual exploits of their lives. But the golden legend of their lives[73] was embellished by the artful credulity of their interested brethren; and a believing age was easily persuaded, that the slightest caprice of an Egyptian or a Syrian monk, had been sufficient to interrupt the eternal laws of the universe. The favorites of heaven were accustomed to cure inveterate diseases with a touch, a word, or a distant message; and to expel the most obstinate dæmons from the souls or bodies which they possessed. They familiarly accosted, or imperiously commanded, the lions and serpents of the desert; infused vegetation into a sapless trunk; suspended iron on the surface of the water; passed the Nile on the back of a crocodile, and refreshed themselves in a fiery furnace. These extravagant tales, which display the fiction, without the genius, of poetry, have seriously affected the reason, the faith, and the morals, of the Christians. Their credulity debased and vitiated the faculties of the mind; they corrupted the evidence of history; and superstition gradually extinguished the hostile light of philosophy and science. Every mode of religious worship

Superstion of the age.

[73] I know not how to select or specify the miracles contained in the *Vit. Patrum*, of Rosweyde, as the number very much exceeds the thousand pages of that voluminious work. An elegant specimen may be found in the *Dialogues of Sulpicius Severus*, and his *Life of St. Martin*. He reveres the monks of Egypt; yet he insults them with the remark, that *they* never raised the dead; whereas the bishop of Tours had restored *three* dead men to life.

which had been practiced by the saints, every mysterious doctrine which they believed, was fortified by the sanction of divine revelation, and all the manly virtues were oppressed by the servile and pusillanimous reign of the monks. If it be possible to measure the interval between the philosophic writings of Cicero and the sacred legend of Theodoret, between the character of Cato and that of Simeon, we may appreciate the memorable revolution which was accomplished in the Roman empire within a period of five hundred years.*

II. CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS.

II. The progress of Christianity has been marked by two glorious and decisive victories: over the learned and luxurious citizens of the Roman empire; and over the warlike barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who subverted the empire, and embraced the religion, of the Romans. The Goths were the foremost of these savage proselytes; and the nation was indebted for its conversion to a countryman, or, at least to a subject, worthy to be ranked among the inventors of useful arts, who have deserved the remembrance and gratitude of posterity. A great number of Roman provincials had been led away into captivity by the Gothic bands, who ravaged Asia in the time of Gallienus: and of these captives, many were Christians, and several belonged to the ecclesiastical order. Those involuntary missionaries, dispersed as slaves in the villages of Dacia successively labored for the salvation of their masters. The seeds, which they planted, of the evangelic doctrine, were gradually propagated; and before the end of a century, the pious work was achieved by the labors of Ulphilas, whose ancestors had been transported beyond the Danube from a small town of Cappadocia.

Ulphilas, the bishop and apostle of the Goths,[74] acquired

[74] On the subject of Ulphilas, and the conversion of the Goths, see *Sozomen*, l. vi. c. 37. *Socrates*, l. iv. c.33. *Theodoret*, l. iv. c. 37. *Philostorg.* l. ii. c. 5. The heresy of Philostorgius appears to have given him superior means of information.†

* The term of five hundred years is too long and begins too early. The degeneracy of Roman character and talent does not date from the age that immediately followed that of Cicero and Cato. No marked deterioration is perceptible till after the beginning of the second century. The change then came on gradually. It may be more accurately measured, by comparing Theodoret and Prosper with Pliny or Tacitus, and seeing Simeon Stylites on his pillar more revered than Antonine on his throne. It is important to mark the date, for it will be found, that Roman decay began soon after the Christian priesthood erected themselves into a hierarchy, received endowments, coveted more, manœuvred for the acquisition of wealth, and used ignorance and superstition as their purveyors. Public debasement and episcopal aggrandizement went on together, "passibus æquis."—ENG. Ch.

† Most ancient and many modern writers have been so occupied in debating, whether and why Ulphilas was an Arian, whether he lived in the time of Con-

Ulphilas, apostle of the Goths. A. D. 360, &c.

their love and reverence by his blameless life and indefatigable zeal; and they received, with implicit confidence, the doctrines of truth and and virtue which he preached and practiced. He executed the arduous task of translating the Scriptures into their native tongue, a dialect of the German, or Teutonic, language; but he prudently suppressed the four books of Kings, as they might tend to irritate the fierce and sanguinary spirit of the barbarians. The rude, imperfect idiom of soldiers and shepherds, so ill qualified to com-

stantine or of Valens, and whether he was the inventor of the alphabet used in his translation of the *Scriptures*, that they have overlooked the most instructive lesson to be gathered from what we know of him. These discussions may be found in Neander's *Hist. of Chris.* vol. iii. p. 177, and Mallet's *Northern Ant.* with Bishop Percy's *Notes*, p. 223, edit Bohn. *Wolff* or *Wölfel*, the real name of Ulphilas, is manifestly Gothic. Yet, as Neander suggests, it may have been adopted by him, though of a Cappadocian family, to ingratiate himself with the Mœsian colony among whom he was born and had long been resident. He certainly acquired great influence over them, and by his translation of the *Scriptures* into their language, marked an important era in the history of their progress. It was the first book that they ever possessed. The manuscript, mentioned by Gibbon, was discovered in the abbey of Werden, in Westphalia, and is believed to be the "identical version of Ulphilas." It is preserved in the library of Upsal under the name of the "*Codex Argenteus*," the letters being all of silver, with gold initials, on a violet-colored vellum. They are stamped with hot metal types, like titles on the backs of books, and show that at that early period the art of printing was all but invented. Other fragments have been discovered in the library at Wolfenbüttel and by Cardinal Mai at Rome, by means of which a complete edition was published in 1836, at Leipzig. In these manuscripts, the letters are quite different from the Runic, and bishop Percy admits that they must have been invented by Ulphilas, as ancient writers expressly assert. Niebuhr, (*Lectures*, 3. 317) ascribes to them a rather earlier origin, for he says that when the Visigoths crossed the Danube, in the time of the emperor Valens, "they had a national civilization of their own, and already possessed an alpha-"bet, invented for them by Ulphilas." No discordant statements can however cloud or conceal the fact which here stands prominent to fix our attention. Intercourse with the Roman world had so far improved the Goths, that the first preliminary step to all education and enlightenment was decidedly taken, and they were fit to receive the means of acquiring and diffusing knowledge. All their alleged incapacity and aversion for learning is here at once disproved. Yet such were the obstacles by which this progress was impeded, that the Gothic mind * had to struggle against them for a thousand years, after the days of Ulphilas, before it could assert its native privilege of working freely.—ENG. CH.

* The learned editor of Bohn's edition of Gibbon's *Rome*, who signs his notes "English Churchman," is an enthusiastic admirer of the "Gothic mind," and he never tires of recounting its many virtues. That particular portion of Gothic humanity, developed in England, of course surpasses all the other varieties, and may almost claim, in his opinion, the merit of absolute perfection. But, as a matter of fact, the "Celtic mind" has also done good service in the cause of religious freedom; and no race or nation may claim, with entire justice, to be the sole representative of human progress. Unfortunately, persecution, in the name of religion, is the besetting sin of the sectarians of all nationalities; and this spirit of intolerance is too often exhibited, even at the present day, by all the sects in Christendom, and particularly by a large class of the people of England. No rational mind can hope to understand their inconsistent conduct in regard to teachers of science and advocates of free thought; or comprehend why Charles Darwin, the eminent scientist, who was an acknowledged disbeliever in revelation, and whose writings were opposed with bitterness and ridicule during his life, was honored with Christian burial in Westminster Abbey at his death.

"How much would the world gain," says Castelar, "if the Christian conscience "would but consider the services lent to the education of humanity by all races "and by all institutions."—E.

municate any spiritual ideas, was improved and modulated by his genius; and Ulphilas, before he could frame his version, was obliged to compose a new alphabet of twenty-four letters;* four of which he invented, to express the peculiar sounds that were unknown to the Greek and Latin pronunciation.[75] But the prosperous state of the Gothic church was soon afflicted by war and intestine discord, and the chieftains were divided by religion as well as by interest. Fritigern, the friend of the Romans, became the proselyte of Ulphilas; while the haughty soul of Athanaric disdained the yoke of the empire, and of the gospel. The faith of the new converts was tried by the persecution which he excited. A wagon, bearing aloft the shapeless image of Thor, perhaps, or of Woden, was conducted in solemn procession through the streets of the camp; and the rebels, who refused to worship the god of their fathers, were immediately burnt, with their tents and families. The character of Ulphilas recommended him to the esteem of the eastern court, where he twice appeared as the minister of peace; he pleaded the cause of the distressed Goths, who implored the protection of Valens; and the name of *Moses* was applied to this spiritual guide, who conducted his people through the deep waters of the Danube, to the Land of Promise.[76] The devout shepherds, who were attached to his person, and tractable to his voice, acquiesced in their settlement, at the foot of the Mœsian mountains, in a country of woodlands and pastures, which supported their flocks and herds, and enabled them to purchase the

[75] A mutilated copy of the four Gospels, in the Gothic version, was published A. D. 1665, and is esteemed the most ancient monument of the Teutonic language, though Wetstein attempts, by some frivolous conjectures, to deprive Ulphilas of the honor of the work. Two of the four additional letters express the *W*, and our own *Th*. See Simon, *Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament*, tom. ii pp. 219-223. *Mill. Prolegom.* p. 151, edit. Kuster. *Wetstein, Prolegom.* tom. i. p. 114.†

[76] Philostorgius erroneously places this passage under the reign of Constantine; but I am much inclined to believe that it preceded the great emigration.

* This is the Mœso-Gothic alphabet, of which many of the letters are evidently formed from the Greek and Roman. M. St. Martin, however, contends, that it is impossible but that some written alphabet must have been known long before among the Goths. He supposes that their former letters were those inscribed on the runes, which being inseparably connected with the old idolatrous superstitions, were proscribed by the Christian missionaries. Everywhere the runes, so common among all the German tribes, disappear after the propagation of Christianity. *St. Martin*, iv. pp. 97, 98.—MILMAN.

† The *Codex Argenteus*, found in the sixteenth century at Wenden, near Cologne, and now preserved at Upsal, contains almost the entire four *Gospels*. The best edition is that of J. Chris. Zahn, Weissenfels, 1805. In 1762 Knettel discovered and published from a *Palimpsest MS.* four chapters of the *Epistle to the Romans*; they were reprinted at Upsal, 1763. M. Mai has since that time discovered further fragments, and other remains of Mœso-Gothic literature, from a *Palimpsest* at Milan. See Ulphilæ partium ineditarum in Ambrosianis *Palimpsestis* ab Ang. Maio repertarum specimen. Milan, 4to. 1819.—MILMAN.

corn and wine of the more plentiful provinces. These harmless barbarians multiplied in obscure peace, and the profession of Christianity.[77]

The Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, &c., embrace Christianity, A. D. 400, &c.

Their fiercer brethren, the formidable Visigoths, universally adopted the religion of the Romans, with whom they maintained a perpetual intercourse, of war, of friendship, or of conquest. In their long and victorious march from the Danube to the Atlantic ocean, they converted their allies; they educated the rising generation; and the devotion which reigned in the camp of Alaric, or the court of Thoulouse, might edify, or disgrace, the palaces of Rome and Constantinople.[78] During the same period, Christianity was embraced by almost all the barbarians, who established their kingdoms on the ruins of the western empire; the Burgundians in Gaul, the Suevi in Spain, the Vandals in Africa, the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, and the various bands of mercenaries, that raised Odoacer to the throne of Italy. The Franks and the Saxons still persevered in the errors of Paganism; but the Franks obtained the monarchy of Gaul by their submission to the example of Clovis; and the Saxon conquerors of Britain were reclaimed from their savage superstition by the missonaries of Rome. These barbarian proselytes displayed an ardent and successful zeal in the propagation of the faith. The Merovingian kings, and their successors, Charlemagne and the Othos, extended, by their laws and victories, the dominion of the cross. England produced the apostle of Germany; and the evangelic light was gradually diffused from the neighborhood of the Rhine, to the nations of the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Baltic.[79]

Motives of their faith.

The different motives which influenced the reason, or the passions, of the barbarian converts, cannot easily be ascertained. They were often capricious and accidental; a dream, an omen, the report of a miracle, the example of some priest or hero, the charms of a believing wife, and, above all, the fortunate event of a prayer,

[77] We are obliged to Jornandes (*de Reb. Get.* c. 51. p. 688) for a short and lively picture of these lesser Goths. Gothi minores, populus immensus, cum suo Pontifice ipsoque primate Wulfila. The last words, if they are not mere tautology, imply some temporal jurisdiction.

[78] At non ita Gothi non ita Vandali; malis licet doctoribus instituti, meliores tamen etiam in hac parte quam nostri. Salvian, *de Gubern. Dei*, l. vii. p. 243.

[79] Mosheim has slightly sketched the progress of Christianity in the North, from the fourth to the fourteenth century. The subject would afford materials for an ecclesiastical, and even philosophical, history.

or vow, which, in a moment of danger, they had addressed to the God of the Christians.[80] The early prejudices of education were insensibly erased by the habits of frequent and familiar society; the moral precepts of the gospel were protected by the extravagant virtues of the monks; and a spiritual theology was supported by the visible power of relics, and the pomp of religious worship. But the rational and ingenious mode of persuasion, which a Saxon bishop[81] suggested to a popular saint, might sometimes be employed by the missionaries, who labored for the conversion of infidels. "Admit," says the sagacious disputant, "whatever they are pleased to assert of the fabulous and carnal "genealogy of their gods and goddesses, who are propagated from each other. From this principle deduce "their imperfect nature, and human infirmities, the assurance they were *born*, and the probability that they "will *die*. At what time, by what means, from what cause, "were the eldest of the gods or goddesses produced? Do "they still continue, or have they ceased to propagate? If "they have ceased, summon your antagonists to declare "the reason of this strange alteration. If they still continue, "the number of the gods must become infinite; and shall "we not risk, by the indiscreet worship of some impotent "deity, to excite the resentment of his jealous superior? "The visible heavens and earth, the whole system of the "universe, which may be conceived by the mind, is it "created or eternal? If created, how, or where, could the "gods themselves exist before the creation? If eternal, "how could they assume the empire of an independent "and pre-existing world? Urge these arguments with "temper and moderation, insinuate, at seasonable intervals, "the truth and beauty of the Christian revelation; and "endeavor to make the unbelievers ashamed, without "making them angry." This metaphysical reasoning, too refined perhaps for the barbarians of Germany, was fortified by the grosser weight of authority and popular consent. The advantage of temporal prosperity had deserted the

[80] To such a course has *Socrates*, (l. vii. c. 30) ascribed the conversion of the Burgundians, whose Christian piety is celebrated by *Orosius*, (l. vii. c. 19.)

[81] See an original and curious epistle from Daniel, the first bishop of Winchester, (Beda, *Hist. Eccles. Anglorum*, l. v. c. 18, p. 203, edit. Smith), to St. Boniface, who preached the gospel among the savages of Hesse and Thuringia. *Epistol. Bonifacii*, lxii., in the *Maxime Bibliotheca Patrum*, tom. xiii. p. 93.*

* Daniel was the first bishop of Winchester, after the division of Wessex into two dioceses, and the erection of a separate see at Sherborne, about A. D. 705. There had been five preceding bishops of Winchester. Bede, *Ecc. Hist.* lib. iii. c. 7, iv. c. 12, p. 119, 191, edit. Bohn.—ENG. CH.

Pagan cause, and passed over to the service of Christianity. The Romans themselves, the most powerful and enlightened nation of the globe, had renounced their ancient superstition; and, if the ruin of their empire seemed to accuse the efficacy of the new faith, the disgrace was already retrieved by the conversion of the victorious Goths. The valiant and fortunate barbarians, who subdued the provinces of the west, successively received, and reflected, the same edifying example. Before the age of Charlemagne, the Christian nations of Europe might exult in the exclusive possession of the temperate climates, of the fertile lands, which produced corn, wine, and oil; while the savage idolaters, and their helpless idols, were confined to the extremities of the earth, the dark and frozen regions of the north.[82]

Effects of their conversion.

Christianity, which opened the gates of heaven to the barbarians, introduced an important change in their moral and political condition. They received, at the same time, the use of letters, so essential to a religion whose doctrines are contained in a sacred book; and, while they studied the divine truth, their minds were insensibly enlarged by the distant view of history, of nature, of the arts, and of society. The version of the Scriptures into their native tongue, which had facilitated their conversion, must excite, among their clergy, some curiosity to read the original text, to understand the sacred liturgy of the church, and to examine, in the writings of the fathers, the chain of ecclesiastical tradition. These spiritual gifts were preserved in the Greek and Latin languages, which concealed the inestimable monuments of ancient learning. The immortal productions of Virgil, Cicero, and Livy, which were accessible to the Christian barbarians, maintained a silent intercourse between the reign of Augustus, and the times of Clovis and Charlemagne. The emulation of mankind was encouraged by the remembrance of a more perfect state; and the flame of science was secretly kept alive, to warm and enlighten the mature age of the western world. In the most corrupt state of Christianity, the barbarians might learn justice from the *law*, and mercy from the *gospel:* and if the knowledge of their duty was insufficient to guide their actions, or to regulate their passions, they were sometimes restrained by conscience,

[82] The sword of Charlemagne added weight to the argument; but when Daniel wrote this epistle (A. D. 723), the Mahometans, who reigned from India to Spain, might have retorted it against the Christians.

and frequently punished by remorse. But the direct authority of religion was less effectual, than the holy communion which united them with their Christian brethren in spiritual friendship. The influence of these sentiments contributed to secure their fidelity in the service, or the alliance, of the Romans, to alleviate the horrors of war, to moderate the insolence of conquest, and to preserve, in the downfall of the empire, a permanent respect for the name and institutions of Rome. In the days of Paganism, the priests of Gaul and Germany reigned over the people, and controlled the jurisdiction of the magistrates; and the zealous proselytes transferred an equal, or more ample, measure of devout obedience, to the pontiffs of the Christian faith. The sacred character of the bishops was supported by their temporal possessions; they obtained an honorable seat in the legislative assemblies of soldiers and freemen; and it was their interest, as well as their duty, to mollify, by peaceful counsels, the fierce spirit of the barbarians. The perpetual correspondence of the Latin clergy, the frequent pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem, and the growing authority of the popes, cemented the union of the Christian republic; and gradually produced the similar manners, and common jurisprudence, which have distinguished from the rest of mankind the independent, and even hostile, nations of modern Europe.

They are involved in the Arian heresy.

But the operation of these causes was checked and retarded by the unfortunate accident, which infused a deadly poison into the cup of salvation. Whatever might be the early sentiments of Ulphilas, his connections with the empire and the church were formed during the reign of Arianism. The apostle of the Goths subscribed the creed of Rimini; professed with freedom, and perhaps with sincerity, that the SON was not equal, or consubstantial, to the FATHER;[83] communicated these errors to the clergy and people; and infected the barbaric world with a heresy,[84] which the great Theodosius proscribed and

[83] The opinions of Ulphilas and the Goths inclined to semi-Arianism, since they would not say that the Son was a *creature*, though they held communion with those who maintained that heresy. Their apostle represented the whole controversy as a question of trifling moment, which had been raised by the passions of the clergy. *Theodoret* l. iv. c. 37.

[84] The Arianism of the Goths has been imputed to the emperor Valens: "Ita-" que justo Dei judicio ipsi eum vivum incenderunt, qui propter eum etiam mortui, " vitio erroris arsuri sunt." *Orosius*, l. vii. c. 33, p. 554. This cruel sentence is confirmed by Tillemont (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. vi pp. 604-610), who cooly observes, " un seul homme entraina dans l'enfer un nombre infini de Septentrionaux, &c." Salvian, (*de Gubern. Dei*, l. v. pp. 150, 151), pities and excuses their involuntary error.

extinguished among the Romans. The temper and understanding of the proselytes were not adapted to metaphysical subtilities; but they strenuously maintained what they had piously received, as the pure and genuine doctrines of Christianity. The advantage of preaching and expounding the Scriptures in the Teutonic language, promoted the apostolic labors of Ulphilas and his successors; and they ordained a competent number of bishops and presbyters for the instruction of the kindred tribes. The Ostrogoths, the Burgundians, the Suevi, and the Vandals, who had listened to the eloquence of the Latin clergy,[85] preferred the more intelligible lessons of their domestic teachers; and Arianism was adopted as the national faith of the warlike converts, who were seated on the ruins of the western empire. This irreconcilable difference of religion was a perpetual source of jealousy and hatred; and the reproach of *barbarian* was embittered by the more odious epithet of *heretic*. The heroes of the north, who had submitted, with some reluctance, to believe that all their ancestors were in hell,[86]* were astonished and exasperated to learn, that they themselves had only changed the mode of their eternal condemnation. Instead of the smooth applause, which Christian kings are accustomed to expect from their loyal prelates, the orthodox bishops and their clergy were in a state of opposition to the Arian courts; and their indiscreet opposition frequently became criminal, and might sometimes be dangerous.[87] The pulpit, that safe and sacred organ of sedition, resounded with the names of Pharaoh and Holofernes;[88] the public discontent was inflamed by the hope or promise of a glorious deliverance: and the seditious saints were tempted to promote the accomplishment of their own predictions. Notwithstanding these provocations, the Catholics of Gaul, Spain,

General toleration.

[85] Orosius affirms, in the year 416 (l. vii. c. 41, p. 580), that the Churches of Christ, (of the Catholics), were filled with Huns, Suevi, Vandals, Burgundians.

[86] Radbod, king of the Frisons, was so much scandalized by this rash declaration of a missionary, that he drew back his foot after he had entered the baptismal font. See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. ix. p. 167.

[87] The epistles of Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, under the Visigoth, and of Avitus, bishop of Vienna, under the Burgundians, explain sometimes in dark hints, the general disposition of the Catholics. The history of Clovis and Theodoric will suggest some particular facts.

[88] Genseric confesses the resemblance, by the severity with which he punished such indiscreet allusions. *Victor Vitensis*, l. 7, p. 10.

* "Suppose your mother were in hell, would you be happy in heaven, then?" enquired Col. Robt. G. Ingersoll, of a young gentleman, who, having recently been converted to Presbyterianism, was perfectly happy. "Well," replied the young convert, "I suppose God would know the best place for mother." "And, I thought to myself, then," said the witty orator, when relating the incident, "if I was a woman, I would like to have five or six boys like that."—E.

and Italy, enjoyed under the reign of the Arians, the free and peaceful exercise of their religion. Their haughty masters respected the zeal of a numerous people, resolved to die at the foot of their altars; and the example of their devout constancy was admired and imitated by the barbarians themselves. The conquerors evaded, however, the disgraceful reproach, or confession, of fear, by attributing their toleration to the liberal motives of reason and humanity; and while they affected the language, they imperceptibly imbibed the spirit, of genuine Christianity.

Arian persecution of the Vandals.

The peace of the church was sometimes interrupted. The Catholics were indiscreet, the barbarians were impatient; and the partial acts of severity or injustice, which had been recommended by the Arian clergy, were exaggerated by the orthodox writers. The guilt of persecution may be imputed to Euric, king of the Visigoths; who suspended the exercise of ecclesiastical, or at least of episcopal, functions; and punished the popular bishops of Aquitain with imprisonment, exile, and confiscation.[89] But the cruel and absurd enterprise of subduing the minds of a whole people, was undertaken by the Vandals alone. Genseric himself, in his early youth, had renounced the orthodox communion; and the apostate could neither grant, nor expect, a sincere forgiveness. He was exasperated to find, that the Africans, who had fled before him in the field, still presumed to dispute his will in synods and churches; and his ferocious mind was incapable of fear, or of compassion. His Catholic subjects were oppressed by intolerant laws, and arbitrary punishments. The language of Genseric was furious and formidable; the knowledge of his intentions might justify the most unfavorable interpretation of his actions; and the Arians were reproached with the frequent executions, which stained the palace, and the dominions of the tyrant. Arms and ambition were, however, the ruling passions of the monarch of the sea. But Hunneric, his inglorious son, who seemed to inherit only his vices, tormented the Catholics with the same unrelenting fury which had been fatal to his brother, his nephews, and the friends and favorites of his father; and even to the Arian patriarch, who was inhumanly burnt alive in the midst of

Genseric, A. D. 429–477.

Hunneric, A. D. 477.

[89] Such are the contemporary complaints of Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, (l. vii. c. 6, p. 182, &c., edit. Sirmond). Gregory of Tours, who quotes this epistle (l. ii. c. 25, in tom. ii. p. 174), extorts an unwarrantable assertion, that of the nine vacancies in Aquitain, some had been produced by episcopal *martyrdoms*.

Carthage. The religious war was preceded and prepared by an insidious truce; persecution was made the serious and important business of the Vandal court; and the loathsome disease, which hastened the death of Hunneric, revenged the injuries, without contributing to the deliverance, of the church. The throne of Africa was successively filled
Gundamund, A. D. 484. by the two nephews of Hunneric; by Gundamund, who reigned about twelve, and by Thrasimund, who governed the nation above twenty-seven years. Their administration was hostile and oppressive to the orthodox party. Gundamund appeared to emulate, or even to surpass, the cruelty of his uncle; and, if at length he relented, if he recalled the bishops, and restored the freedom of Athanasian worship, a premature death intercepted the benefits of his tardy clemency. His
Thrasimund, A. D. 496. brother, Thrasimund, was the greatest and most accomplished of the Vandal kings, whom he excelled in beauty, prudence, and magnanimity of soul. But this magnanimous character was degraded by his intolerant zeal and deceitful clemency. Instead of threats and tortures, he employed the gentle but efficacious powers of seduction. Wealth, dignity, and the royal favor, were the liberal rewards of apostasy; the Catholics, who had violated the laws, might purchase their pardon by the renunciation of their faith: and whenever Thrasimund meditated any rigorous measure, he patiently waited till the indiscretion of his adversaries furnished him with a specious opportunity. Bigotry was his last sentiment in the hour of death; and he exacted from his successor a solemn oath that he would
Hilderic, A. D. 523. never tolerate the sectaries of Athanasius. But his successor, Hilderic, the gentle son of the savage Hunneric, preferred the duties of humanity and justice, to the vain obligation of an impious oath; and his accession was gloriously marked by the restoration of peace and universal freedom. The throne of that virtuous, though
Gelimer, A. D. 530. feeble monarch, was usurped by his cousin Gelimer, a zealous Arian; but the Vandal kingdom, before he could enjoy or abuse his power, was subverted by the arms of Belisarius; and the orthodox party retaliated the injuries which they had endured.[90]

[90] The original monuments of the Vandal persecution are preserved in the five books of the history of Victor Vitensis, (*de Persecutione Vandalica*), a bishop who was exiled by Hunneric; in the *Life of St. Fulgentius*, who was distinguished in the persecution of Thrasimund (in *Biblioth. Max. Patrum.* tom. ix. pp. 4–16; and in the first book of the Vandalic War, by the impartial Procopius, (c. 7, 8, pp.

A general view of the persecution in Africa.

The passionate declamations of the Catholics, the sole historians of this persecution, cannot afford any distinct series of causes and events; any impartial view of the characters, or counsels; but the most remarkable circumstances that deserve either credit or notice, may be referred to the following heads: I. In the original law, which is still extant,[91] Hunneric expressly declares (and the declaration appears to be correct), that he had faithfully transcribed the regulations and penalties of the imperial edicts, against the heretical congregations, the clergy, and the people, who dissented from the established religion. If the rights of conscience had been understood, the Catholics must have condemned their past conduct, or acquiesced in their actual sufferings. But they still persisted to refuse the indulgence which they claimed. While they trembled under the lash of persecution, they praised the *laudable* severity of Hunneric himself, who burnt or banished great numbers of Manichæans;[92] and they rejected with horror, the ignominious compromise, that the disciples of Arius and of Athanasius should enjoy a reciprocal and similar toleration in the territories of the Romans, and in those of the Vandals.[93] II. The practice of a conference, which the Catholics had so frequently used to insult and punish their obstinate antagonists, was retorted against themselves.[94] At the command of Hunneric, four hundred and sixty-six orthodox bishops assembled at Carthage: but when they were admitted into the hall of audience, they had the mortification of beholding the Arian Cyrila exalted on the patriarchal throne. The disputants

196–199.) Dom. Ruinart, the last editor of *Victor*, has illustrated the whole subject with a copious and learned apparatus of notes and supplement. (Paris, 1694.)

91 *Victor*, iv. 2, p. 65. Hunneric refuses the name of Catholics to the *Homoousians*. He describes, as the veri Divinæ Majestatis cultores, his own party, who professed the faith, confirmed by more than a thousand bishops, in the synods of Rimini and Seleucia.*

92 *Victor*, ii. 1, pp. 21, 22. *Laudabilior* * * * videbatur. In the MSS. which omit this word, the passage is unintelligible. See *Ruinart*, Not. p. 164.

93 *Victor*, ii. 2. pp 22, 23. The clergy of Carthage called these conditions *periculosæ*, and they seem, indeed, to have been proposed as a snare to entrap the Catholic bishops.

94 See the narrative of this conference, and the treatment of the bishops, in *Victor*, ii. 13–18, pp. 35–42, and the whole fourth book, pp. 63–171. The third book, pp. 42–62, is entirely filled by their apology or confession of faith.

* These recitals, even after making much allowance for the exaggerations of the injured and irritated, only prove what it was that the converted barbarians were taught to regard as Christianity. *Neander* (4. 92) traces the joint influence of example and instigation. "The Vandal princes wished to retaliate the oppressions which their companions in the faith had to suffer in the Roman empire; those among their subjects, who agreed in faith with the Roman Christians, were also objects of suspicion to them; and in part they were led on by the rude fanatical Arian clergy."—ENG. CH.

were separated, after the mutual and ordinary reproaches of noise and silence, of delay and precipitation, of military force and of popular clamor. One martyr and one confessor were selected among the Catholic bishops; twenty-eight escaped by flight, and eighty-eight by conformity; forty-six were sent into Corsica to cut timber for the royal navy; and three hundred and two were banished to the different parts of Africa, exposed to the insults of their enemies, and carefully deprived of all the temporal and spiritual comforts of life.[95] The hardships of ten years' exile must have reduced their numbers; and if they had complied with the law of Thrasimund, which prohibited any episcopal consecrations, the orthodox church of Africa must have expired with the lives of its actual members. They disobeyed; and their disobedience was punished by a second exile of two hundred and twenty bishops into Sardinia; where they languished fifteen years, till the accession of the gracious Hilderic.[96] The two islands were judiciously chosen by the malice of their Arian tyrants. Seneca from his own experience has deplored and exaggerated the miserable state of Corsica,[97] and the plenty of Sardinia was overbalanced by the unwholesome quality of the air.[98] III. The zeal of Genseric, and his successors, for the conversion of the Catholics, must have rendered them still more jealous to guard the purity of the Vandal faith. Before the churches were finally shut, it was a crime to appear in a barbarian dress; and those who presumed to neglect the royal mandate, were rudely dragged backwards by their long hair.[99] The palatine officers, who re-

[95] See the list of the African bishops, in *Victor*, pp. 117–140, and *Ruinart's Notes*, pp. 215–397. The schismatic name of *Donatus* frequently occurs, and they appear to have adopted (like our fanatics of the last age) the pious appellations of *Deodatus*, *Deogratias*, *Quidvultdeus*, *Habetdeum*, &c.*

[96] *Fulgent. Vit.* c. 16–29. Thrasimund affected the praise of moderation and learning; and Fulgentius addressed three books of controversy to the Arian tyrant, whom he styles *pissime Rex*. *Biblioth. Maxim. Patrum.* tom. ix. p. 41. Only sixty bishops are mentioned as exiles, in the life of Fulgentius; they are increased to one hundred and twenty by Victor Tunnunensis and Isidor: but the number of two hundred and twenty is specified in the *Historia Miscella*, and a short authentic chronicle of the times. See *Ruinart*, pp. 570–571.

[97] See the base and insipid epigrams of the Stoic, who could not support exile with more fortitude than Ovid. Corsica might not produce corn, wine, or oil; but it could not be destitute of grass, water, and even fire.

[98] Si ob gravitatem cœli interissent, *vile* damnum. Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 85. In this application, Thrasimund would have adopted the reading of some critics, *utile* damnum.

[99] See the preludes of a *general* persecution, in *Victor* ii. 3, 4, 7, and the two edicts of Hunneric; l. ii. p. 35, l, iv. p. 64.

* These names appear to have been introduced by the Donatists.—MILMAN.

The Deogratias, of whom honorable mention has been made, (c. 36), was an Arian bishop. The prevalent spirit of the times, as here depicted, shows us why his kindness to the suffering orthodox made him obnoxious to all parties.—E. C.

fused to profess the religion of their prince, were ignominiously stripped of their honors and employments; banished to Sardinia and Sicily; or condemned to the servile labors of slaves and peasants in the fields of Utica. In the districts which had been peculiarly allotted to the Vandals, the exercise of the Catholic worship was more strictly prohibited; and severe penalties were denounced against the guilt both of the missionary and the proselyte. By these arts, the faith of the barbarians was preserved, and their zeal was inflamed; they discharged, with devout fury, the office of spies, informers, or executioners; and whenever their cavalry took the field it was the favorite amusement of the march, to defile the churches, and to insult the clergy of the adverse faction.[100] IV. The citizens who had been educated in the luxury of the Roman province, were delivered, with exquisite cruelty, to the Moors of the desert. A venerable train of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, with a faithful crowd of four thousand and ninety-six persons, whose guilt is not precisely ascertained, were torn from their native homes, by the command of Hunneric. During the night they were confined, like a herd of cattle, amidst their own ordure: during the day they pursued their march over the burning sands; and if they fainted under the heat and fatigue, they were goaded or dragged along, till they expired in the hands of their tormentors.[101] These unhappy exiles, when they reached the Moorish huts, might excite the compassion of a people, whose native humanity was neither improved by reason, nor corrupted by fanaticism: but if they escaped the dangers, they were condemned to share the distress, of a savage life. V. It is incumbent on the authors of persecution previously to reflect, whether they are determined to support it in the last extreme. They excite the flame which they strive to extinguish; and it soon becomes necessary to chastise the contumacy, as well as the crime, of the offender. The fine, which he is unable or unwilling to discharge, exposes his person to the severity of the law; and his contempt of lighter penalties suggests the use and propriety of capital punishment. Through the veil of fiction and declamation, we may clearly perceive, that the Catholics,

[100] See *Procopius de Bell. Vandal.* l. i. c. 7, pp. 197, 198. A Moorish prince endeavored to propitiate the God of the Christians, by his diligence to erase the marks of the Vandal sacrilege.

[101] See this story in *Victor*, ii. 8, 12, pp. 30–34. Victor describes the distress of these confessors as an eye-witness.

more especially under the reign of Hunneric, endured the most cruel and ignominious treatment.[102] Respectable citizens, noble matrons, and consecrated virgins, were stripped naked, and raised in the air by pulleys, with a weight suspended at their feet. In this painful attitude their naked bodies were torn with scourges, or burnt in the most tender parts with red-hot plates of iron. The amputation of the ears, the nose, the tongue, and the right hand,* was inflicted by the Arians; and although the precise number cannot be defined, it is evident that many persons, among whom a bishop[103] and a proconsul[104] may be named, were entitled to the crown of martyrdom. The same honor has been ascribed to the memory of count Sebastian, who professed the Nicene creed with unshaken constancy; and Genseric might detest, as an heretic, the brave and ambitious fugitive whom he dreaded as a rival.[105] VI. A new mode of conversion, which might subdue the feeble, and alarm the timorous, was employed by the Arian ministers. They imposed, by fraud or violence, the rites of baptism; and punished the apostasy of the Catholics, if they disclaimed this odious and profane ceremony, which scandalously violated the freedom of the will, and the unity of the sacrament.[106] The hostile sects had formerly allowed the validity of each other's baptism; and the innovation, so fiercely maintained by the Vandals, can be imputed only to the example and advice of the Donatists. VII. The Arian clergy surpassed, in religious cruelty, the king and his Vandals; but they were incapable of cultivating the spiritual vineyard, which they were so desirous to possess. A patriarch[107] might seat himself on the throne of Carthage;

[102] See the fifth book of *Victor*. His passionate complaints are confirmed by the sober testimony of Procopius, and the public declaration of the emperor Justinian. *Cod.* l. i. tit xxvii.

[103] *Victor*, ii. 18, p. 41.

[104] *Victor*, v. 4, pp. 74, 75. His name was Victorianus, and he was a wealthy citizen of Adrumetum, who enjoyed the confidence of the king: by whose favor he had obtained the office, or at least the title, of proconsul of Africa.

[105] *Victor*, i. 6, pp. 8, 9. After relating the firm resistance and dexterous reply of Count Sebastian, he adds, quare alio generis argumento postea bellicosum virum occidit.

[106] *Victor*, v. 12, 13. Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. vi. p. 609.

[107] *Primate* was more properly the title of the bishop of Carthage; but the name of *patriarch* was given by the sects and nations to their principal ecclesiastic. See Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. pp. 155, 158.

* The history of Christianity is a history of persecution. It is a history of injustice, of oppression, and of cruelty. Its founder taught the sublime doctrine of Confucius, "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you." But those who claim to be his followers have repudiated this moral teaching and invented a system of creeds and dogmas which has arrayed man against his fellow, brother against brother, the father against the son, and the mother against the daughter. Instead of peace, justice, liberty, and happiness, we see war, conquest, misery, and superstition.—E.

some bishops, in the principal cities, might usurp the place of their rivals; but the smallness of their numbers, and their ignorance of the Latin language,[108] disqualified the barbarians for the ecclesiastical ministry of a great church; and the Africans, after the loss of their orthodox pastors, were deprived of the public exercise of Christianity. VIII. The emperors were the natural protectors of the Homoousian doctrine: and the faithful people of Africa, both as Romans and as Catholics, preferred their lawful sovereignty to the usurpation of the barbarous heretics. During an interval of peace and friendship, Hunneric restored the cathedral of Carthage, at the intercession of Zeno, who reigned in the East, and of Placidia, the daughter and relict of emperors, and the sister of the queen of the Vandals.[109] But this decent regard was but of short duration; and the haughty tyrant displayed his contempt for the religion of the empire, by studiously arranging the bloody images of persecution, in all the principal streets through which the Roman ambassador must pass in his way to the palace.[110] An oath was required from the bishops, who were assembled at Carthage, that they would support the succession of his son Hilderic, and that they would renounce all foreign or *transmarine* correspondence. This engagement, consistent, as it should seem, with their moral and religious duties, was refused by the more sagacious members[111] of the assembly. Their refusal, faintly colored by the pretence that it is unlawful for a Christian to swear, must provoke the suspicions of a jealous tyrant.

Catholic frauds.

The Catholics, oppressed by royal and military force, were far superior to their adversaries in numbers and learning. With the same weapons which the Greek[112] and Latin fathers had already provided for the Arian controversy, they repeatedly silenced, or vanquished,

[108] The patriarch Cyrila himself publicly declared, that he did not understand Latin, (*Victor*, ii. 18, p. 42): Nescio Latine; and he might converse with tolerable ease, without being capable of disputing or preaching in that language. His Vandal clergy were still more ignorant; and small confidence could be placed in the Africans who had conformed.

[109] *Victor*, ii. 1, 2, p. 22.

[110] *Victor*, v. 7. p. 77. He appeals to the ambassador himself, whose name was Uranius.

[111] *Astutiores*. *Victor*, iv. 4, p. 70. He plainly intimates that their quotation of the gospel "Non jurabitis in toto," was only meant to elude the obligation of an inconvenient oath. The forty-six bishops who refused were banished to Corsica; the three hundred and two who swore, were distributed through the provinces of Africa.

[112] Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspæ, in the Byzacene province, was of a senatorial family, and had received a liberal education. He could repeat all Homer and Menander before he was allowed to study Latin, his native tongue. (*Vit. Fulgent.* c. 1). Many African bishops might understand Greek, and many Greek theologians were translated into Latin.

the fierce and illiterate successors of Ulphilas. The consciousness of their own superiority might have raised them above the arts and passions of religious warfare. Yet, instead of assuming such honorable pride, the orthodox theologians were tempted, by the assurance of impunity, to compose fictions, which must be stigmatized with the epithets of fraud and forgery. They ascribed their own polemical works to the most venerable names of Christian antiquity; the characters of Athanasius and Augustin were awkwardly personated by Vigilius and his disciples;[113] and the famous creed, which so clearly expounds the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation, is deduced, with strong probability, from this African school.[114] Even the Scriptures themselves were profaned by their rash and sacrilegious hands. The memorable text, which asserts the unity of the THREE who bear witness in heaven,[115] is condemned by the universal silence of the orthodox fathers, ancient versions, and authentic manuscripts.[116] It was first alleged by the Catholic bishops whom Hunneric summoned to the conference of Carthage.[117] An allegorical interpretation, in the form, perhaps, of a marginal note, invaded the text of the Latin Bibles, which were renewed and corrected in a dark

[113] Compare the two prefaces to the *Dialogue* of Vigilius of Thapsus (pp. 118, 119, edit. Chiflet). He might amuse his learned reader with an innocent fiction; but the subject was too grave, and the Africans were too ignorant.

[114] The P. Quesnel started this opinion, which has been favorably received. But the three following truths, however surprising they may seem, are *now* universally acknowledged, *Gerard Vossius*, tom. vi. pp. 516–522. (Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.* tom. viii. pp. 667–671.) 1. St. Athanasius is not the author of the creed, which is so frequently read in our churches. 2. It does not appear to have existed within a century after his death. 3. It was originally composed in the Latin tongue, and, consequently, in the Western provinces, Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople, was so much amazed by this extraordinary composition, that he frankly pronounced it to be the work of a drunken man. *Petav. Dogmat. Theologica*, tom. ii., l. vii. c. 8, p. 687.

[115] *1 John*, v. 7. See Simon, *Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament*, part i. c. xviii. pp. 203–218; and part ii. c. ix. pp. 99–121; and the elaborate *Prolegomena* and *Annotations* of Dr. Mill and Wetstein to their editions of the *Greek Testament*. In 1689, the Papist Simon strove to be free; in 1707, the Protestant Mill wished to be a slave; in 1751, the Armenian Wetstein used the liberty of his times, and of his sect.*

[116] Of *all* the MSS. now extant, above fourscore in number, some of which are more than 1200 years old, (Wetstein ad loc.) The *orthodox* copies of the Vatican, of the Complutensian editors, of Robert Stephens, are become invisible; and the *two* MSS. of Dublin and Berlin are unworthy to form an exception. See Emlyn's *Works*, vol. ii. pp. 227–255, 269–299; and M. de Missy's four ingenious letters, in tom. viii. and ix of the *Journal Britannique*.

[117] Or, more properly, by the *four* bishops who composed and published the profession of faith in the name of their brethren. They styled this text, luce clarius, (*Victor Vitensis de Persecut. Vandal.* l. iii. c. 11, p. 54.) It is quoted soon afterwards by the African polemics, Vigilius and Fulgentius.

* This controversy has continued to be agitated, but with declining interest, even in the more religious part of the community; and may now be considered to have terminated in an almost general acquiescence of the learned in the conclusions of Porson in his *Letters* to Travis. See the pamphlets of the late Bishop of Salisbury and of Crito Cantabrigiensis, Dr. Turton of Cambridge—M.

period of ten centuries.[118] After the invention of printing,[119] the editors of the Greek Testament yielded to their own prejudices, or to those of the times;[120] and the pious fraud, which was embraced with equal zeal at Rome and at Geneva, has been infinitely multiplied in every country and every language of modern Europe.†

[118] In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the *Bibles* were corrected by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and by Nicholas, cardinal and librarian of the Roman church, secundum orthodoxam fidem, (Wetstein, *Prolegom*, pp. 84, 85.) Notwithstanding these corrections, the passage is still wanting in twenty-five Latin, MSS. (*Wetstein ad loc.*) the oldest and the fairest; two qualities seldom united, except in manuscripts.

[119] The art which the Germans had invented was applied in Italy to the profane writers of Rome and Greece. The original Greek of the *New Testament* was published about the same time, (A. D. 1514, 1516, 1520,) by the industry of Erasmus, and the munificence of Cardinal Ximenes. The Complutensian Polyglot cost the cardinal 50,000 ducats. See *Macttaire. Annal. Typograph.* tom. ii. pp. 2–8, 125-133; and Wetstein, *Prolegomena*, pp. 116-127.

[120] The three witnesses have been established in our *Greek Testaments* by the prudence of Erasmus: the honest bigotry of the Complutensian editors; the typographical fraud, or error, of Robert Stephens, in the placing a crochet; and the deliberate falsehood, or strange misapprehension, of Theodore Beza.*

* In his edition of the *New Testament*, in 1539, Robert Stephens made a parenthesis of the passage "in heaven—on earth," to indicate that it was not to be found in the Latin manuscript; but in the edition of 1550, only the words "in heaven" are placed between brackets as suspicious, instead of the whole passage, as it ought to have been.—GERMAN EDITOR.

Any further observations on this subject are rendered unnecessary by Porson's *Letters* to Travis, which completely establish Gibbon's position, that the verse respecting the "three witnesses" was the interpolation of a later age.—ENG. CH.

† Taylor places this text in relation to "the three heavenly witnesses," (the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one,) in his list of "*Spurious Passages in the New Testament.*" (*Appendix to Diegesis*. page 421.) The text is found in *1 John*, v: 7. It had been willfully and wickedly interpolated, to sustain the Trinitarian doctrine, as Taylor has shown; and it has been entirely omitted by the revisers of the *New Testament*. Dr. Roberts, in his *Companion to the Revised Version of the English New Testament*, page 72, says: "So decidedly have the minds of all scholars now been made up as to the spuri-"ousness of the words, that they have been omitted in the *Revised Version* "without a line even on the margin to indicate that they had ever been admitted "to a place in the sacred text."

The equally pregnant passage, *1 Timothy*, iii: 16, "God was manifest in the "flesh," which was altered to its present reading, by some over-zealous Christian, to sustain the doctrine of Christ's divinity, and which Taylor denounced as a forgery, has been robbed of its significance and radically changed by the revisers. It now reads, "He who was manifest in the flesh." Thus, the great mystery of "godliness," which precedes the text, is no longer a mystery, for the riddle has been explained—the puzzle has been solved and the simple pronoun, "he," which, with the context, will apply to any religious teacher, has been substituted in the place of God, the creator and preserver of the universe. It is but justice to the learned Dr. Roberts to remark, that but two and a half pages of his interesting and instructive *Companion*, are occupied with this *necessary* explanation.

Taylor also rejects "the whole of the Doxology at the end of the Lord's prayer," (*Matt.* vi. 13,) and Dr. Roberts endorses his judgment, by stating on page 60 of his *Companion to Revised Version*, that "Criticism must pronounce decidedly against "the clause as forming part of the original text; and it is, accordingly, not ad-"mitted into the *Revised Version*." Taylor and Roberts also agree in the total want of authority for the story of the Pool of Bethesda, *John*, v. 3, 4. Also, the important passage, *Acts*, xx. 28, where Christ and the Holy Ghost are spoken of and confounded with God,—the essential point at issue between the Trinitarians and Arians—the orthodox and heterodox.

In the year 1828 the Rev. Robt. Taylor was imprisoned in Oakham jail, England, as a punishment for his heterodox opinions, and in the year 1882 Dr. Roberts and his reverend associates have shown, in their *Revised Version of the New Testament*, that many of Taylor's learned criticism are correct.—E.

And miracles.

The example of fraud must excite suspicion; and the specious miracles by which the African Catholics have defended the truth and justice of their cause, may be ascribed, with more reason, to their own industry, than to the visible protection of heaven. Yet the historian, who views this religious conflict with an impartial eye, may condescend to mention *one* preternatural event, which will edify the devout, and surprise the incredulous. Tipasa,[121] a maritime colony of Mauritania, sixteen miles to the east of Cæsarea, had been distinguished, in every age, by the orthodox zeal of its inhabitants. They had braved the fury of the Donatists;[122] they resisted, or eluded, the tyranny of the Arians. The town was deserted on the approach of an heretical bishop: most of the inhabitants who could procure ships passed over to the coast of Spain; and the unhappy remnant, refusing all communion with the usurper, still presumed to hold their pious, but illegal, assemblies. Their disobedience exasperated the cruelty of Hunneric. A military count was despatched from Carthage to Tipasa: he collected the Catholics in the forum, and in the presence of the whole province, deprived the guilty of their right hands and their tongues. But the holy confessors continued to speak without tongues: and this miracle is attested by Victor, an African bishop, who published a history of the persecution within two years after the event.[123] "If any one," says Victor, "should doubt of the truth, let "him repair to Constantinople, and listen to the clear and "perfect language of Restitutus, the subdeacon, one of these "glorious sufferers, who is now lodged in the palace of the "emperor Zeno, and is respected by the devout empress." At Constantinople we are astonished to find a cool, a learned, and unexceptionable witness, without interest, and without passion. Æneas of Gaza, a Platonic philosopher, has accurately described his own observations on these African sufferers. "I saw them myself: I heard them speak: I "diligently inquired by what means such an articulate "voice could be formed without any organ of speech: I "used my eyes to examine the report of my ears: I opened "their mouth, and saw that the whole tongue had been

121 Plin, *Hist. Natural.* v. 1. *Itinerar.* Wesseling, p. 15. Cellarius, *Geograph. Antiq.* tom. ii. part ii. p. 127. This Tipasa (which must not be confounded with another in Numidia) was a town of some note, since Vespasian endowed it with the right of Latium.

122 Optatus Milevitanus de Schism, *Donatist.* l. ii. p. 38.

123 *Victor Vitensis*, v, 6, p. 76. *Ruinart*, pp. 483-487.

"completely torn away by the roots; an operation which "the physicians generally suppose to be mortal."[124] The testimony of Æneas of Gaza might be confirmed by the superfluous evidence of the emperor Justinian, in a perpetual edict; of count Marcellinus, in his Chronicle of the times; and of pope Gregory the first, who had resided at Constantinople, as the minister of the Roman pontiff.[125] They all lived within the compass of a century; and they all appeal to their personal knowledge, or the public notoriety, for the truth of a miracle, which was repeated in several instances, displayed on the greatest theatre of the world, and submitted, during a series of years, to the calm examination of the senses. This supernatural gift of the African confessors, who spoke without tongues, will command the assent of those, and of those only, who already believe, that their language was pure and orthodox. But the stubborn mind of an infidel is guarded by secret, incurable suspicion; † and the Arian, or Socinian, who has seriously rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, will not be shaken by the most plausible evidence of an Athanasian miracle.

[124] Æneas Gazæus in Theophrasto, in *Biblioth. Patrum*, tom. viii. pp. 664, 665. He was a Christian, and composed this *Dialogue* (the Theophrastus) on the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body; besides twenty-five *Epistles*, still extant. See Cave (*Hist. Litteraria*, p. 297), and Fabricius, (*Biblioth. Græc.* tom. i. p. 422).

[125] Justinian. *Codex*, l. i. tit. xxvii. Marcellin. in *Chron.* p. 44, in *Thesaur. Temporum Scaliger. Procopius*, de Bell. *Vandal.* l. i. c. 7, p. 196 Gregor. Magnus, *Dialog.* iii. 32. None of these witnesses have specified the number of the confessors, which is fixed at sixty in an old menology (*apud Ruinart*, p. 486). Two of them lost their speech by fornication; but the miracle is enhanced by the singular instance of a boy who had *never* spoken before his tongue was cut out.*

* Nothing can be more curious than this miracle, and probably nothing in early ecclesiastical history is more authentic. In an age of wonders we must expect surprises. St. Peter walked out of prison through an iron gate "*which opened "to him of his own accord.*" *Acts of the Apostles*, chap. xii., v. 10. When St. Polycarp, was committed to the flames, "the flaming fire, burning itself after the "form of a vault or sail of a ship, refused to burn so good a man." When he was lanced in the side with a spear, "such a stream of blood issued out of his "body, that the fire was therewith quenched?" When the decayed body of St. Stephen was dug up and shown to the light "the earth trembled, and an odor, "such as that of Paradise, was smelt." Tertullian assures us that the body of a Christian which had been some time buried, "moved itself to one side of the "grave to make room for another corpse." Eusebius assures us "that on some "occasions the bodies of the martyrs who had been devoured by wild beasts, upon "the beasts being strangled, were found alive in their stomachs." Taylor's *Syntagma*, page, 33, quotes St. Augustin, as saying that he had preached to a whole nation of men and women "*that had no heads*," and this last assertion surpasses the first named miracle—for if it be wonderful for a boy to speak without a tongue who never spoke with one, it is certainly still more wonderful to observe devout and intelligent Christians, without heads, watching attentively, without eyes, listening intently, without ears, and understanding perfectly, without brains, the spirited and spiritual harangues of the zealous and eloquent St. Augustin.—E.

† "Unbelief," says Taylor, "is no sin that ignorance was ever capable of "being guilty of."—E.

The ruin of Arianism among the barbarians. A. D. 500–700.

The Vandals and the Ostrogoths persevered in the profession of Arianism till the final ruin of the kingdoms which they had founded in Africa and Italy. The barbarians of Gaul submitted to the orthodox dominion of the Franks; and Spain was restored to the Catholic church by the voluntary conversion of the Visigoths.

Revolt and martyrdom of Hermenegild in Spain. A. D. 577–584.

This salutary revolution[126] was hastened by the example of a royal martyr, whom our calmer reason may style an ungrateful rebel. Leovigild, the Gothic monarch of Spain, deserved the respect of his enemies, and the love of his subjects: the Catholics enjoyed a free toleration, and his Arian synods attempted, without much success, to reconcile their scruples by abolishing the unpopular rite of a *second* baptism. His eldest son Hermenegild, who was invested by his father with the royal diadem, and the fair principality of Bœtica, contracted an honorable and orthodox alliance with a Merovingian princess, the daughter of Sigebert, king of Austrasia, and of the famous Brunechild. The beauteous Ingundis, who was no more than thirteen years of age, was received, beloved, and persecuted, in the Arian court of Toledo; and her religious constancy was alternately assaulted with blandishments and violence by Goisvintha, the Gothic queen, who abused the double claim of maternal authority.[127] Incensed by her resistance, Goisvintha seized the Catholic princess by her long hair, inhumanly dashed her against the ground, kicked her till she was covered with blood, and at last gave orders that she should be stripped, and thrown into a basin, or fish-pond.[128] Love and honor might excite Hermenegild to resent this injurious treatment of his bride; and he was gradually persuaded that Ingundis suffered for the cause of divine truth. Her tender complaints, and the weighty arguments of Leander, archbishop of Seville, accomplished his conversion; and the heir of the Gothic monarchy was initiated in the Nicene faith by the

126 See the two general historians of Spain, Mariana (*Hist. de Rebus Hispaniæ*. tom. i. l. v. c. 12–15, pp. 182–194), and *Ferreras*, (French translation, tom. ii. pp. 206-247). Mariana almost forgets that he is a Jesuit, to assume the style and spirit of a Roman classic. Ferreras, an industrious compiler, reviews his facts, and rectifies his chronology.

127 Goisvintha successively married two kings of the Visigoths; Athanigild, to whom she bore Brunechild, the mother of Ingundis; and Leovigild, whose two sons, Hermenegild and Recared, were the issue of a former marriage.

128 Iracundiæ furore succensa, adprehensam per comam capitis puellam in terram conlidit, et diu calcibus verberatam, ac sanguine cruentatam, jussit exspoliari, et piscinæ immergi. *Greg. Turon*, l. v. c. 39, in tom. ii. p. 255. Gregory is one of our best originals for this portion of history.

solemn rites of confimation.'[129] The rash youth, inflamed by zeal, and perhaps by ambition, was tempted to violate the duties of a son and a subject; and the Catholics of Spain, although they could not complain of persecution, applauded his pious rebellion against an heretical father. The civil war was protracted by the long and obstinate sieges of Merida, Cordova, and Seville, which had strenuously espoused the party of Hermenegild. He invited the orthodox Barbarians, the Suevi, and the Franks, to the destruction of his native land; he solicited the dangerous aid of the Romans, who possessed Africa, and a part of the Spanish coast; and his holy ambassador, the archbishop Leander, effectually negotiated in person with the Byzantine court. But the hopes of the Catholics were crushed by the active diligence of a monarch who commanded the troops and treasures of Spain; and the guilty Hermenegild, after his vain attempts to resist or to escape, was compelled to surrender himself into the hands of an incensed father. Leovigild was still mindful of that sacred character; and the rebel, despoiled of the regal ornaments, was still permitted, in a decent exile, to profess the Catholic religion. His repeated and unsuccessful treasons at length provoked the indignation of the Gothic king; and the sentence of death, which he pronounced with apparent reluctance, was privately executed in the tower of Seville.* The inflexible constancy with which he refused to accept the Arian communion, as the price of his safety, may excuse the honors that have been paid to the memory of St. Hermenegild. His wife and infant son were detained by the Romans in ignominious captivity; and this domestic misfortune tarnished the glories of Leovigild, and imbittered the last moments of his life.

Conversion of Recared and the Visigoths of Spain. A. D. 586–589.

His son and successor, Recared, the first Catholic king of Spain, had imbibed the faith of his unfortunate brother, which he supported with more prudence and success. Instead of revolting against his father, Recared patiently expected the hour of his death. Instead of condemning

[129] The Catholics who admitted the baptism of heretics repeated the rite, or, as it was afterwards styled, the sacrament of confirmation, to which they ascribed many mystic and marvelous prerogatives, both visible and invisible. See Chardon, *Hist. des Sacremens*, tom. i. pp. 405–552.

* Who was most of a barbarian, Leovigild, "the Goth," Constantine, "the "Christian emperor," Philip, "the most Catholic" of Spain, or Peter "the Great" of Russia? The answer must be given by an impartial age.—ENG. CH.

his memory, he piously supposed, that the dying monarch had abjured the errors of Arianism, and recommended to his son the conversion of the Gothic nation. To accomplish that salutary end, Recared convened an assembly of the Arian clergy and nobles, declared himself a Catholic, and exhorted them to imitate the example of their prince. The laborious interpretation of doubtful texts, or the curious pursuit of metaphysical arguments, would have excited an endless controversy; and the monarch discreetly proposed to his illiterate audience two substantial and visible arguments,—the testimony of Earth and of Heaven. The *Earth* had submitted to the Nicene synod: the Romans, the barbarians, and the inhabitants of Spain, unanimously professed the same orthodox creed; and the Visigoths resisted, almost alone, the consent of the Christian world. A superstitious age was prepared to reverence, as the testimony of *Heaven*, the preternatural cures, which were performed by the skill or virtue of the Catholic clergy; the baptismal fonts of Osset in Bœtica,[130] which were spontaneously replenished each year, on the vigil of Easter;[131] and the miraculous shrine of St. Martin of Tours, which had already converted the Suevic prince and people of Gallicia.[132] The Catholic king encountered some difficulties on this important change of the national religion. A conspiracy, secretly fomented by the queen-dowager, was formed against his life; and two counts excited a dangerous revolt in the Narbonnese Gaul. But Recared disarmed the conspirators, defeated the rebels, and executed severe justice; which the Arians, in their turn, might brand with the reproach of persecution. Eight bishops, whose names betray their barbaric origin, abjured their errors; and all the books of Arian theology were reduced to ashes, with the house in which they had been purposely collected. The whole body of the Visigoths and Suevi were allured or driven into the pale of the Catholic communion; the faith, at least of the rising generation, was fervent and sincere; and the

[130] Osset, or Julia Constantia, was opposite to Seville, on the northern side of the Bœtis. (Plin. *Hist. Natur.* iii. 3); and the authentic reference of Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Francor.* l. vi. c. 43, p 288), deserves more credit than the name of Lusitania, (*de Gloria Martyr.* c. 24), which has been eagerly embraced by the vain and superstitious Portuguese. (Ferreras, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. ii. p. 166).

[131] This miracle was skillfully performed. An Arian king sealed the doors, and dug a deep trench round the church, without being able to intercept the Easter supply of baptismal water.

[132] *Ferreras*, (tom. ii. pp. 168–175, A. D. 550), has illustrated the difficulties which regard the time and circumstances of the conversion of the Suevi. They had been recently united by Leovigild to the Gothic monarchy of Spain.

devout liberality of the barbarians enriched the churches and monasteries of Spain. Seventy bishops, assembled in the council of Toledo, received the submission of their conquerors; and the zeal of the Spaniards improved the Nicene creed, by declaring the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, as well as from the Father; a weighty point of doctrine, which produced, long afterwards, the schism of the Greek and Latin churches.[133] The royal proselyte immediately saluted and consulted Pope Gregory, surnamed the Great, a learned and holy prelate, whose reign was distinguished by the conversion of heretics and infidels. The ambassadors of Recared respectfully offered on the threshold of the Vatican his rich presents of gold and gems; they accepted, as a lucrative exchange, the hairs of St. John the Baptist; a cross, which enclosed a small piece of the true wood; and a key, that contained some particles of iron, which had been scraped from the chains of St. Peter.[134]

Conversion of the Lombards of Italy. A. D. 600, &c.

The same Gregory, the spiritual conqueror of Britain, encouraged the pious Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, to propagate the Nicene faith among the victorious savages, whose recent Christianity was polluted by the Arian heresy. Her devout labors still left room for the industry and success of future missionaries; and many cities of Italy were still disputed by hostile bishops. But the cause of Arianism was gradually suppressed by the weight of truth, of interest, and of example; and the controversy, which Egypt had derived from the Platonic school, was terminated, after a war of three hundred years, by the final conversion of the Lombards of Italy.[135]

Persecution of the Jews in Spain. A. D. 612-712.

The first missionaries who preached the gospel to the barbarians, appealed to the evidence of reason, and claimed the benefit of toleration [163]

133 This addition to the Nicene, or rather, the Constantinopolitan creed, was first made in the eighth council of Toledo, A. D. 653; but it was expressive of the popular doctrine, (*Gerard Vossius*, tom. vi. p. 527, de tribus Symbolis).

134 See *Gregor. Magn.* l. vii. epist. 126, apud Baronium, *Annal, Eccles.* A. D 599, No. 25, 26.

135 Paul Warnefrid, (*de Gestis Langobard*, l. iv. c. 44, p. 853, edit. Grot.), allows that Arianism still prevailed under the reign of Rotharis, (A. D. 636–652). The pious *deacon* does not attempt to mark the precise era of the national conversion, which was accomplished, however, before the end of the seventh century.

136 Quorum fidei et conversioni ita congratulatus esse rex perhibetur, ut nullum tamen cogeret ad Christianismum * * * Didicerat enim a doctoribus auctoribusque suæ salutis, servitium Christi voluntarium non coactitium esse debere. *Bedæ Hist. Ecclesiastic.* l. i. c. 26, p. 62, edit. Smith.*

* The English reader may find this memorable passage at p. 39, edit. Bohn.—E.C.

But no sooner had they established their spiritual dominion, than they exhorted the Christian kings to extirpate, without mercy, the remains of Roman or barbaric superstition. The successors of Clovis inflicted one hundred lashes on the peasants who refused to destroy their idols; the crime of sacrificing to the demons was punished by the Anglo-Saxon laws with the heavier penalties of imprisonment and confiscation; and even the wise Alfred adopted, as an indispensable duty, the extreme rigor of the Mosaic institutions.[137] But the punishment and the crime were gradually abolished among a Christian people; the theological disputes of the schools were suspended by propitious ignorance; and the intolerant spirit which could find neither idolaters nor heretics, was reduced to the persecution of the Jews. That exiled nation had founded some synagogues in the cities of Gaul; but Spain, since the time of Hadrian, was filled with their numerous colonies.[138] The wealth which they accumulated by trade, and the management of the finances, invited the pious avarice of their masters; and they might be oppressed without danger, as they had lost the use, and even the remembrance, of arms. Sisebut, a Gothic king, who reigned in the beginning of the seventh century, proceded at once to the last extremes of persecution.[139] Ninety thousand Jews were compelled to receive the sacrament of baptism; the fortunes of the obstinate infidels were confiscated, their bodies were tortured; and it seems doubtful whether they were permitted to abandon their native country. The excessive zeal of the Catholic king was moderated, even by the clergy of Spain, who solemnly pronounced an inconsistent sentence: *that* the sacraments should not be forcibly imposed; but *that* the Jews who had been baptized should be constrained, for the honor of the church, to persevere in the external practice of a religion which they disbelieved and detested. Their frequent relapses provoked one of the successors of

137 See the *Historians of France*, tom. iv. p. 114; and Wilkins, *Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ*, pp. 11, 31, Siquis sacrificium immolaverit præter Deo soli morte moriatur.

138 The Jews pretend that they were introduced into Spain by the fleets of Solomon, and the arms of Nebuchadnezzar; that Hadrian transported forty thousand families of the tribe of Judah, and ten thousand of the tribe of Benjamin, &c. Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, tom. vii. c. 9, pp. 240–256.

139 Isidor, at that time archbishop of Seville, mentions, disapproves, and congratulates, the zeal of Sisebut, (*Chron. Goth.* p. 728). *Baronius*, (A. D. 614, No. 41) assigns the number on the evidence of *Aimoïn*, (l. iv. c. 22); but the evidence is weak, and I have not been able to verify the quotations, (*Historians of France*, tom. iii. p. 127).

Sisebut to banish the whole nation from his dominions; and a council of Toledo published a decree, that every Gothic king should swear to maintain this salutary edict. But the tyrants were unwilling to dismiss the victims, whom they delighted to torture, or to deprive themselves of the industrious slaves, over whom they might exercise a lucrative oppression. The Jews still continued in Spain, under the weight of the civil and ecclesiastical laws, which in the same country have been faithfully transcribed in the Code of the Inquisition. The Gothic kings and bishops at length discovered, that injuries will produce hatred, and that hatred will find the opportunity of revenge.* A nation, the secret or professed enemies of Christianity, still multiplied in servitude and distress; and the intrigues of the Jews promoted the rapid success of the Arabian conquerors.[140]

Conclusion.

As soon as the barbarians withdrew their powerful support, the unpopular heresy of Arius sunk into contempt and oblivion. But the Greeks still retained their subtle and loquacious disposition: the establishment of an obscure doctrine suggested new questions, and new disputes; and it was always in the power of an ambitious prelate, or a fanatic monk, to violate the peace of the church, and, perhaps, of the empire. The historian of the empire may overlook those disputes which were confined to the obscurity of schools and synods. The Manichæans, who labored to reconcile the religions of Christ and of Zoroaster, had secretly introduced themselves into the provinces: but these foreign sectaries were involved in the common disgrace of the Gnostics, and the Imperial laws were executed by the public hatred. The rational opinions of the Pelagians were propagated from Britain to Rome, Africa, and Palestine, and silently expired in a superstitious age. But the East was distracted by the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies; which attempted to explain the mystery of the incarnation, and hastened the

140 *Basnage*, (tom. viii. c. 13, pp. 388–400), faithfully represents the state of the Jews; but he might have added from the canons of the Spanish councils, and the laws of the Visigoths, many curious circumstances, essential to his subject, though they are foreign to mine.†

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* Milton truly says:

"Who overcomes
By force, hath overcome but half his foe."—E.

† Compare Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, iii. 256, 266.—MILMAN.

ruin of Christianity in her native land. These controversies were first agitated under the reign of the younger Theodosius: but their important consequences extend far beyond the limits of the present volume. The metaphysical chain of argument, the contests of ecclesiastical ambition, and their political influence on the decline of the Byzantine empire, may afford an interesting and instructive series of history, from the general councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, to the conquest of the East by the successors of Mahomet.

Vesta.

THE DEATH OF HERCULES.

HERCULES.

" *The Son of Heaven's eternal King,*
" *Of wedded maid and virgin mother born.*"— MILTON.

THE god HERCULES was born in Thebes, about 1280 years before the Christian era, and, like JESUS of Nazareth, he was called a son of god — a savior of mankind. Like the Jewish Messiah, he was born of a human mother; and, like him, he also owed his existence to an immortal father. His mother Alcmene, like the Virgin Mary, was an honored descendant of a noble race, and, like Mary, she was especially selected, and appointed, and favored by omnipotence; and the Grecian wedded maid, like the Jewish virgin mother, involuntarily surprised her *legal* consort and rejoiced a believing world, by giving birth to an acknowledged savior of mankind.

The father of JESUS was called JEHOVAH or ELOHIM by the descendants of Abraham. The father of HERCULES was called JUPITER or JOVIS by the Romans, and ZEUS by the Greeks. These omnipotent parents of incarnate deities were separate and antagonistic gods, worshiped by different and rival nations of antiquity; and both deities, we may believe, were worshiped in sincerity and in truth. But the former worship has supplanted the latter — the Jewish faith has vanquished the Roman. HERCULES now finds no believers in his divinity —

" None so poor as to do him reverence "—

while the worshipers of the humane JESUS are found over a large portion of the habitable globe, and among all ranks and conditions of mankind.

The jealous JUNO sought to destroy the infant HERCULES. The tyrant Herod sought to destroy the infant JESUS. And, as a further illustration of the harmony that exists between all these mythologies, we may mention that the tyrant CANSA also sought to destroy the infant CHRISHNA.

" In the *Sanscrit Dictionary*," says Sir William Jones, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 259, " compiled more than two thousand years ago, we have the whole story " of the incarnate deity, born of a virgin, and miraculously escaping in his infancy " from the reigning tyrant of his country." " I am persuaded," continues this great author, " that a connection existed between the old idolatrous nations of " Egypt, India, Greece, and Italy, long before the time of Moses."

At the north door of the LORD'S house, says the inspired Jewish prophet, " Behold, there sat women weeping for TAMMUZ." (*Ezekiel*, viii. 14.)

" In vain the Tyrian maids their wounded TAMMUZ mourn."— MILTON.

" Jerome," says Wm. Smith, LL.D., in his *Bible Dictionary*, " identifies TAMMUZ " with ADONIS. Luther and others regarded TAMMUZ as a name of BACCHUS. " That TAMMUZ was the Egyptian OSIRIS, and that his worship was introduced " into Jerusalem from Egypt, was held by Calvin, Piscator, Junius, Leusden, " and Pfeiffer." Parkhurst in his *Hebrew Lexicon*, refers " TAMMUZ, as well as " the Greek and Roman HERCULES, to that class of idols, which was originally " designed to represent the promised savior, the Desire of all nations."

The same deity or demi-god may be traced in ancient mythology under many different and varied designations; and there were also numerous incarnate divinities — sons of god—saviors of men! Indeed, no tribe or nation, whose daughters were fair and whose gods were amorous, was deprived of the company or could boast a monopoly of the heaven-descended race. But these demi-gods of antiquity were all derived from the old mythology — the ancient Sun worship — the primeval myth. They were all symbolical personifications of the genius or god of the Sun: and were known and worshiped as the Indian CHRISHNA, the Egyptian OSIRIS, the Grecian APOLLO, the Roman HERCULES, or whatever name was selected by the piety of mankind to designate the beneficent, omnipotent, vivifying principle, recognized and worshiped as the author of light, and life, and immortality, of whom the bright orb of day — the dazzling, glorious Sun — was the visible and sublime representative. — E.

Clio. Thalia. Terpsichore. Euterpe. Polymnia.*

XI.

ABOLITION OF THE SCHOOLS OF ATHENS, AND THE CONSULSHIP OF ROME.†

JUSTINIAN suppressed the schools of Athens and the consulship of Rome, which had given so many sages and heroes to mankind. Both these institutions had long since degenerated from their primitive glory; yet some reproach may be justly inflicted on the avarice and jealousy of a prince, by whose hand such venerable ruins were destroyed.

Athens, after her Persian triumphs, adopted the philosophy of Ionia and the rhetoric of

The schools of Athens.

*The Musæ (from Μοῦσαι, to meditate, to enquire), were guardian divinities whom the Pagans assigned to different branches of science and the arts. They were the daughters of Jupiter, the father of gods and men, and Mnemosyne, *Memory*, who was the daughter of Heaven and Earth; and they inherited from their venerable mother the inestimable treasures of accumulated knowledge.

The Muses were represented as nine beautiful virgins, with ornamented dresses, and crowned with palms or laurels. The ancient poets invoked their aid as the inspiring goddesses of song, and modern poets and artists still hold the names of the immortal nine in grateful remembrance. Indeed, our literature would seem bare of illustration if authors were deprived of the familiar quotations which refer to these Pagan divinities.

CLIO, the Muse of history, holds in one hand a stylus, in the other, a half-opened scroll. The square column at her side, upon which she rests her arm, serves as a writing-table; and her pensive attitude and thoughtful look, betray the interest with which she regards passing events. Her name signifies, glory, renown.

THALIA, the Muse of comedy and merry or idyllic poetry, holds in one hand a comic mask, which she intently regards, and in the other, an open scroll. Her name signifies, the blooming.

TERPSICHORE, the Muse of choral dance and song, stands beside a small column, upon which she rests her hand, and against which leans her seven-stringed lyre. Her name signifies, dance-loving.

EUTERPE, the Muse of lyric poetry, holds two flutes or pipes. Her name signifies, the agreeable.

POLYMNIA or Polyhymnia, the Muse of the sublime hymn, is leaning on a broken stone column, in an attitude of pensive meditation. Her name signifies, many songs.

† From Chap. XL. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

Sicily; and these studies became the patrimony of a city, whose inhabitants, about thirty thousand males, condensed, within the period of a single life, the genius of ages and millions. Our sense of the dignity of human nature is exalted* by the simple recollection, that Isocrates[1] was the companion of Plato and Xenophon; that he assisted, perhaps with the historian Thucydides, at the first representations of the Œdipus of Sophocles and the Iphigenia of Euripides; and that his pupils Æschines and Demosthenes contended for the crown of patriotism in the presence of Aristotle, the master of Theophrastus, who taught at Athens with the founders of the Stoic and Epicurean sects.[2] The ingenuous youth of Attica enjoyed the benefits of their domestic education, which was communicated without envy to the rival cities. Two thousand disciples heard the lessons of Theophrastus;[3] the schools of rhetoric must have been still more populous than those of philosophy; and a rapid succession of students diffused the fame of their teachers as far as the utmost limits of the Grecian language and name. Those limits were enlarged by the victories of Alexander; the arts of Athens survived her freedom and dominion; and the Greek colonies which the Macedonians

[1] The life of Isocrates extends from *Olymp.* lxxxvi. 1, to cx. 3, (ante Christi 436-438). See *Dionys. Halicarn.* tom. ii. pp. 149, 150, edit. Hudson. *Plutarch*, (sive anonymous) *in Vit. X. Oratorum*, pp. 1538-1543, edit. H. Steph. *Phot.* cod. cclix. p. 1453.†

[2] The schools of Athens are copiously though concisely represented in the *Fortuna Attica of Meursius*, (c. viii. pp. 59-73. in tom. i. Opp.) For the state and arts of the city, see the first book of Pausanias, and a small tract of Dicæarchus (in the second volume of *Hudson's Geographers*), who wrote about *Olymp.* cxvii. (*Dodwell's Dissertat.* sect. 4).

[3] *Diogen. Laert. de Vit. Philosoph.* l. v. segm. 37, p. 289.

* It is a relief to turn from the miracles, creeds, fanaticism and persecutions of the early Christians to the teachings of their contemporaries, the Pagan philosophers; who, although surrounded with the spirit of superstition, still upheld "the dignity of human nature," and diffused the divine light of reason. They did not oppress the mind with incomprehensible dogmas, and creeds like that of Athanasius, which the worthy Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople, not unnaturally, "pronounced to be the work of a drunken man," but they interpreted the morals of Epictitus, still "preserved in the library of nations, as a "classic book, most excellently adapted to direct the will, to purify the heart, "and to confirm the understanding, by a just confidence in the nature both of "God and man."—E.

† What rays of glory are here concentered into one dazzling point! Yet in four centuries the work of two thousand years was undone. When the contrast stands before us in so strong a light, it invites us to look with a searching eye into the origin of the change.—ENG. CH.

The advent of Christianity, so loudly applauded by the clergy, closed the schools of Athens, suppressed the Pagan philosophy, "and finally erected the triumphant "banner of the cross on the ruins of the Capitol." After centuries of ignorance and gloom, so fitly described in history as the "dark ages," the leaders of the Protestant reformation boldly challenged the truth of Catholicism, and, incidentally, taught the people again to question, to doubt, to reason, and to disbelive. Science again returned to bless, and civilization to adorn, humanity; and, if we now behold the waning power of faith and superstition, we also witness the returning blessings of liberty, equality, and fraternity.—E.

planted in Egypt, and scattered over Asia, undertook long and frequent pilgrimages to worship the Muses in their favorite temple on the banks of the Ilissus. The Latin conquerors respectfully listened to the instructions of their subjects and captives; the names of Cicero and Horace were enrolled in the schools of Athens; and after the perfect settlement of the Roman empire, the natives of Italy, of Africa, and of Britain, conversed in the groves of the academy with their fellow-students of the East. The studies of philosophy and eloquence are congenial to a popular state, which encourages the freedom of inquiry, and submits only to the force of persuasion. In the republics of Greece and Rome, the art of speaking was the powerful engine of patriotism or ambition; and the schools of rhetoric poured forth a colony of statesmen and legislators. When the liberty of public debate was suppressed, the orator, in the honorable profession of an advocate, might plead the cause of innocence and justice; he might abuse his talents in the more profitable trade of panegyric; and the same precepts continued to dictate the fanciful declamations of the sophist, and the chaster beauties of historical composition. The systems, which professed to unfold the nature of God, of man, and of the universe, entertained the curiosity of the philosophic student; and, according to the temper of his mind, he might doubt with the Skeptics, or decide with the Stoics, sublimely speculate with Plato, or severely argue with Aristotle. The pride of the adverse sects had fixed an unattainable term of moral happiness and perfection; but the race was glorious and salutary; the disciples of Zeno, and even those of Epicurus, were taught both to act and to suffer; and the death of Petronius was not less effectual than that of Seneca, to humble a tyrant by the discovery of his impotence. The light of science could not indeed be confined within the walls of Athens. Her incomparable writers address themselves to the human race; the living masters emigrated to Italy and Asia; Berytus, in later times, was devoted to the study of the law; astronomy and physic were cultivated in the musæum of Alexandria; but the Attic schools of rhetoric and philosophy maintained their superior reputation from the Peloponnesian war to the reign of Justinian. Athens, though situate in a barren soil, possessed a pure air, a free navigation, and the monuments of ancient art. That sacred retirement was seldom

disturbed by the business of trade or government; and the last of the Athenians were distinguished by their lively wit, the purity of their taste and language, their social manners, and some traces, at least in discourse, of the magnanimity of their fathers. In the suburbs of the city, the *academy* of the Platonists, the *lycæum* of the Peripatetics, the *portico* of the Stoics, and the *garden* of the Epicureans, were planted with trees and decorated with statues: and the philosophers, instead of being immured in a cloister, delivered their instructions in spacious and pleasant walks, which, at different hours, were consecrated to the exercises of the mind and body. The genius of the founders still lived in those venerable seats; the ambition of succeeding to the masters of human reason, excited a generous emulation; and the merit of the candidates was determined, on each vacancy, by the free voices of an enlightened people. The Athenian professors were paid by their disciples: according to their mutual wants and abilities, the price appears to have varied from a minæ to a talent; and Isocrates himself, who derides the avarice of the sophists, required, in his school of rhetoric, about thirty pounds from each of his hundred pupils. The wages of industry are just and honorable, yet the same Isocrates shed tears at the first receipt of a stipend; the Stoic might blush when he was hired to preach the contempt of money: and I should be sorry to discover, that Aristotle or Plato so far degenerated from the example of Socrates, as to exchange knowledge for gold. But some property of lands and houses was settled by the permission of the laws, and the legacies of deceased friends, on the philosophic chairs of Athens. Epicurus bequeathed to his disciples the gardens which he had purchased for eighty minæ or two hundred and fifty pounds, with a fund sufficient for their frugal subsistence and monthly festivals;[4] and the patrimony of Plato afforded an annual rent, which, in eight centuries, was gradually increased from three to one thousand pieces of gold.[5] The schools of Athens were protected by the wisest and most virtuous of the Roman princes. The library, which Hadrian founded, was placed in a portico

[4] See the testament of Epicurus in *Diogen. Laert.* l. x. segm. 16–20, pp. 611, 612. A single epistle (ad *Familiares.* xiii. 1), displays the injustice of the Areopagus, the fidelity of the Epicureans, the dexterous politeness of Cicero, and the mixture of contempt and esteem with which the Roman senators considered the philosophy and philosophers of Greece.

[5] *Damascius, in Vit. Isidor.* apud Photium, cod. ccxlii. p. 1054.

adorned with pictures, statues, and a roof of alabaster, and supported by one hundred columns of Phrygian marble. The public salaries were assigned by the generous spirit of the Antonines; and each professor, of politics, of rhetoric, of the Platonic, the Peripatetic, the Stoic, and the Epicurean philosophy, received an annual stipend of ten thousand drachmæ, or more than three hundred pounds sterling.[6] After the death of Marcus, these liberal donations, and the privileges attached to the *thrones* of science, were abolished and revived, diminished and enlarged; but some vestige of royal bounty may be found under the successors of Constantine; and their arbitrary choice of an unworthy candidate might tempt the philosophers of Athens to regret the days of independence and poverty.[7] It is remarkable, that the impartial favor of the Antonines was bestowed on the four adverse sects of philosophy, which they considered as equally useful, or at least as equally innocent.* Socrates had formerly been the glory and the reproach of his country; and the first lessons of Epicurus so strangely scandalized the pious ears of the Athenians, that by his exile and that of his antagonists, they silenced all vain disputes concerning the nature of the gods. But in the ensuing year they recalled the hasty decree, restored the

6 See Lucian, (in *Eunuch.* tom. ii. pp. 350–359, edit. Reitz), Philosoratus (in *Vit. Sophist*, l. ii. c. 2), and *Dion Cassius*, or *Xiphilin*, (l. lxxi. p. 1195), with their editors Du Soul, Olearius, and Reimar, and, above all, Salmasius (ad *Hist. August.* p. 72). A judicius philosopher, (Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii. pp. 340–374), prefers the free contributions of the students to a fixed stipend for the professor.

7 Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philosoph.* tom. ii. p. 310, &c.

* "The several sects of philosophy amongst the ancients," says Montesquieu, (*Spirit of Laws*, vol. ii. chap. x. page 147), "were a species of religion. Never "were any principles more worthy of human nature, and more proper to form "the good man, than those of the Stoics; and, if I could for a moment cease to "think that I am a Christian, I should not be able to hinder myself from ranking "the destruction of the sect of Zeno among the misfortunes that have befallen "the human race.

"It carried to excess only those things in which there is true greatness, the "contempt of pleasure and of pain.

"It was this sect alone that made citizens; this alone that made great men; "this alone great emperors.

"Laying aside for a moment revealed truths, let us search through all nature, "and we shall not find a nobler object than the Antoninus's: even Julian himself, "Julian, (a commendation thus wrested from me will not render me an accom- "plice of his apostasy), no, there has not been a prince since his reign more "worthy to govern mankind.

"While the Stoics looked upon riches, human grandeur, grief, disquietude, and "pleasure, as vanity, they were entirely employed in laboring for the happiness "of mankind, and in exercising the duties of society. It seems as if they re- "garded that sacred spirit, which they believed to dwell within them, as a kind "of favorable providence, watchful over the human race.

"Born for society, they all believed that it was their destiny to labor for it; "with so much the less fatigue as their rewards were all within themselves. "Happy by their philosophy alone, it seemed as if only the happiness of others "could increase theirs."—E.

liberty of the schools, and were convinced, by the experience of ages, that the moral character of philosophers is not affected by the diversity of their theological speculations.[8]

They are suppressed by Justinian.

The Gothic arms were less fatal to the schools of Athens than the establishment of a new religion, whose ministers superseded the exercise of reason, resolved every question by an article of faith, and condemned the infidel or sceptic to eternal flames.* In many a volume of laborious controversy, they exposed the weakness of the understanding and the corruption of the heart, insulted human nature in the sages of antiquity, and proscribed the spirit of philosophical inquiry, so repugnant to the doctrine, or at least to the temper, of an humble believer. The surviving sect of the Platonists, whom Plato would have blushed to acknowledge, extravagantly mingled a sublime theory with the practice of superstition and magic; and as they remained alone in the midst of a Christian world, they indulged a secret rancor against the government of the church and state, whose severity was still suspended over their heads. About a century after the reign of Julian,[9] Proclus[10] was permitted to teach in the philosophic chair of the academy.

Proclus.

[8] The birth of Epicurus is fixed to the year 342 before Christ, (Bayle), *Olympiad* cix. 3; and he opened his school at Athens, *Olymp.* cxviii. 3, 306 years before the same æra. This intolerant law, (Athanæus, l. xiii. p. 610. *Diogen. Laertius*, l. v. s. 38. p. 290. *Julius Pollux*, ix. 5), was enacted in the same or the succeeding year, (*Sigonius, Opp.* tom. v. p. 62. *Menagius ad Diogen. Laert.* p. 204. Corsini, *Fasti Attici*, tom. iv. pp. 67, 68). Theophrastus, Chief of the Peripatetics, and disciple of Aristotle, was involved in the same exile.†

[9] This is no fanciful æra; the Pagans reckoned their calamities from the reign of their hero. Proclus whose nativity is marked by his horoscope (A. D. 412, February 8, at C. P.), died 124 years ἀπο Ἰουλιανοῦ βασιλέως, A. D. 485 (*Marin. in Vita Procli*, c. 36).

[10] The life of *Proclus*, by Marinus, was published by Fabricius (Hamburg, 1700, et ad calcem Biblioth. Latin. Lond. 1703). See *Suidas*, (tom. iii. pp 185, 186), Fabricius, (*Bibliot Græc.* l. v. c. 26, pp. 449–552), and Brucker (*Hist. Crit. Philosoph*, tom. ii. pp. 319–326.)

* The Gothic arms were in no way fatal to the schools of Athens. We have seen (chap. 30) how they were respected by Alaric, when he was master of Greece. Nor was it by religion that they were depressed and now finally crushed. Enough has been said in former pages to show that Christianity in its early progress had philosophy for its ally and coadjutor, and that the reason‡ which overthrew Paganism, pioneered the way for a spiritual belief.—Eng. Ch.

† Diogenes Laertius, (x. 14.) very circumstantially fixes the birth of Epicurus to the month, (*Gamelion of Olymp.* 109, 3), which corresponds with Jan. B. C. 341 The date of the decree of Sophocles against the philosophers is uncertain. It is placed by some at B. C. 316, ten years before Epicurus arrived in Athens. See *Clinton, F. H.*, ii. 169. Theophrastus succeeded Aristotle B. C. 322, and held his chair till 287.—Eng. Ch.

‡ No one can expect to understand why the English Churchman persists in claiming that Christianity was indebted to reason for its establishment. This is like "stealing the livery of heaven to serve the devil in." The church was not conceived in reason, nor founded on reason, nor upheld by reason; and there is no reason for so asserting. Christianity is founded on the doctrine of the incarnation, miraculous conception, and resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ. Reason has no affinity, or connexion, with this doctrine.—E.

and such was his industry, that he frequently, in the same day, pronounced five lessons and composed seven hundred lines. His sagacious mind explored the deepest questions of morals and metaphysics, and he ventured to urge eighteen arguments against the Christian doctrine of the creation of the world. But, in the intervals of study, he *personally* conversed with Pan, Æsculapius, and Minerva, in whose mysteries he was secretly initiated, and whose prostrate statues he adored, in the devout persuasion that the philosopher, who is a citizen of the universe, should be the priest of its various deities. An eclipse of the sun announced his approaching end; and his life, with that of his scholar Isidore,[11] compiled by two of their most learned disciples, exhibits a deplorable picture of the second childhood of human reason. Yet the golden chain, as it was fondly styled, of the Platonic succession, continued forty-four years from the death of Proclus to the edict of Justinian,[12] which imposed a perpetual silence on the schools of Athens, and excited the grief and indignation of the few remaining votaries of Grecian science and superstition. Seven friends and philosophers, Diogenes and Hermias, Eulalius and Priscian, Damascius, Isidore and Simplicius, who dissented from the religion of their sovereign, embraced the resolution of seeking in a foreign land the freedom which was denied in their native country. They had heard, and they credulously believed, that the republic of Plato was realized in the despotic government of Persia, and that a patriot king reigned over the happiest and most virtuous of nations. They were soon astonished by the natural discovery, that Persia resembled the other countries of the globe; that Chosroes, who affected the name of a philosopher, was vain, cruel, and ambitious; that bigotry, and a spirit of intolerance, prevailed among the Magi; that the nobles were haughty, the courtiers servile, and the magistrates unjust; that the guilty sometimes escaped, and that the innocent were often oppressed. The

His successors, A. D. 485–529.

11 The life of *Isidore* was composed by Damascius, (apud Photium, cod. ccxlii. p. 1028–1076). See the last age of the Pagan philosophers, in *Brucker*, tom. ii. pp. 341–351).*

12 The suppression of the schools of Athens is recorded by John Malalas (tom. ii. p. 187, *sub Decio Cos. Sol.*), and an anonymous *Chronicle* in the Vatican library (apud Aleman. p. 106).

* This biography is part of a general history of philosophy and philosophers, written by Damascius before A. D. 526. Besides his collection of preternatural stories referred to by Gibbon in ch. 36, he also produced commentaries on Plato and Aristotle. (*Clinton, F. R.*, i. 743; ii. 327.)—ENG. CH.

disappointment of the philosophers provoked them to overlook the real virtues of the Persians: and they were scandalized, more deeply perhaps than became their profession, with the plurality of wives and concubines, the incestuous marriages, and the custom of exposing dead bodies to the dogs and vultures, instead of hiding them in the earth, or consuming them with fire. Their repentance was expressed by a precipitate return, and they loudly declared that they had rather die on the borders of the empire than enjoy the wealth and favor of the barbarian. From this journey, however, they derived a benefit which reflects the purest lustre on the character of Chosroes. He required that the seven sages who had visited the court of Persia, should be exempted from the penal laws which Justinian enacted against his Pagan subjects; and this privilege, expressly stipulated in a treaty of peace, was guarded by the vigilance of a powerful mediator.[13] Simplicius and his companions ended their lives in peace and obscurity; and as they left no disciples, they terminate the long list of Grecian philosophers, who may be justly praised, notwithstanding their defects, as the wisest and most virtuous of their contemporaries. The writings of Simplicius are now extant. His physical and metaphysical commentaries on Aristotle have passed away with the fashion of the times; but his moral interpretation of Epictetus is preserved in the library of nations, as a classic book, most excellently adapted to direct the will, to purify the heart, and to confirm the understanding, by a just confidence in the nature both of God and man.

The last of the philosophers.

About the same time that Pythagoras first invented the appellation of philosopher, liberty and the consulship were founded at Rome by the elder Brutus. The revolutions of the consular office, which may be viewed in the successive lights of a substance, a shadow, and a name, have been occasionally mentioned in the present history. The first magistrates of the republic had been chosen by the people, to exercise, in the senate and in the camp, the powers of peace and war, which were afterwards translated to the emperors. But the tradition of ancient dignity was long

The Roman consulship extinguished by Justinian, A. D. 541.

[13] *Agathius*, (l. ii. pp. 69, 70, 71), relates this curious story. Chosroes ascended the throne in the year 531, and made his first peace with the Romans in the beginning of 533—a date most compatible with his *young* fame and the *old* age of Isidor, (*Asseman. Bibliot. Orient.* tom. iii. p. 404. *Pagi*, tom. ii. pp. 543, 550).

revered by the Romans and barbarians. A Gothic historian applauds the consulship of Theodoric as the height of all temporal glory and greatness;[14] the king of Italy himself congratulates those annual favorites of fortune, who, without the cares, enjoyed the splendor of the throne; and at the end of a thousand years, two consuls were created by the sovereigns of Rome and Constantinople, for the sole purpose of giving a date to the year, and a festival to the people. But the expenses of this festival, in which the wealthy and the vain aspired to surpass their predecessors, insensibly rose to the enormous sum of fourscore thousand pounds; the wisest senators declined a useless honor, which involved the certain ruin of their families: and to this reluctance I should impute the frequent chasms in the last age of the consular *Fasti*. The predecessors of Justinian had assisted from the public treasures the dignity of the less opulent candidates; the avarice of that prince preferred the cheaper and more convenient method of advice and regulation.[15] Seven *processions* or spectacles were the number to which his edict confined the horse and chariot races, the athletic sports, the music, and pantomimes of the theatre, and the hunting, of wild beasts; and small pieces of silver were discreetly substituted to the gold medals, which had always excited tumult and drunkenness, when they were scattered with a profuse hand among the populace. Notwithstanding these precautions, and his own example, the succession of consuls finally ceased in the thirteenth year of Justinian, whose despotic temper might be gratified by the silent extinction of a title which admonished the Romans of their ancient freedom.[16] Yet the annual consulship still lived in the minds of the people: they fondly expected its speedy restoration; they applauded the gracious condescension of successive princes, by whom it was assumed in the first year of their reign: and three centuries elapsed, after the death of Justinian, before that obsolete dignity, which had been suppressed by custom, could be abolished by law.[17]

14 Cassiodor, *Variarum Epist.* vi. 1. *Jornandes*, c. 57, p. 696, edit. Grot Quod summum bonum primumque in mundo *decus* edicitur.

15 See the regulations of Justinian, (*Novell.* cv.), dated at Constantinople, July 5, and addressed to Strategius, treasurer of the empire.

16 Procopius, in *Anecdot.* c. 26. *Aleman.* p. 106. In the xviiith year after the consulship of Basilius, according to the reckoning of Marcellinus, Victor, Marius, &c., the secret history was composed, and, in the eyes of Procopius, the consulship was finally abolished.

17 By Leo, the philosopher, (*Novell.* xciv. A. D. 886-911). See Pagi, (*Dissertat. Hypatica*, pp. 325-362 and Ducange, *Gloss. Græc.* pp. 1635, 1636). Even the title was vilified: consulatus codicilli * * * vilescundi, says the emperor himself.

The imperfect mode of distinguishing each year by the name of a magistrate, was usefully supplied by the date of a permanent æra: the creation of the world, according to the Septuagint version, was adopted by the Greeks;[18] and the Latins, since the age of Charlemagne, have computed their time from the birth of Christ.[19]

18 According to Julius Africanus, &c., the world was created the first of September, 5508 years, three months, and twenty-five days before the birth of Christ. (See Pezron, *Antiquite des Tems defendue*, pp. 20–28.) And this era has been used by the Greeks, the Oriental Christians, and even by the Russians, till the reign of Peter I. The period, however arbitrary, is clear and convenient. Of the 7296 years which are supposed to elapse since the creation, we shall find 3000 of ignorance and darkness; 2000 either fabulous or doubtful; 1000 of ancient history, commencing with the Persian empire, and the republics of Rome and Athens: 1000 from the fall of the Roman empire in the West to the discovery of America; and the remaining 296 will almost complete three centuries of the modern state of Europe and mankind. I regret this chronology, so far preferable to our double and perplexed method of counting backwards and forwards the years before and after the Christian era.*

19 The era of the world has prevailed in the East since the sixth general council, (A. D. 681). In the West, the Christian era was first invented in the sixth century; it was propagated in the eighth by the authority and writings of venerable Bede; but it was not till the tenth that the use became legal and popular. See *l'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, *Dissert. Préliminaire*, p. iii. xii. *Dictionnaire Diplomatique*, tom. i. pp. 329–337; the works of a laborious society of Benedictine monks.

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* The chronology of archbishop Usher, (*Annales Vet. Test.* p. 1), fixes the day of creation on Sunday, the 23rd October, 4004 years before the commencement of the Christian era. The early state of our race must necessarily be hidden in impenetrable darkness. What we can discover, may be divided into two thousand years of progress, beginning in fable, brightening into tradition, and clearing up into history; next twelve hundred years of retrogression into an almost pristine barbarism, and then about five hundred of renewed progress.—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

PROMETHEUS.

618a

"*And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his "nostrils the breath of life.*" — *Genesis.* ii : 7.

THE mythological origin of men is so subordinate, says Moritz, "that they "are represented as not even owing their existence to the reigning gods, "but to PROMETHEUS, a descendant of the Titans, who took a piece of "earth, a portion of clay still impregnated with divine particles, moistened it "with water, and formed man after the image of the gods."

By thus becoming a creator of living beings PROMETHEUS aroused the opposition of JUPITER, who, in anger, contemplated the destruction of mankind; but PROMETHEUS, who tenderly loved the beings he had endowed with life, and who was crucified on Mt. Caucasus because he so loved the world,— whose reward was "The rock, the vulture, and the chain,"— grandly defended his creations, and, in the sublime language of GOETHE, thus defied the *Thunderer's* malice:

"Cover thy sky, O Zeus, with dusky clouds, and, like playing boys, who "thistles poll, try thy power on oaks and mountain-summits. Thou must, in "spite of thee, suffer my Earth to stand; my cottage, too, not built by thee, and "my hearth, the glow of which thou enviest me. I know no poorer creatures "beneath the sun than you gods! You miserably support your majesty by "means of small offerings, and the breath of prayers; and would starve, if "children and beggars were not hopeful fools. I honor thee? For what? Hast "thou ever lessened the pains of the heavy laden? Hast thou ever wiped the "tears of affliction? Hath not almighty time and eternal fate, my masters and "thine, wrought and formed me? Dost thou haply ween, that I should hate "life, and flee into deserts, because not every flowery dream doth ripen? Here "sit I, forming men after my image, a race to resemble me, to suffer and to "weep, to enjoy and to rejoice; and, like me, not to care for thee!"

"PROMETHEUS is represented," says Moritz, "upon ancient works of art, as an "artist engaged in his professional employment, with a vase standing at his feet, "and before him a human *bust*, on which he seems to bestow the most intense "consideration. When he had succeeded in representing the divine form, he "burned with desire to bring his work to perfection. He rose up therefore to the "chariot of PHŒBUS, in order to kindle a torch at the celestial luminary, and from "the fire of which he blew ethereal flames into the bosoms of his creatures, thus "giving them warmth and life. He is, therefore, often represented with a torch in "his hand, over which a butterfly is hovering, to denote the animating breath "by which the dead mass is enlivened."

The similarity between the Pagan and Hebrew belief, in regard to the origin of Man, is so apparent, that we must regard the grander and more finished account of Moses, as a new and improved version of the ruder and earlier Pagan myth. "The more we read the Old Testament, the plainer we see the resemblance "between many of the Pagan customs, and the religious observances of the "Jews," says the chief editor, or one of the eleven reverend and learned contributors whose names appear on the title page of that interesting Christian work, *The History of all the Religions of the World*, p. 644. "The striking difference, "however, must not be overlooked," is the unanimous verdict of this orthodox jury, "that the Jews worshiped the true and living God, while the Pagans "bowed to the false and dead idol." The significant fact remains, however, that the "religious observances" of the Jews and Pagans were alike; but Christians have named the Jewish worship *religion*, and the Pagan worship is termed *idolatry*. A burnt offering by the Jews was called true devotion — a sacrifice by the Pagans was considered impious. The two faiths were indeed identical, but only one was believed to be true, while the other was denounced as false. When "Aaron cast "down his rod before Pharoah, and it became a serpent, the magicians of Egypt "also did in like manner with their enchantments." *Ex.* vii : 10-11. The miracles performed by the Jews and Egyptians were precisely the same, but the interpretation was quite different. The miracle of Aaron was a proof of divine agency, and the other miracle was not interesting. Intelligent Christians believe, that when the Pagan priests healed the sick, like the apostles, and imitated the apostolic miracles, that they did it by the power of the demons, and not by the power of the God of Israel. Miracles performed by Pagans were futile, and did not show that Paganism was true, for miracles can only prove and demonstrate the truth of Christianity.

"PROMETHEUS, answering to the Christian personification PROVIDENCE, is, like "that personification, used sometimes as an epithet synonymous with the Supreme "Deity himself. The Pagan phrase, '*Thank Prometheus*,' like the Christian one, "'*Thank Providence*,' its literal interpretation, meant exactly the same as '*Thank* "'*God!*' Thus in *the* ORPHIC *Hymn* to Chronus or Saturn, we have this sublime "address to the Supreme Deity under his name *Prometheus*, 'Illustrious, cherish-"'ing Father, both of the immortal gods and of men, various of counsel, spotless, "'powerful, mighty Titan, who consumest all things, and again thyself repairest "'them, who holdest the ineffable bands throughout the boundless world; thou "'universal parent of successive being, various in design, fructifier of the earth "'and of the starry heaven, DREAD PROMETHEUS, who dwellest in all parts of "'the world, author of generation, tortuous in counsel, most excellent, hear our "'suppliant voice, and send of our life a happy blameless end.' Amen!"— E.

Calliope. Erato. Urania. Melpomene.*

XII.

INTRODUCTION OF LEARNING AMONG THE ARABIANS.†

Introduction of learning among the Arabians, A. D. 754, &c., 813, &c.

UNDER the reign of the Ommiades, the studies of the Moslems were confined to the interpretation of the Koran, and the eloquence and poetry of their native tongue. A people continually exposed to the dangers of the field must esteem the healing powers of medicine, or rather of surgery: but the starving physicians of Arabia murmured a complaint that exercise and temperance

* An ancient writer thus recounts the praises of the nine sisters:

"They pour on the lips of man, whom they favor, the dew of soft persuasion; "they bestow on him wisdom, that he may be a judge and umpire among his "people, and give him renown among nations: and the poet who wanders on the "mountain tops and in the lovely dales, is inspired by them with divine strains, "which dispel sorrow and grief from the breast of every mortal."

CALLIOPE, the Muse of epic poetry, has a roll of parchment in one hand, and a small tuba or trumpet in the other. She owes her name to the majesty of her voice. She presided over rhetoric and epic poetry.

ERATO, the Muse of erotic poetry, holds in her hands a nine-stringed instrument. She is the inspirer of amatory poetry, and observes the triumphs and misfortunes of lovers. Her name signifies love. Ovid invokes Erato, in his *Art of Love*, and his *Fasti for April*, which the Romans considered as peculiarly the lovers' month.

URANIA, the Muse of astronomy, is leaning against a column, on which she rests her elbow. She appears in an attitude of deep meditation, and in her right hand holds a wand, with which she points out some object on the globe resting at her feet. Her name signifies the celestial; and she is esteemed as the discoverer of the science of astronomy.

MELPOMENE, the Muse of tragedy, is leaning slightly forward, with one foot placed upon a stone, and her cheek resting on her right hand. Her tragic mask is thrown back from her face, and conceals the laurel wreath which usually binds her brows. It is her province to present the noble actions, as well as the misfortunes, of heroes; and her name signifies one who only expressed herself in song.

The Muses are described, in the Homeric poems, as the goddesses of song and poetry, and on Mount Parnassus, or Helicon, accompanied by Apollo, with his lyre, they take, if we may borrow the language of Milton, their golden harps,

"And with preamble sweet
"Of charming symphony, they introduce
"Their sacred songs, and waken raptures high:
"No voice exempt—no voice but well could join
"Melodious part."—E.

† From Chap. LII. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

deprived them of the greatest part of their practice.[1] After their civil and domestic wars, the subjects of the Abbassides, awakening from this mental lethargy, found leisure and felt curiosity for the acquisition of profane science. This spirit was first encouraged by the caliph Almansor, who, besides his knowledge of the Mahometan law, had applied himself with success to the study of astronomy. But when the sceptre devolved to Almamon, the seventh of the Abbassides, he completed the designs of his grandfather, and invited the Muses from their ancient seats. His ambassadors at Constantinople, his agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, collected the volumes of Grecian science: at his command they were translated by the most skillful interpreters into the Arabic language: his subjects were exhorted assiduously to peruse these instructive writings; and the successor of Mahomet assisted with pleasure and modesty at the assemblies and disputations of the learned. "He was not "ignorant," says Abulpharagius, "that *they* are the elect "of God, his best and most useful servants, whose lives are "devoted to the improvement of their rational faculties. "The mean ambition of the Chinese or the Turks may "glory in the industry of their hands or the indulgence of "their brutal appetites. Yet these dexterous artists must "view, with hopeless emulation, the hexagons and pyramids "of the cells of a bee-hive:[2] these fortitudinous heroes are "awed by the superior fierceness of the lions and tigers; "and in their amorous enjoyments, they are much inferior "to the vigor of the grossest and most sordid quadrupeds. "The teachers of wisdom are the true luminaries and "legislators of a world, which, without their aid, would "again sink in ignorance and barbarism."[3] The zeal and curiosity of Almamon were imitated by succeeding princes

1 The Guliston, (p. 289.), relates the conversation of Mahomet and a physician (*Epistol. Renaudot*, in *Fabricius Bibliot. Græc.* tom. i. p. 814.) The prophet himself was skilled in the art of medicine; and Gagnier, (*Vie de Mahomet*, tom. iii. pp. 294-405), has given an extract of the aphorisms which are extant under his name.

2 See their curious architecture in Reaumur. (*Hist des Insectes*, tom. v. *Mémoire* viii). These hexagons are closed by a pyramid; the angles of the three sides of a similar pyramid, such as would accomplish the given end with the smallest quantity possible of materials, were determined by a mathematician, at 109 degrees 26 minutes for the larger, 70 degrees 34 minutes for the smaller. The actual measure is 109 degrees 28 minutes, 70 degrees 32 minutes. Yet this perfect harmony raises the work at the expense of the artist; the bees are not masters of transcendent geometry.

3 Saed Ebn Ahmed, cadhi of Toledo, who died A. H. 462, A. D. 1069, has furnished Abulpharagius, (*Dynast.* p. 160), with this curious passage, as well as with the text of Pocock's *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*. A number of literary anecdotes of philosophers, physicians, &c., who have flourished under each caliph, form the principal merit of the Dynasties of Abulpharagius.

of the line of Abbas: their rivals the Fatimites of Africa and the Ommiades of Spain, were the patrons of the learned, as well as the commanders of the faithful: the same royal prerogative was claimed by their independent emirs of the provinces; and their emulation diffused the taste and the rewards of science from Samarcand and Bochara to Fez and Cordova. The vizir of a sultan consecrated a sum of two hundred thousand pieces of gold to the foundation of a college at Bagdad, which he endowed with an annual revenue of fifteen thousand dinars. The fruits of instruction were communicated, perhaps at different times, to six thousand disciples of every degree, from the son of the noble to that of the mechanic: a sufficient allowance was provided for the indigent scholars; and the merit or industry of the professors was repaid with adequate stipends. In every city the productions of Arabic literature were copied and collected by the curiosity of the studious, and the vanity of the rich. A private doctor refused the invitation of the sultan of Bochara, because the carriage of his books would have required four hundred camels. The royal library of the Fatimites consisted of one hundred thousand manuscripts, elegantly transcribed and splendidly bound, which were lent, without jealousy or avarice, to the students of Cairo. Yet this collection must appear moderate, if we can believe that the Ommiades of Spain had formed a library of six hundred thousand volumes, forty-four of which were employed in the mere catalogue. Their capital, Cordova, with the adjacent towns of Malaga, Almeria, and Murcia, had given birth to more than three hundred writers, and above seventy public libraries were opened in the cities of the Andalusian kingdom.[4] The age of Arabian learning continued about five hundred years, till the great irruption of the Moguls, and was coeval with the darkest and most slothful period of European annals; but since the

[4] These literary anecdotes are borrowed from the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*, (tom. ii. pp. 38, 71, 201, 202), Leo Africanus, (*de Arab Medicis* et *Philosophis*, in Fabric. *Bibliot. Græc.* tom. xiii. pp. 259–298, particularly p. 274), and Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* pp. 274, 275, 536, 537), besides the chronological remarks of Abulpharagius.*

* The literary history of Spain, under the Ommiades, may be collected from many of Condé's chapters. He relates their special care for the education of their sons, and their general provisions for that of their subjects; their patronage of learned men, and their anxiety to collect for the use of others, as well as for their own study, the works of the best authors. Al Hakem II., the son of the great Abderahman III., was eminent for these pursuits. He had agents in various countries to purchase or copy MSS. for him, and thus collected the extensive library mentioned by Gibbon. His catalogue of forty-four vols. contained not only the names of the books and their authors, but also each man's genealogy, with the dates of his birth and death. (*Condé*, vol. i. p. 460, &c.)—E. C.

sun of science has arisen in the west, it should seem that the oriental studies have languished and declined.

Their real progress in the sciences.

In the libraries of the Arabians, as in those of Europe, the far greater part of the innumerable volumes were possessed only of local value or imaginary merit.[5] The shelves were crowded with orators and poets, whose style was adapted to the taste and manners of their countrymen; with general and partial histories, which each revolving generation supplied with a new harvest of persons and events; with codes and commentaries of jurisprudence, which derived their authority from the law of the prophet; with the interpreters of the Koran, and orthodox tradition; and with the whole theological tribe, polemics, mystics, scholastics, and moralists, the first or the last of writers, according to the different estimate of skeptics or believers. The works of speculation or science may be reduced to the four classes of philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and physic. The sages of Greece were translated and illustrated in the Arabic language, and some treatises, now lost in the original, have been recovered in the versions of the east,[6] which possessed and studied the writings of Aristotle and Plato, of Euclid and Apollonius, of Ptolemy, Hippocrates, and Galen.[7] Among the ideal systems, which have varied with the fashion of the times, the Arabians adopted the philosophy of the Stagirite, alike intelligible or alike obscure for the readers of every age.

[5] The Arabic catalogue of the Escurial will give a just idea of the proportion of the classes. In the library of Cairo, the MSS. of astronomy and medicine amounted to 6500, with two fair globes, the one of brass, the other of silver. (*Bibliot. Arab. Hisp.* tom. i. p. 417.)

[6] As, for instance, the fifth, sixth, and seventh books, (the eighth is still wanting), of the *Conic Sections* of Apollonius Pergæus, which were printed from the *Florence MS.* 1661, (Fabric. *Bibliot. Græc.* tom. ii. p. 559). Yet the fifth book had been previously restored by the mathematical divination of Viviani. (See his *Eloge in Fontenelle*, tom. v. p. 59, &c.)

[7] The merit of these Arabic versions is freely discussed by Renaudot, (Fabric. *Bibliot. Græc.* tom. i. pp. 812–816) and piously defended by Casiri, (*Bibliot. Arab. Hispana*, tom. i. pp. 238–240.) Most of the versions of Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, &c., are ascribed to Honain, a physician of the Nestorian sect, who flourished at Bagdad in the court of the caliphs, and died A. D. 876. He was at the head of a school or manufacture of translations, and the works of his sons and disciples were published under his name. See Abulpharagius, (*Dynast.* pp. 88, 115, 171–174, and apud Asseman, *Bibliot. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 438), D'Herbelot, (*Bibliot. Orientale*, p. 456), Asseman, *Bibliot. Orient.* tom. iii. p. 164), and Casiri. (*Bibliot. Arab. Hispana*, tom. i. pp. 238, &c., 251 286–290, 302, 304, &c.).*

* Civilization and literature, although so long retrogade among the nations that succumbed to the Saracen arms, still had not lost all their efficacy to soften and smooth the roughness of Barbarian conquerors. The rude were made acquainted with the works of better ages, and from the recorded thoughts of the enlightened, learned themselves to think. A single century transformed the wild camel-driver of the desert into the student of the college, and elevated Bagdad above Constantinople, Athens and Rome. The rapid change which one century made in the character and habits of the Arabians proves the usual course of human nature.—ENG. CH.

Plato wrote for the Athenians, and his allegorical genius is too closely blended with the language and religion of Greece. After the fall of that religion, the Peripatetics, emerging from their obscurity, prevailed in the controversies of the oriental sects, and their founder was long afterwards restored by the Mahometans of Spain to the Latin schools.[8] The physics, both of the Academy and the Lycæum, as they are built, not on observation, but on argument, have retarded the progress of real knowledge. The metaphysics of infinite, or finite, spirit, have too often been enlisted in the service of superstition. But the human faculties are fortified by the art and practice of dialectics; the ten Predicaments of Aristotle collect and methodize our ideas,[9] and his syllogism is the keenest weapon of dispute. It was dexterously wielded in the schools of the Saracens, but as it is more effectual for the detection of error than for the investigation of truth, it is not surprising that new generations of masters and disciples should still revolve in the same circle of logical argument. The mathematics are distinguished by a peculiar privilege, that, in the course of ages, they may always advance, and can never recede. But the ancient geometry, if I am not misinformed, was resumed in the same state by the Italians of the fifteenth century; and whatever may be the origin of the name, the science of algebra is ascribed to the Grecian Diophantus by the modest testimony of the Arabs themselves.[10] They cultivated with more success the sublime science of astronomy, which elevates the mind of man to disdain his diminutive planet and momentary existence. The costly instruments of observation were supplied by the caliph Almamon, and the land of the Chaldæans still afforded the same spacious

[8] See Mosheim, *Institut. Hist. Eccles.* pp. 181, 214, 236, 257, 315, 338, 396, 438, &c.

[9] The most elegant commentary on the *Categories or Predicaments of Aristotle* may be found in the *Philosophical Arrangements* of Mr. James Harris, (Lon. 1775), who labored to revive the studies of Grecian literature and philosophy.

[10] Abulpharagius, *Dynast.* pp. 81, 222. *Bibliot. Arab. Hisp.* tom. i. pp. 370, 371. In quem, (says the primate of the Jacobites), si immiserit se lector, oceanum hoc in genere (*algebræ*) inveniet. The time of Diophantus of Alexandria is unknown; but his six books are still extant, and have been illustrated by the Greek Planudes and the Frenchman Meziriac, (Fabric. *Bibliot. Græc.* tom. iv. pp. 12-15).*

* Was this Diophantus the same as the philosopher of that name, who educated Libanius about the year 330, and spoke the funeral oration of Proæresius at Athens in 367? The writer of the books on Algebra is said by Abulpharagius to have lived about A. D. 365, and the best informed moderns believe that he flourished in the fourth century, (Colebrooke's *Preface* to his *Algebra*). It appears therefore probable, that there was but one Diophantus; that after leaving Arabia, his first place of abode was Antioch, where he was the preceptor of Libanius; that he thence proceeded to Athens, and afterwards to Alexandria, where it was likely that his mathematical talents would be more encouraged. This identity, if ascertained, would prove that the science of Algebra did come originally from Arabia.—ENG. CH.

level, the same unclouded horizon. In the plains of Sinaar, and a second time in those of Cufa, his mathematicians accurately measured a degree of the great circle of the earth, and determined at twenty-four thousand miles the entire circumference of our globe.[11] From the reign of the Abbassides to that of the grand-children of Tamerlane, the stars, without the aid of glasses, were diligently observed; and the astronomical tables of Bagdad, Spain, and Samarcand,[12] correct some minute errors, without daring to renounce the hypothesis of Ptolemy, without advancing a step towards the discovery of the solar system. In the eastern courts, the truths of science could be recommended only by ignorance and folly, and the astronomer would have been disregarded, had he not debased his wisdom or honesty by the vain predictions of astrology.[13] But in the science of medicine, the Arabians have been deservedly applauded. The names of Mesua and Geber, of Razis and Avicenna, are ranked with the Grecian masters; in the city of Bagdad, eight hundred and sixty physicians were licensed to exercise their lucrative profession:[14] in Spain, the life of the Catholic princes was intrusted to the skill of the Saracens,[15] and the school of Salerno, their legitimate offspring, revived in Italy and Europe the precepts of the healing art.[16] The success of each professor must have been influenced by personal and accidental causes; but we may form a less fanciful estimate of their general knowledge of anatomy,[17] botany,[18] and chemistry,[19] the threefold basis of

[11] Abulfeda, *Annal. Moslem.* pp. 210, 211, vers. Reiske), describes this operation according to Ibn Challecan, and the best historians. This degree most accurately contains 200,000 royal or Hashemite cubits, which Arabia had derived from the sacred and legal practice both of Palestine and Egypt. This ancient cubit is repeated 400 times in each basis of the great pyramid, and seems to indicate the primitive and universal measures of the East. See the *Métrologie* of the laborious M. Paucton, pp. 101–195.

[12] See the *Astronomical Tables* of Ulugh Begh, with the preface of Dr. Hyde in the first volume of his *Syntagma Dissertationum, Oxon.* 1767.

[13] The truth of astrology was allowed by Albumazar, and the best of the Arabian astronomers, who drew their most certain predictions, not from Venus and Mercury, but from Jupiter and the sun, (Abulpharag. *Dynast.* pp. 161–163). For the state and science of the Persian astronomers, see Chardin, (*Voyages en Perse*, tom iii. pp. 162-203).

[14] *Bibliot. Arabico. Hispana*, tom. i. p. 438. The original relates a pleasant tale of an ignorant, but harmless practitioner.

[15] In the year 956, Sancho the Fat, king of Leon, was cured by the physicians of Cordova, (*Mariana*, l. viii. c. 7, tom. i. p. 318).

[16] The school of Salerno, and the introduction of the Arabian sciences into Italy, are discussed with learning and judgment by Muratori, *Antiquitat Italiæ Medii Ævi*, tom. iii. pp. 932–940), and Giannone, (*Istoria Civ. di Napoli*, tom. ii. p.119-127.

[17] See a good view of the progress of anatomy in Wotton, (*Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning*, pp. 208–256). His reputation has been unworthily depreciated by the wits in the controversy of Boyle and Bentley.

[18] *Bibliot. Arab. Hispana*, tom. i. p. 275. Al Beither, of Malaga, their greatest botanist, had traveled into Africa, Persia, and India.

[19] Dr. Watson, (*Elements of Chemistry*, vol. i. p. 17, &c.), allows the *original*

their theory and practice. A superstitous reverence for the dead confined both the Greeks and the Arabians to the dissection of apes and quadrupeds: the more solid and visible parts were known in the time of Galen, and the finer scrutiny of the human frame was reserved for the microscope and the injections of modern artists. Botany is an active science, and the discoveries of the torrid zone might enrich the herbal of Dioscorides with two thousand plants. Some traditionary knowledge might be secreted in the temples and monasteries of Egypt; much useful experience had been acquired in the practice of arts and manufactures; but the *science* of chemistry owes its origin and improvement to the industry of the Saracens. They first invented and named the alembic for the purposes of distillation, analyzed the substances of the three kingdoms of nature, tried the distinction and affinities of alkalis and acids, and converted the poisonous minerals into soft and salutary medicines. But the most eager search of Arabian chemistry was the transmutation of metals, and the elixir of immortal health; the reason and the fortunes of thousands were evaporated in the crucibles of alchemy, and the consummation of the great work was promoted by the worthy aid of mystery, fable, and superstition.

Want of erudition, taste, and freedom.

But the Moslems deprived themselves of the principal benefits of a familiar intercourse with Greece and Rome, the knowledge of antiquity, the purity of taste, and the freedom of thought. Confident in the riches of their native tongue, the Arabians disdained the study of any foreign idiom. The Greek interpreters were chosen among their Christian subjects; they formed their translations, sometimes on the original text, more frequently perhaps on a Syriac version; and in the crowd of astronomers and physicians, there is no example of a poet, an orator, or even an historian, being taught to speak the language of the Saracens.[20] The mythology of Homer would have provoked the abhorrence of those stern fanatics; they possessed in lazy ignorance the colonies of the Mace-

merit of the Arabians. Yet he quotes the modest confession of the famous Geber of the ninth century, (*D'Herbelot*, p. 387), that he had drawn most of his science, perhaps of the transmutation of metals, from the ancient sages. Whatever might be the origin or extent of their knowledge, the arts of chemistry and alchemy appear to have been known in Egypt at least three hundred years before Mahomet, (*Wotton's Reflections*, pp. 121–133. Pauw, *Recherches sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois*, tom. i. 376–429.

20 Abulpharagius, (*Dynast.* pp. 26, 143, mentions a *Syriac* version of Homer's two poems, by Theophilus, a Christian Maronite of Mount Libanius, who professed astronomy at Roha or Edessa towards the end of the eighth century. His work would be a literary curiosity. I have read somewhere, but I do not believe, that *Plutarch's Lives* were translated into Turkish for the use of Mahomet the Second

donians, and the provinces of Carthage and Rome; the heroes of Plutarch and Livy were buried in oblivion; and the history of the world before Mahomet was reduced to a short legend of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the Persian kings. Our education in the Greek and Latin schools may have fixed in our minds a standard of exclusive taste; and I am not forward to condemn the literature and judgment of nations, of whose language I am ignorant. Yet I *know* that the classics have much to teach, and I *believe* that the Orientals have much to learn: the temperate dignity of style, the graceful proportions of art, the forms of visible and intellectual beauty, the just delineation of character and passion, the rhetoric of narrative and argument, the regular fabric of epic and dramatic poetry.[21] The influence of truth and reason is of a less ambiguous complexion. The philosophers of Athens and Rome enjoyed the blessings and asserted the rights, of civil and religious freedom. Their moral and political writings might have gradually unlocked the fetters of Eastern despotism, diffused a liberal spirit of inquiry and toleration, and encouraged the Arabian sages to suspect that their caliph was a tyrant and their prophet an impostor.[22] The instinct of superstition was alarmed by the introduction even of the abstract sciences; and the more rigid doctors of the law condemned the rash and pernicious curiosity of Almamon.[23] To the thirst of martyrdom, the vision of paradise, and the belief of predestination, we must ascribe the invincible enthusiasm of the prince and people. And the sword of the Saracens became less formidable, when their youth was drawn away from the camp to the college, when the armies of the faithful presumed to read and to reflect. Yet the foolish vanity of the Greeks was jealous of their studies, and reluctantly imparted the sacred fire to the barbarians of the East.[24]

[21] I have perused, with much pleasure, Sir William Jones's *Latin Commentary on Asiatic Poetry*, (London, 1774, in octavo), which was composed in the youth of that wonderful linguist. At present, in the maturity of his taste and judgment, he would perhaps abate of the fervent, and even partial, praise which he has bestowed on the Orientals.

[22] Among the Arabian philosophers, Averroes has been accused of despising the religions of the Jews, the Christians, and the Mahometans, (see his article in *Bayle's Dictionary*). Each of these sects would agree, that in two instances out of three, his contempt was reasonable.

[23] D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 546.

[24] Θεοφιλος ἀτοπον κρινας εἰ τὴν τῶν ὄντων γνῶσιν, δι' ἣν τὸ Ρωμαίων λένος θαυμάζται, ἔκδοτον ποιήσει τοῖς ἔθνεσι, &c. *Cedrenus*, p. 548, who relates how manfully the emperor refused a mathematician to the instances and offers of the caliph Almamon. This absurd scruple is expressed almost in the same words by the continuator of Theophanes, (*Scriptores post Theop.* p. 118.)

BACCHUS

626a

BACCHUS.

"Bacchus was the type of vigor."—Longfellow.

IN both the Greek and Roman mythologies BACCHUS, like HERCULES, owed his existence to the union of a celestial and a terrestrial — a god from heaven and a woman from earth—a mortal mother and an immortal father. The Olympian JUPITER claimed him as a son, and the beautiful SEMELE, a daughter of CADMUS, was his unfortunate mother.

"The ancients" says Eschenburg, "ascribed to BACCHUS manifold offices, and "related a multitude of achievements as performed by him. Especially was he "celebrated for his advancement of morals, legislation, and commerce; for the "culture of the vine and the rearing of bees; and for his military expeditions "and success, particularly in India. He was worshiped as a god, and a worker "of miracles."

"BACCHUS, from his very birth," says Moritz, "takes his seat among the "celestials; while HERCULES, by bold deeds and invincible valor, must prepare "for himself the path to immortality. For this reason, too, the latter, during his "lifetime, was ranked only among the godlike heroes, while BACCHUS was always "entitled to the society of the gods themselves. The archetype of BACCHUS was "the inward, swelling fullness of nature, of which, from her foaming cup, she "bestows animating enjoyment among her initiated. The worship of BACCHUS, "therefore, was, like that of CERES, mysterious, for both deities are emblems of "the whole of nature which no mortal eye penetrates.

"The expedition of BACCHUS to India, is a beautiful and sublime fiction. With "an army of both men and women, who went on in a joyful tumult, he extended "his beneficent conquests as far as the Ganges, teaching the conquered nations "the cultivation of the vine, together with a higher enjoyment of life, and giving "them laws. In the divine person of BACCHUS, men revered the more cheerful "delights of life, and he was personified as a glorious and sublime being, who, "under the form of an eternally flourishing youth, subdues lions and tigers that "draw his chariot, and who, in divine ecstasy, accompanied by the sound of flutes "and timbrels, proceeds in triumph, from east to west, through all countries."

"BACCHUS," says Taylor, "was the god of good cheer, wine, and hilarity; and "as such, the poets have been eloquent in his praises. On all occasions of mirth "and jollity, they constantly invoked his presence, and as constantly thanked "him for the blessings he bestowed. To him they ascribed the greatest happi- "ness of which humanity is capable —the forgetfulness of cares, and the delights "of social intercourse. It has been usual for Christians to represent this God "as a sensual encourager of inebriation and excess. He taught mankind the "culture of the vine, and so without a miracle changed their drink from mere "water into wine, '*which cheereth God and man*,' (*Judges*, ix. 13)."

St. John asserts that Jesus of Nazareth, in Cana of Galilee, changed water into wine, and that the wine was of so good a quality as to astonish "the governor "of the feast," who explained to the bridegroom that, "Every man at the be- "ginning, doth set forth good wine; and *when men have well drunk*, then that "which is worse," [What a shrewd and economical device!] "but thou hast "kept the good wine until now." (*John* ii. 10.) Taylor denies this miracle and believes "that in any sense but that of an imposition practised upon men's senses, "the miracle involves a physical impossibility, and a moral contradiction. That "the fluid, whatever it was, which had not been pressed out of the grape.—which "had not been generated, concocted, matured and exuded through the secretory "ducts of the vine, drawn up by its roots out of the earth, circulated through "its capillary tubes, and effunded into its fruit, could not be wine, nor could God "himself make it to be so.

"That were to make
"Strange contradiction, which to God himself
"Impossible is held." *Milton.*

"The Pagan philosophers," says Taylor, "pretended that their theology, and "the genealogy of their gods, did originally, in an allegorical sense, mean the "several parts of nature and the universe. Cicero gives a large account of this, "and tells us, that even the *impious* fables relating to the deities include in them "a good physical meaning. Thus, when SATURN was said to have devoured his "children, it was to be understood of *Time*, which is properly said to devour all "things. 'We know,' says this great heathen, 'that the shapes of all the gods, "'their age, habits, and ornaments, nay, their very genealogy, marriages, and "'every thing relating to them, hath been delivered in the exact resemblance to "'human weakness. It is,' he adds, 'the height of folly to believe such absurd "'and extravagant things.'"

"As an allegorical sense," continues Taylor, "was the apology offered for the "manifest absurdities of Paganism, and an allegorical sense is challenged for the "contents of the New Testament, not only by the early Fathers, but *by* and *in* "the text of that New Testament itself, (II. *Cor.* iii: 6,) can it be denied that both "alike are allegorical? And both being confessedly allegorical, the innumerable "instances of perfect resemblance between them are a competent proof that the "one is but a modification or improved edition of the other, and that there never "was any real or essential difference between them."—E.

Venus Marina.* Triton.

XIII.†

THEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION.—THE HUMAN AND DIVINE NATURE OF CHRIST.—ENMITY OF THE PATRIARCHS OF ALEXANDRIA AND CONSTANTINOPLE.—ST. CYRIL AND NESTORIUS.—THIRD GENERAL COUNCIL OF EPHESUS.—HERESY OF EUTYCHES.—FOURTH GENERAL COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON.—CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL DISCORD.—INTOLERANCE OF JUSTINIAN.—THE THREE CHAPTERS.—MONOTHELITE CONTROVERSY.—STATE OF THE ORIENTAL SECTS.—I. THE NESTORIANS.—II. THE JACOBITES.—III. THE MARONITES.—IV. THE ARMENIANS.—V. THE COPTS AND ABYSSINIANS.

The Incarnation of Christ.

AFTER the extinction of Paganism, the Christians in peace and piety might have enjoyed their solitary triumph. But the principle of discord was alive in their bosom, and they were more solicitous to explore the nature, than to practice the laws, of their founder. I have already observed, that the disputes

* Venus sprang from the foam of the sea, near the island of Cyprus, or, according to Hesiod, of Cythera, whither she was wafted by the Zephyrs, and received on the seashore by the Seasons, daughters of Jupiter and Themis She was represented by Phidias as rising from the sea, attended by love and crowned by the goddess of Persuasion. At Cnidos, her statue by Praxiteles was considered as his most perfect work, and she was immortalized by the celebrated painting of Apelles, which represented her as rising from the bosom of the waves, and wringing her tresses on her shoulder. When taken to Olympus, her personal charms excited the greatest admiration among the assembled gods Vulcan, the deformed son of Jupiter, won her hand in marriage, but he never controlled her affections.

The rose, the myrtle, and the apple, were sacred to Venus, and among birds, the dove, the swan, the swallow, and the sparrow were her favorites. Temples were built for her worship, and statues erected in her honor. "Her power over the "heart," says J. Lempriere, D. D., "was supported and assisted by a celebrated "girdle, called *zone* by the Greeks, and *cestus* by the Latins. This mysterious "girdle gave grace and elegance when worn even by the most deformed. It "excited love and kindled desire. Venus no sooner put on her cestus, than "Vulcan, unable to resist the influence of love, forgot all her intrigues and "infidelity. The ancients were fond of paying homage to a divinity who pre-"sided over generation, and by whose influence alone mankind existed." Venus was probably identical with the Syrian goddess Astarte, the Hebrew Ashtoreth.-E.

† Chap. XLVII. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

of the TRINITY were succeeded by those of the INCARNATION; alike scandalous to the church, alike pernicious to the state, still more minute in their origin, still more durable in their effects. It is my design to comprise, in the present chapter, a religious war of two hundred and fifty years, to represent the ecclesiastical and political schism of the oriental sects, and to introduce their clamorous or sanguinary contests, by a modest inquiry into the doctrines of the primitive church.[1]

I. A pure man to the Ebionites.

I. A laudable regard for the honor of the first proselytes, has countenanced the belief, the hope, the wish, that the Ebionites, or at least the Nazarenes, were distinguished only by their obstinate perseverance in the practice of the Mosaic rites. Their churches have disappeared, their books are obliterated: their obscure freedom might allow a latitude of faith, and the softness of their infant creed would be variously moulded by the zeal or prudence of three hundred years. Yet the most charitable criticism must refuse these sectaries any

1 By what means shall I authenticate this previous inquiry, which I have studied to circumscribe and compress? If I persist in supporting each fact or reflection by its proper and special evidence, every line would demand a string of testimonies, and every note would swell to a critical dissertation. But the numberless passages of antiquity which I have seen with my own eyes, are compiled, digested, and illustrated by *Petavius* and *Le Clerc*, by *Beausobre* and *Mosheim*. I shall be content to fortify my narrative by the names and characters of these respectable guides; and, in the contemplation of a minute or remote object, I am not ashamed to borrow the aid of the strongest glasses: 1. The *Dogmata Theologica* of Petavius is a work of incredible labor and compass; the volumes which relate solely to the Incarnation, (two folios, fifth and sixth, of 837 pages), are divided into sixteen books—the first of history, and the remainder of controversy and doctrine. The Jesuit's learning is copious and correct; his Latinity is pure, his method clear, his argument profound and well connected; but he is the slave of the fathers, the scourge of heretics, and the enemy of truth and candor, as often as *they* are inimical to the Catholic cause. 2. The Arminian Le Clerc, who has composed in a quarto volume, (Amsterdam, 1716), the ecclesiastical history of the two first centuries, was free both in his temper and situation; his sense is clear, but his thoughts are narrow; he reduces the reason or folly of ages to the standard of his private judgment, and his impartiality is sometimes quickened, and sometimes tainted by his opposition to the fathers. See the heretics, (*Cerinthians*, lxxx. *Ebionites*, ciii. *Carpocratians*, cxx. *Valentinians*, cxxi. *Basilidians*, cxxiii. *Marcionites*, cxli., &c.), under their proper dates. 3. The *Histoire Critique du Manicheisme* (Amsterdam, 1734, 1739, in 2 vols. in 4to., with a posthumous dissertation sur les Nazarênes, Lausanne, 1745) of M. de Beausobre is a treasure of ancient philosophy and theology. The learned historian spins with incomparable art the systematic thread of opinion, and transforms himself by turns into the person of a saint, a sage, or a heretic. Yet his refinement is sometimes excessive: he betrays an amiable partiality in favor of the weaker side, and, while he guards against calumny, he does not allow sufficient scope for superstition and fanaticism. A copious table of contents will direct the reader to any point that he wishes to examine. 4. Less profound than Patavius, less independent than Le Clerc, less ingenious than Beausobre, the historian Mosheim is full, rational, correct, and moderate. In his learned work, *Du Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum*, (Helmstadt, 1753, in 4to.), see the Nazarenes *and Ebionites*, p. 172–179, 328–332; the Gnostics in general, p. 179, &c.; *Cerinthus*, pp. 196–202. *Basilides*, pp. 352–361. *Carprocates*, pp. 363–367. *Valentinus*, pp. 371–389. *Marcion*, pp. 404–410. *The Manichæans*, pp. 829, 837, &c.

knowledge of the pure and proper divinity of Christ. Educated in the school of Jewish prophecy and prejudice, they had never been taught to elevate their hopes above a human and temporal Messiah.[2] If they had courage to hail their king when he appeared, in a plebian garb, their grosser apprehensions were incapable of discerning their God, who had studiously disguised his celestial character under the name and person of a mortal.[3] The familiar companions of Jesus of Nazareth conversed with their friend and countryman, who, in all the actions of rational and animal life appeared of the same species with themselves. His progress from infancy to youth and manhood, was marked by a regular increase in stature and wisdom; and, after a painful agony of mind and body, he expired on the cross. He lived and died for the service of mankind: but the life and death of Socrates had likewise been devoted to the cause of religion and justice; and although the Stoic or the hero may disdain the humble virtues of Jesus, the tears which he shed over his friend and country, may be esteemed the purest evidence of his humanity. The miracles of the gospel could not astonish a people who held with intrepid faith the more splendid prodigies of the Mosaic law. The prophets of ancient days had cured diseases, raised the dead, divided the sea, stopped the sun, and ascended to heaven in a fiery chariot. And the metaphorical style of the Hebrews might ascribe to a saint and martyr, the adoptive title of SON OF GOD.

His birth and elevation.

Yet in the insufficient creed of the Nazarenes and Ebionites, a distinction is faintly noticed be-

[2] Και γαρ πάντες ἡμεῖς τὸν Χριστὸν, ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων προσδοκῶμεν γενήσεσθαι, says the Jew Tryphon, (*Justin Dialog.* p. 207[b]), in the name of his countrymen; and the modern Jews, the few who divert their thoughts from money to religion, still hold the same language, and allege the literal sense of the prophets.†

[3] Chrysostom, (Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, tom. v. c. 9, p. 183,) and Athanasius (*Petav. Dogmat. Theolog.* tom. v. l. 1, c. 2, p. 3,) are obliged to confess that the divinity of Christ is rarely mentioned by himself or his apostles.‡

* See on this passage Bp. Kaye, *Justin Martyr*, p. 25.—MILMAN.

† Most of the modern writers, who have closely examined this subject, and who will not be suspected of any theological bias, Rosenmüller on *Isaiah* ix. 5, and on *Psalm* xlv. 7, and Berthold. *Christologia Judæorum*, c. xx., rightly ascribe much higher notions of the Messiah to the Jews. In fact, the dispute seems to rest on the notion that there was a definite and *authorized* notion of the Messiah, among the Jews, whereas it was probably so vague, as to admit every shade of difference, from the vulgar expectation of a mere temporal king, to the philosophic notion of an emanation from the Deity.—MILMAN.

‡ The clergy now assert, positively, the divinity of Jesus, which St. Chrysostom and St. Athanasius ventured to suggest. But the nobility and grandeur of Christ's humanity far transcends these empirical claims to divinity. Jesus loved his fellow men, and bravely sacrificed his life for the poor and the oppressed.—E.

tween the heretics, who confounded the generation of Christ in the common order of nature, and the less guilty schismatics, who revered the virginity of his mother, and excluded the aid of an earthly father. The incredulity of the former was countenanced by the visible circumstances of his birth, the legal marriage of his reputed parents, Joseph and Mary, and his lineal claim to the kingdom of David and the inheritance of Judah. But the secret and authentic history has been recorded in several copies of the gospel according to St. Matthew,[4] which these sectaries long preserved in the original Hebrew,[5] as the sole evidence

[4] The two first chapters of *St. Matthew* did not exist in the Ebionite copies, (*Epiphan. Hæres.* 30, 13); and the miraculous conception is one of the last articles which Dr. Priestly has curtailed from his scanty creed.*

[5] It is probable enough that the first of the gospels, for the use of the Jewish converts, was composed in the Hebrew or Syriac idiom; the fact is attested by a chain of fathers—Papias, Irenæus, Origen, Jerome, &c. It is devoutly believed by the Catholics, and admitted by Casaubon, Grotius, and Isaac Vossius, among the Protestant critics. But this Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew is most unaccountably lost; and we may accuse the diligence or fidelity of the primitive churches, who have preferred the unauthorized version of some nameless Greek. Erasmus and his followers, who respect our Greek text as the original gospel, deprive themselves of the evidence which declares it to be the work of an apostle. See Simon, *Hist. Critique*, &c., tom. iii. c. 5–9, p. 47–101, and the Prolegomena of Mill and Wetstein to the *New Testament*.†

* The distinct allusion to the facts related in the two first chapters of the *Gospel*, in a work evidently written about the end of the reign of Nero, the *Ascensio Isaiæ*, edited by Archbishop Lawrence, seems convincing evidence that they are integral parts of the authentic Christian history.—MILMAN.

† Surely the extinction of the Judæo-Christian community related from Mosheim by Gibbon himself (c. xv.) accounts both simply and naturally for the loss of a composition, which had become of no use; nor does it follow that the Greek *Gospel* of St. Matthew is *unauthorized*.—MILMAN.‡

The German editor here says that Matthew's *Hebrew Gospel* was more probably a translation than an original, which is contrary both to internal evidence and to positive testimony. See ch. 15, vol. ii, p. 69.—ENG. CH.

‡ It is but reasonable to suppose that the apostles would have written the "glad tidings" in their native language, which was probably Hebrew, or, (according to the *Bible Dictionary* of Wm. Smith, LL.D.), Syro-Chaldaic, and that these apostolic writings would have been sacredly preserved by the early Christian devotees. "But this Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew," says Gibbon, "is most unaccountably lost, and the primitive Christians preferred the unauthorized version of some nameless Greek."

The English Churchman quotes, without approval, the opinion of the German Editor, that "Matthew's Hebrew Gospel was more probably a translation than "an original." Indeed, he considers such a statement "contrary both to internal "evidence and to positive testimony." There is reason for believing that the judicial proceedings before Pilate, at which Jesus was condemned, were conducted in Greek, and many scholars believe the Gospels were written in that language. Smith's *Bible Dictionary* says, that "Every early writer who mentions that St. "Matthew wrote a Gospel *at all*, says that he wrote in Hebrew." The title page of the *New Testament*, King James' version, asserts that it was "translated out "of the original Greek." The title page of the revised version avoids this indiscreet assertion, and shrewdly omits the word *original*. "Erasmus and his "followers," says Gibbon, "who respect our Greek text as the original Gospel, "deprive themselves of the evidence which declares it to be the work of an "apostle." The early fathers, Papias, Iranæus, Origen, and Jerome, claim a Hebrew original. Great uncertainty pervades the early history of the Gospels, and we are not only in doubt as to when, or where, or by whom they were originally written, but we cannot even decide with certainty whether the Greek or Hebrew language was employed to announce the wonders of revelation.

If, as many suppose, we are indebted to the learned Essenes or Therapeuts of

of their faith. The natural suspicions of the husband, conscious of his own chastity, were dispelled by the

Alexandria for our Gospels, Greek would probably have been the language employed, and a Hebrew translation would, in that case, have been necessary for the Jewish converts; but if, as most Christians believe, the Gospels were originally written in Judea, by Messrs. Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, we should naturally expect to see Hebrew characters employed.

But, if the original Hebrew, or the original Syriac, or the original Greek text be lost, we have still, at least, an authenticated copy of the teachings of Jesus, which, like the wood of the true cross, has been miraculously preserved to the present day? No! nothing of the kind. But we have remaining certain writings in Greek and monkish Latin, of unknown origin and uncertain date, purporting to be "according to" Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, *but not by them.* "It does "not appear," says Wm. Smith, LL.D., (*Bible Dic.* p. 450), "that any special care "was taken in the first age to preserve the books of the *New Testament* from the "various injuries of time, or to insure perfect accuracy of transcription. They "were given as a heritage to man, and it was some time before men felt the full "value of the gift. The original copies seem to have soon perished. In the natural "course of things, the Apostolic autographs would be likely to perish soon."

The oldest manuscripts now in existence cannot claim an earlier date than from the fourth to the seventh century after Christ, and each and all of these sacred "codices," as the old manuscripts are termed, are not only undated, but are in fact anonymous productions. We are called upon to believe and reverence certain curious and perhaps essential records of the past, which the writers themselves did not deem of sufficient importance to require the formality of a date, or to be authenticated by a written signature.

These old manuscripts contain many acknowledged interpolations, alterations, omissions, errors, and conflicting readings. Prof. Alexander Roberts, D.D., in his *Companion to the Revised Version*, p. 1, says, "The varieties of reading in the "*New Testament* are now referred to as amounting to no less than 150,000." This large number causes anxiety in the minds of those familiar with St. Paul's doctrine, that, "He who believeth a lie shall be damned!" because they find it so difficult to distinguish the true from the false in a book which contains 150,000 "varieties of reading." Some of these "variations" are of the most vital importance; as, for instance, the story of the Three Heavenly Witnesses, *1 John*, v: 7, which was wickedly interpolated to sustain the doctrine of the Trinity. This interpolation has, however, been entirely omitted by the revisers of the *New Testament.* The correct reading of *1 Timothy*, iii: 16, was early changed from "which was manifest in the flesh," to read "God was manifest in the "flesh," in order to sustain the doctrine of the Incarnation. The revisers have declined to condone the falsehood, and have honestly restored the original and correct reading. But how could such errors be permitted in the bible? How could these forgeries be introduced in the word of God? "There is, I understand," says Dr. Inman in *Ancient Faiths and Modern*, p. 116, "solid foundation for the "assertion that the *New Testament*, such as we have it now, might have been "composed, altered, curtailed, added to, remodelled, or otherwise fashioned, at "any period between the years A. D. 50 and 300, after which change was difficult, "though we cannot say impossible."

Neither the received version, nor the revised version, agrees entirely with the Greek text or the oldest manuscripts. The present King James' Bible was founded on the Greek text, and the revised version has been modified by a comparison and selection of these anonymous manuscripts, assisted by a reference to the writings of the early fathers, and a discussion by the translators, in regard to the probable meaning of the "originals," as tested by the rules of textual criticism, and not forgetting the prevalent orthodox creeds. This revised version has required for its production the combined labor of the Christian scholars of Europe and America for a period of many years. It is now finished and published to the world. Its chief use will be to unsettle the faith of those who had previously believed the *New Testament* to be an infallible revelation, without a shadow of doubt, or a suspicion of error. Dr. Philip Scharff, LL. D., chairman of the American branch of the revision committee, in a public lecture delivered in Cooper Institute, New York, gave his opinion that King James' version was a good translation, that the new version was better, and he believed that in fifty years a better one still would or could be produced. This is not the language of certainty, and has not the appearance of infallibility. It is equivalent to saying that the *New Testament* will continue to be translated as long as science continues to advance, in order that the latest translation may still agree with the last discovery. "We believe," says the author of the *Talmagian Catechism*, page 422,

assurance (in a dream) that his wife was pregnant of the Holy Ghost: and as this distant and domestic prodigy

" that the bible can be revised often enough to agree with anything that may really " be necessary to the preservation of the church."

The Rev. Dr. Samson, in discussing the revision, at a meeting of Baptist ministers, as reported in the New York daily papers, contended that the ancient biblical manuscripts, "upon the authority of which the editors of the revised " version had made some notable omissions, were inferior as authorities to the " accepted version. Those manuscripts, he contended, were the work of " Alexandrian copyists not conversant with the Greek language, and are later " than the period of Constantine. They repeated lines and omitted lines, and " the evidences of error and imperfection thickly stud the manuscripts. " The accepted version of the Greek Church was an authority vastly superior to " such imperfect copies, and the Greek Church maintains the doxology in the " Lord's prayer and other passages omitted in the revision.

" Dr. Yerks, commenting on the address, said that if Dr. Samson was right, " then the Church would have to abandon the hope of getting an infallible text, " for the version of the Greek Church had been handed down by copyists to the " age of printing, and was hence exposed to the same causes of error as Dr. " Samson had charged upon the Tischendorf manuscripts."

Both of these learned and reverend gentlemen have told the truth. The oldest manuscripts are not *originals*, but unauthenticated copies by unknown monks; and the oldest cursive text, which is simply a manuscript of a later date, is also in the handwriting of some anonymous member of the monastic order. Neither the oldest nor the latest manuscripts are authenticated by the signatures of the apostles, early fathers, bishops, or church historians. " The Italian and Egpytian " papyri of the first century still exist, and give," says Wm. Smith, LL.D., " a clear notion of the caligraphy of the period." Writings of inferior importance have been preserved without especial care, but no gospel manuscript has survived the wreck of time; our oldest copies were transcribed, centuries after the time of Christ, by some " unauthorized and nameless Greek."

Gibbon, in his *Vindication*, (vol. iii. p. 597, *Miscellaneous Works*, original 4to edition,) has carefully summed up all the historical evidence that can be adduced in regard to the origin of Christianity, and the reader cannot fail to observe the meagre exhibit. It is as follows: " The historical monuments of the three first " centuries of ecclesiastical antiquity, are neither very numerous nor very prolix. " From the end of the *Acts of the Apostles*, to the time when the first *Apology* of " Justin Martyr was presented, there intervened a dark and doubtful period of " fourscore years; and, even if the *Epistles* of Ignatius should be approved by " the critic, they could not be very serviceable to the historian. From the middle " of the second, to the beginning of the fourth century, we gain our knowledge " of the state and progress of Christianity, from the successive *Apologies* which " were occasionally composed by Justin, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Origen, &c.; " from the *Epistles* of Cyprian; from a few *sincere* acts of the Martyrs; from some " moral or controversial tracts, which indirectly explain the events and manners " of the times; from the rare and accidental notice which profane writers have " taken of the Christian sect; from the declamatory narrative which celebrates " the deaths of the persecutors; and from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, " who has preserved some valuable fragments of more early writers."

There is a fatal gap of over 400 years between the time when the oldest manuscript, now in existence, was written, and the time of the Apostles. This gap cannot be filled by assertion nor by tradition. The break in the chain of evidence cannot be mended by penance, prayer, or faith. No lawyer would accept title-deeds to real property, when those deeds were unsigned, and acknowledged to have been written centuries after the owner's death. And shall we not be equally scrupulous in regard to our title to "mansions in the skies?" When an " English version of the *New Testament* is put into our hands," says Dr. Roberts, page 34, of the *Companion to the Revised Version*, " it is of the most vital import- " ance to be assured of the trustworthiness of the text on which that version is " based. Without this, everything else must be comparatively worthless." After stating this plain and fundamental truth, how could Dr. Roberts claim credence for a work which is based on tradition, on miracles, on faith, but not on positive historical evidence?

But even admitting that a genuine gospel text was now in existence, written in the Hebrew language, containing the signatures of the Apostles, signed in the presence of witnesses, duly certified by a Notary Public, and recorded in the Register's office at Jerusalem; there would still remain room for discussion in regard to a correct English translation, because it is extremely difficult to trans-

could not fall under the personal observation of the historian, he must have listened to the same voice which dictated to Isaiah the future conception of a virgin. The son of a virgin, generated by the ineffable operation of the Holy Spirit, was a creature without example or resemblance, superior in every attribute of mind and body to the children of Adam. Since the introduction of the Greek or Chaldean philosophy,[6] the Jews[7] were persuaded of the pre-existence, transmigration, and immortality of souls; and Providence was justified by a supposition, that they were confined in their earthly prisons to expiate the stains which they had

6 The metaphysics of the soul are disengaged by Cicero, (*Tusculan.* l. i.), and Maximus of Tyre, (*Dissertat.* xvi.) from the intricacies of dialogue, which sometimes amuse, and often perplex, the readers of the *Phædrus*, the *Phædon*, and the *laws* of Plato.

7 The disciples of Jesus were persuaded that a man might have sinned before he was born, (*John* ix 2), and the Pharisees held the transmigration of virtuous souls, (*Joseph. de Bell. Judaico*, l. ii. c. 7); and a modern Rabbi is modestly assured, that Hermes, Pythagoras, Plato, &c., derived their metaphysics from his illustrious countrymen.

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late correctly the old Hebrew of the first century, which was written with consonants, without vowels, points or punctuation marks—the proper vowels being supplied by the reader according to the apparent meaning. Thus, the consonants FLL, can be read, by introducing different vowels, *fall, fell, full, fill*, &c. Translators of equal knowledge and sincerity might supply different vowels to these consonants and thus change or reverse the intended meaning. This fact introduces an element of uncertainty in the translation, which is fatal to all pretence to divine inspiration or infallibility; but our English version cannot claim even this defective Hebrew original. It is confessedly composed from a selection and comparison of various anonymous Greek and Latin "originals," which originals were, it is claimed, translated from the original Hebrew by an unknown and uninspired translator. This fact should teach zealous believers to respect the honest doubts of those who have critically examined the subject, and who sincerely believe the bible to be a valuable work, entirely of human origin—containing sublime and noble truths, mixed with grave and radical errors, like all the productions that spring from the human intellect.

The learned William Smith, LL. D., Classical Examiner in the University of London, from whose *Bible Dictionary* we have already quoted, says, in his article on the *New Testament*: "No manuscript of the *New Testament* of the first three "centuries remains." * * * "It is evident that various readings existed in "the books of the *New Testament* at a time prior to all extant authorities." * * * "History affords no trace of the pure Apostolic originals." This admission, which gives the exact historical truth, concedes all that skeptical critics have claimed. It effectually disposes of all pretence to apostolic authority for the purity of the gospel text; and leaves its claim to reverence and belief resting, as it properly should, on intrinsic merit alone. By accepting this reasonable ground for the authority of our sacred books, ingenuity need not further be taxed to explain the difficulties that beset, and the evidences that disprove, their claim to infallibility and inspiration. Indeed, difficulties vanish when we admit the human origin of our Scriptures, and base their claim to credence, not on blind authority, but on the wisdom and morality they inculcate; not on the interested testimony of the early fathers, but on the treasures of past experience the books contain; not on assertions made by venal bishops or zealous monks, but on the grandest and noblest of all foundations—the simple majesty of TRUTH. Judged by this standard, we may reject the selfishness, the ignorance, the positive wickedness, our scriptures contain, and garner every noble thought, every just precept, every virtuous command, every wise legend, every word, in short, which tends to increase the sum of human happiness, and lessen the sum of human ignorance. "Read the bible then," to quote the words of Thomas Jefferson in his admirable letter to Peter Carr, "as you would read Livy or Tacitus, and judge its statements "by the same standard."—E.

contracted in a former state.[8] But the degrees of purity and corruption are almost immeasurable. It might be fairly presumed, that the most sublime and virtuous of human spirits was infused into the offspring of Mary and the Holy Ghost;[9] that his abasement was the result of his voluntary choice; and that the object of his mission was to purify, not his own, but the sins of the world. On his return to his native skies, he received the immense reward of his obedience; the everlasting kingdom of the Messiah, which had been darkly foretold by the prophets, under the carnal images of peace, of conquest, and of dominion. Omnipotence could enlarge the human faculties of Christ to the extent of his celestial office. In the language of antiquity, the title of God has not been severely confined to the first parent, and his incomparable minister, his only-begotten Son, might claim, without presumption, the religious, though secondary, worship of a subject world.

II. A pure God to the Docetes.

II. The seeds of the faith, which had slowly arisen in the rocky and ungrateful soil of Judea, were transplanted, in full maturity, to the happier climes of the Gentiles; and the strangers of Rome or Asia, who never beheld the manhood, were the more readily disposed to embrace the divinity, of Christ. The polytheist and the philosopher, the Greek and the barbarian, were alike accustomed to conceive a long succession, an infinite

[8] Four different opinions have been entertained concerning the origin of human souls*: 1. That they are eternal and divine. 2. That they were created, in a separate state of existence, before their union with the body. 3. That they have been propagated from the original stock of Adam, who contained in himself the mental as well as the corporeal seat of his posterity. 4. That each soul is occasionally created and embodied in the moment of conception.—The last of these sentiments appears to have prevailed among the moderns; and our spiritual history is grown less sublime, without becoming more intelligible.†

[9] Ὅτι ἡ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ψυχὴ ἡ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἦ,—was one of the fifteen heresies imputed to Origen, and denied by his apologist, (Photius, *Bibliothec. Cod.* cxvii. p. 296.) Some of the Rabbis attribute one and the same soul to the persons of Adam, David, and the Messiah.

* "How then," says Voltaire, "shall we be bold enough to affirm what the soul "is? We know certainly that we exist, that we feel, that we think. Seek we "to advance one step further—we fall into an abyss of darkness; and in this "abyss we have still the foolish temerity to dispute whether this soul, of which "we have not the least idea, is made before us or with us, and whether it is "perishable or immortal?

"We dare to put the question, whether the intelligent soul is spirit or matter; "whether it is created before us, or proceeds from nothing at our birth; whether, "after animating us for a day on this earth, it lives after us in eternity. These "questions appear sublime; what are they? Questions of blind men asking one "another—What is light?"—E.

† Previous existence, of which we are entirely unconscious, is tantamount to non-existence, and the belief in it has never gained ground, though sanctioned by great names. The growth of the intellectual principle through the successive stages of spirit, mind, and soul, is taught us by the combined lessons of nature, experience, and religion.—ENG. CH.

chain, of angels, or dæmons, or deities, or æons, or emanations, issuing from the throne of light. Nor could it seem strange or incredible, that the first of these æons, the *Logos*, or word of God, of the same substance with the Father, should descend upon earth, to deliver the human race from vice and error, and to conduct them in the paths of life and immortality. But the prevailing doctrine of the eternity and inherent pravity of matter infected the primitive churches of the East. Many among the Gentile proselytes refused to believe that a celestial spirit, an undivided portion of the first essence, had been personally united with a mass of impure and contaminated flesh: and, in their zeal for the divinity, they piously abjured the humanity of Christ. While his blood was still recent on Mount Calvary,[10] the *Docetes*, a numerous and learned sect of Asiatics, invented the *phantastic* system, which was afterwards propagated by the Marcionites, the Manichæans, and the various names of the Gnostic heresy.[11] They denied the truth and authenticity of the Gospels, as far as they relate the conception of Mary, the birth of Christ, and the thirty years that preceded the exercise of his ministry. He first appeared on the banks of the Jordan in the form of perfect manhood; but it was a form only, and not a substance; a human figure created by the hand of Omnipotence to imitate the faculties and actions of a man, and to impose a perpetual illusion on the senses of his friends and enemies. Articulate sounds vibrated on

10 Apostolis adhuc in seculo superstitibus, apud Judæam Christi sanguine recente, PHANTASMA domini corpus asserebatur. *Hieronym. adv. Lucifer.* c. 8. The epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnæans, and even the Gospel according to St. John, are leveled against the growing error of the Docetes, who had obtained too much credit in the world, (1 *John.* iv. 1–5.)

11 About the year 200 of the Christian era, Irenæus and Hippolytus refuted the thirty-two sects, τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνωσέως, which had multiplied to fourscore in the time of Epiphanius (*Phot. Biblioth.* cod. cxx. cxxi. cxxii). The five books of Irenæus exist only in barbarous Latin: but the original might perhaps be found in some monastery of Greece.*

* It is very doubtful whether there ever was a Greek original of them. The opinion of Erasmus, that they were written in Latin, although generally dissented from, is highly probable. They were designed by Irenæus to check the progress of Gnosticism in the Western provinces, where it had been introduced by Valentine, when he visited Rome, and against whom all the arguments are particularly directed. If Irenænus had addressed the Christians around him in Greek, not one in a thousand would have understood him, nor could his work have made the impression which it is said to have produced in his diocese. Its "barbarous Latin" is what might have been expected from a Greek, who had learned it at Lyons; and the apology, in his preface, for the inaccuracies of a style, formed amid so rude a population, would never have been applied by him to a composition in his mother-tongue, which he had acquired in all its purity by a careful Ionian education. Fragments of letters in Greek, to some of his friends, prove nothing; and the passages in the books *Adv. Hær.* which are used by Eusebius and others, were, no doubt, translated by them.—ENG CH.

the ears of the disciples; but the image, which was impressed on their optic nerve, eluded the more stubborn evidence of the touch; and they enjoyed the spiritual, not the corporeal, presence of the Son of God. The rage of the Jews was idly wasted against an impassive phantom; and the mystic scenes of the passion and death, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, were represented on the theatre of Jerusalem for the benefit of mankind. If it were urged, that such ideal mimicry, such incessant deception, was unworthy of the God of truth, the Docetes agreed with too many of their orthodox brethren in the justification of pious falsehood. In the system of the Gnostics, the Jehovah of Israel, the Creator of this lower world, was a rebellious, or at least an ignorant, spirit. The Son of God descended upon earth to abolish his temple and his law; and, for the accomplishment of this salutary end, he dexterously transferred to his own person the hope and prediction of a temporal Messiah.

His incorruptible body.

One of the most subtle disputants of the Manichæan school, has pressed the danger and indecency of supposing, that the God of the Christians, in the state of a human fœtus, emerged at the end of nine months from a female womb. The pious horror of his antagonists provoked them to disclaim all sensual circumstances of conception and delivery; to maintain, that the divinity passed through Mary like a sun-beam through a plate of glass; and to assert, that the seal of her virginity remained unbroken even at the moment when she became the mother of Christ. But the rashness of these concessions has encouraged a milder sentiment of those of the Docetes, who taught, not that Christ was a phantom, but that he was clothed with an impassible and incorruptible body. Such, indeed, in the more orthodox system, he has acquired since his resurrection, and such he must have always possessed, if it were capable of pervading, without resistance or injury, the density of intermediate matter. Devoid of its most essential properties, it might be exempt from the attributes and infirmities of the flesh. A fœtus that could increase from an invisible point to its full maturity; a child, that could attain the stature of perfect manhood, without deriving any nourishment from the ordinary sources, might continue to exist without repairing a daily waste by a daily supply of external matter. Jesus might share the repasts of his disciples without being subject to the calls of thirst or hunger; and his virgin purity was never sullied by the

involuntary stains of sensual concupiscence. Of a body thus singularly constituted, a question would arise, by what means, and of what materials, it was originally framed; and our sounder theology is startled by an answer which was not peculiar to the Gnostics, that both the form and the substance proceeded from the divine essence. The idea of pure and absolute spirit is a refinement of modern philosophy: the incorporeal essence, ascribed by the ancients to human souls, celestial beings, and even the Deity himself, does not exclude the notion of extended space; and their imagination was satisfied with a subtle nature of air, or fire, or æther, incomparably more perfect than the grossness of the material world. If we define the place, we must describe the figure of the Deity. Our experience, perhaps our vanity, represents the powers of reason and virtue under a human form. The Anthropomorphites, who swarmed among the monks of Egypt and the Catholics of Africa, could produce the express declaration of Scripture, that man was made after the image of his Creator.[12] The venerable Serapion, one of the saints of the Nitrian desert, relinquished, with many a tear, his darling prejudice; and bewailed, like an infant, his unlucky conversion, which had stolen away his God, and left his mind without any visible object of faith or devotion.[13]

III. Double nature of Cerinthus.

III. Such were the fleeting shadows of the Docetes. A more substantial, though less simple, hypothesis, was contrived by Cerinthus of Asia,[14] who dared to oppose the last of the apostles. Placed on the confines of the Jewish and Gentile world, he labored to

12 The pilgrim Cassian, who visited Egypt in the beginning of the fifth century, observes and laments the reign of anthropomorphism among the monks, who were not conscious that they embraced the system of Epicurus, (Cicero, *de Nat. Deorum*, i. 18, 34). Ab universo propemodum genere monachorum, qui per totam provinciam Egyptum morabantur, pro simplicitatis errore susceptum est, ut e contrario memoratum pontificem (*Theophilus*) velut hæresi gravissima depravatum, pars maxima seniorum ab universo fraternitatis corpore decerneret detestandum. (Cassian, *Collation*, x. 2.) As long as St. Augustin remained a Manichæan, he was scandalized by the anthropomorphism of the vulgar Catholics.

13 Ita est in oratione senex mente confusus, eo quod illam ἀνθρωπομορφον imaginem Deitatis, quam proponere sibi in oratione consueverat, aboleri de suo corde sentiret, ut in amarissimos fletus, crebrosque singultus repente prorumpens, in terram prostratus, cum ejulatu validissimo proclamaret; "Heu me miserum! "tulerunt a me Deum meum, et quem nunc teneam nonhabeo, vel quem adorem, "aut interpellam jam nescio." Cassian. *Collat.* x. 2.

14 St. John and Cerinthus, (A. D. 80. Cleric. *Hist. Eccles* p. 493), accidentally met in the public bath of Ephesus; but the apostle fled from the heretic, lest the building should tumble on their heads. This foolish story, reprobated by Dr. Middleton, (*Miscellaneous Works*, vol. ii.), is related, however, by Irenæus, (iii. 3), on the evidence of Polycarp, and was probably suited to the time and residence of Cerinthus. The obsolete, yet probably the true reading of *1 John*, iv. 3—*ὁ λύει τὸν Ἰησοῦν*—alludes to the double nature of that primitive heretic.*

* Griesbach asserts that all the Greek MSS., all the translators, and all the Greek fathers, support the common reading.—*Nov. Test.* in loc.—MILMAN.

reconcile the Gnostic with the Ebionite, by confessing in the same Messiah the supernatural union of a man and a God: and this mystic doctrine was adopted with many fanciful improvements by Carpocrates, Basilides, and Valentine,[15] the heretics of the Egyptian school. In their eyes, JESUS of Nazareth was a mere mortal, the legitimate son of Joseph and Mary: but he was the best and wisest of the human race, selected as the worthy instrument to restore upon earth the worship of the true and supreme Deity. When he was baptized in the Jordan, the CHRIST, the first of the æons, the Son of God himself, descended on Jesus in the form of a dove, to inhabit his mind and direct his actions, during the allotted period of his ministry. When the Messiah was delivered into the hands of the Jews, the Christ, an immortal and impassible being, forsook his earthly tabernacle, flew back to the *pleroma*, or world of spirits, and left the solitary Jesus to suffer, to complain, and to expire. But the justice and generosity of such a desertion are strongly questionable; and the fate of an innocent martyr, at first impelled, and at length abandoned, by his divine companion, might provoke the pity and indignation of the profane. Their murmurs were variously silenced by the sectaries who espoused and modified the double system of Cerinthus. It was alleged, that when Jesus was nailed to the cross, he was endowed with a miraculous apathy of mind and body, which rendered him insensible of his apparent sufferings. It was affirmed, that these momentary, though real pangs, would be abundantly repaid by the temporal reign of a thousand years reserved for the Messiah in his kingdom of the new Jerusalem. It was insinuated, that if he suffered, he deserved to suffer; that human nature is never absolutely perfect; and that the cross and passion might serve to expiate the venial transgressions of the son of Joseph, before his mysterious union with the Son of God.[16]

[15] The Valentinians embraced a complex, and almost incoherent, system. —1. Both Christ and Jesus were æons, though of different degrees; the one acting as the rational soul, the other as the divine spirit, of the Savior. 2. At the time of the passion, they both retired, and left only a sensitive soul and a human body. 3. Even that body was ethereal and perhaps apparent.—Such are the laborious conclusions of Mosheim. But I much doubt whether the Latin translator understood Irenæus, and whether Irenæus and the Valentinians understood themselves.

[16] The heretics abused the passionate exclamation of "My God, my God, why "hast thou *forsaken* me?" Rousseau, who has drawn an eloquent, but indecent, parallel between Christ and Socrates, forgets that not a word of impatience or despair escaped from the mouth of the dying philosopher. In the Messiah, such sentiments could only be apparent; and such ill-sounding words are properly explained as the application of a psalm and prophecy.*

* See *Ingersoll's Interviews on Talmage*, p. 443, for an impressive application of this text.—E.

IV. Divine incarnation of Apollinaris.

IV. All those who believe the immateriality of the soul, a specious and noble tenet, must confess, from their present experience, the incomprehensible union of mind and matter. A similar union is not inconsistent with a much higher, or even with the highest, degree of mental faculties; and the incarnation of an æon or arch-angel, the most perfect of created spirits, does not involve any positive contradiction or absurdity. In the age of religious freedom, which was determined by the council of Nice, the dignity of Christ was measured by private judgment, according to the indefinite rule of Scripture, or reason, or tradition. But when his pure and proper divinity had been established on the ruins of Arianism, the faith of the Catholics trembled on the edge of a precipice, where it was impossible to recede, dangerous to stand, dreadful to fall; and the manifold inconveniences of their creed were aggravated by the sublime character of their theology. They hesitated to pronounce; *that* God himself, the second person of an equal and consubstantial trinity, was manifested in the flesh;[17] *that* a being who pervades

[17] This strong expression might be justified by the language of St. Paul, (*1 Tim.* iii. 16); but we are deceived by our modern Bibles. The word ὁ **which*) ‡ was altered to θεος (God) at Constantinople in the beginning of the sixth century: the true reading, which is visible in the Latin and Syriac versions, still exists in the reasoning of the Greek, as well as of the Latin fathers; and this fraud, with that of the *three witnesses of St. John*, is admirably detected by Sir Isaac Newton. (See his two letters translated by M. de Missy, in the *Journal Britannique*, tom. xv. pp. 148–190, 351–390.) I have weighed the arguments, and may yield to the authority of the first of philosophers, who was deeply skilled in critical and theological studies.

* It should be ὅζ. Griesbach in loc. The weight of authority is so much against the common reading on both these points, that they are no longer urged by prudent controversialists. Would Gibbon's deference for the *first of philosophers* have extended to *all* his theological conclusions?—MILMAN.†

† Sir Isaac Newton detected and exposed a pious fraud in the translation of the *New Testament*, and Edward Gibbon worthily seconded his efforts in exposing the falsehood. For this service, they deserve the thanks of every friend of truth; and if Dean Milman, the learned Prebendary of St. Peter's, and Rector of St. Margaret's, Westminster, was not willing to assist in this good work, it would have been greatly to his credit to have observed the dignified silence of the English Churchman, and not to have betrayed his annoyance by this puerile question.—E.

‡ The revisers of the *New Testament* have substituted in the place of "which," the words "He who," and the text now reads in the *Revised Version*, "He who "was manifested in the flesh," instead of the Trinitarian formula of the King James' version, "God was manifest in the flesh."

The word "fraud," which Gibbon here applies to the zealous Christians of the sixth century, who did not scruple to commit the outrageous crime of falsifying the Scriptures, is fully justified by the facts; and the learned editors of the old King James' version who adopted the corrupted text, and the religious teachers and preachers who succeeded them and have not protested against the fraud, and the Christian scholars of to-day, who still print, and circulate, and uphold this *King James' Bible*, knowing it to be tainted with positive error, are as guilty as the first zealots of Constantinople who consummated the iniquity. Let us hope that all bible publishers and zealous Christians may yet realize, that it is wiser and nobler to publish the truth than to uphold established errors, and that it is incomparably better that even the Arian doctrine of the Unity of God should

the universe had been confined in the womb of Mary; *that* his eternal duration had been marked by the days, and months, and years, of human existence; *that* the Almighty had been scourged and crucified; *that* his impassible essence had felt pain and anguish; *that* his omniscience was not exempt from ignorance; and *that* the source of life and immortality expired on Mount Calvary.* These alarming consequences were affirmed with unblushing simplicity by Apollinaris,[18] bishop of Laodicea, and one of the luminaries of the church. The son of a learned grammarian, he was skilled in all the sciences of Greece; eloquence, erudition, and philosophy, conspicuous in the volumes of Apollinaris, were humbly devoted to the service of religion. The worthy friend of Athanasius, the worthy antagonist of Julian, he bravely wrestled with the Arians and polytheists, and, though he affected the rigor of geometrical demonstration, his commentaries revealed the literal and allegorical sense of the Scriptures. A mystery, which had long floated in the looseness of popular belief, was defined by his perverse

18 For Apollinaris and his sect, see *Socrates*, l. ii, c. 46, l. iii. c. 16. *Sozomen*, l. v. c. 18, l. vi. c. 25, 27. *Theodoret.* l. v. 3, 10, 11. Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclesiastiques*, tom. vii. pp. 602-638. *Not.* pp. 789-794, in 4to., Venise, 1732. The contemporary saints always mention the bishop of Laodicea as a friend and brother. The style of the more recent historians is harsh and hostile; yet Philostorgius compares him, (l. viii. c. 11-15) to Basil and Gregory.†

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prevail, than that the orthodox Trinitarian dogma of the Incarnation should be upheld by fraud and forgery.

With some noble exceptions, clergymen are prone to conceal errors and to condone frauds, if the errors are contained in their creeds, and if the frauds are published as the word of God. How seldom do we hear these reverend men denounce St. Paul for lying for "the truth of God," as he boldly claimed to have done, (*Rom.* iii. 7). How seldom do we hear them denounce the interpolations in the Scriptures, with which every scholar is familiar, and by which the great mass of believers are deceived. Even the revisers of the *New Testament* treat these errors tenderly and cautiously, fearful "lest they should give offence." Dr. Roberts, the pious and learned editor of the *Companion to the Revised Version*, denounces in the daintiest language the gravest offences. Observe his arraignment of the illustrious Erasmus, who edited one of the first editions of the *Greek New Testament*, and the reader will understand the force of the Weaver's remark in *Midsummer-Night's Dream:*

"I will roar you as gently as any sucking dove."

After stating that Erasmus, for want of documentary materials, had recourse to the Latin Vulgate, and had "*conjecturally re-translated* the Latin into "Greek." Dr. Roberts continues, (p. 41, *Companion to the Revised Version*): "Hence has arisen the remarkable fact that in the text from which our Authorized "Version was formed, and in the ordinary uncritical editions of the Greek cur- "rent at the present day, there were, and are, words in the professed original "for which no Divine authority can be pleaded, but which are entirely due to the "learning and imagination of Erasmus."

Thus we are indebted to the "*learning and imagination* of Erasmus" for at least a portion of the sacred Scriptures, and how much of the remaining portion of that great work we are indebted for to the learning and imagination of other parties, it would be hazardous to conjecture.—E.

* This passage deserves a careful perusal by Trinitarians. The Unitarian doctrine is more rational.—E.

† Neander, (*Hist. of Christ.* 4. pp. 98-106), has given an elaborate summary of the opinions of Apollinaris, usefully tracing the first form of those abtruse speculations which were perverted to such evil ends.—ENG. CH.

diligence in a technical form; and he first proclaimed the memorable words, "One incarnate nature of Christ," which are still re-echoed with hostile clamors in the churches of Asia, Egypt, and Æthiopia. He taught that the Godhead was united or mingled with the body of a man; and that the *Logos*, the eternal wisdom, supplied in the flesh the place and office of a human soul. Yet as the profound doctor had been terrified at his own rashness, Apollinaris was heard to mutter some faint accents of excuse and explanation. He acquiesced in the old distinction of the Greek philosophers, between the rational and sensitive soul of man, that he might reserve the *Logos* for intellectual functions, and employ the subordinate human principle in the meaner actions of animal life. With the moderate Docetes, he revered Mary as the spiritual, rather than as the carnal, mother of Christ, whose body either came from heaven, impassible and incorruptible, or was absorbed, and as it were transformed, into the essence of the Deity. The system of Apollinaris was strenuously encountered by the Asiatic and Syrian divines, whose schools are honored by the names of Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostom, and tainted by those of Diodorus, Theodore, and Nestorius. But the person of the aged bishop of Laodicea, his character and dignity, remained inviolate; and his rivals, since we may not suspect them of the weakness of toleration, were astonished, perhaps, by the novelty of the argument, and diffident of the final sentence of the Catholic church. Her judgment at length inclined in their favor; the heresy of Apollinaris was condemned, and the separate congregations of his disciples were proscribed by the imperial laws. But his principles were secretly entertained in the monasteries of Egypt, and his enemies felt the hatred of Theophilus and Cyril, the successive patriarchs of Alexandria.

V. Orthodox consent and verbal disputes.

V. The groveling Ebionite, and the fantastic Docetes, were rejected and forgotten: the recent zeal against the errors of Apollinaris, reduced the Catholics to a seeming agreement with the double nature of Cerinthus. But, instead of a temporary and occasional alliance, *they* established, and *we* still embrace, the substantial, indissoluble, and everlasting union of a perfect God with a perfect man, of the second person of the Trinity with a reasonable soul and human flesh. In the beginning of the fifth century the *unity* of the *two natures*

was the prevailing doctrine of the church. On all sides, it was confessed that the mode of their co-existence could neither be represented by our ideas, nor expressed by our language. Yet a secret and incurable discord was cherished, between those who were most apprehensive of confounding, and those who were more fearful of separating, the divinity and the humanity of Christ. Impelled by religious frenzy, they fled with adverse haste from the error which they mutually deemed most destructive of truth and salvation. On either hand they were anxious to guard, they were jealous to defend, the union and the distinction of the two natures, and to invent such forms of speech, such symbols of doctrine, as were least susceptible of doubt or ambiguity. The poverty of ideas and language tempted them to ransack art and nature for every possible comparison, and each comparison misled their fancy in the explanation of an incomparable mystery. In the polemic microscope, an atom is enlarged to a monster, and each party was skillful to exaggerate the absurd or impious conclusions that might be extorted from the principles of their adversaries. To escape from each other, they wandered through many a dark and devious thicket, till they were astonished by the horrid phantoms of Cerinthus and Apollinaris, who guarded the opposite issues of the theological labyrinth. As soon as they beheld the twilight of sense and heresy, they started, measured back their steps, and were again involved in the gloom of impenetrable orthodoxy. To purge themselves from the guilt or reproach of damnable error, they disavowed their consequences, explained their principles, excused their indiscretions, and unanimously pronounced the sounds of concord and faith. Yet a latent and almost invisible spark still lurked among the embers of controversy; by the breath of prejudice and passion, it was quickly kindled to a mighty flame, and the verbal disputes[19] of the oriental sects have shaken the pillars of the church and state.

A. D. 412, Oct. 18. A. D. 444, June 27.

The name of CYRIL of Alexandria is famous in controversial story, and the title of *saint* is a mark that his opinions and his party have finally

[19] I appeal to the confession of two Oriental prelates, Gregory Abulpharagius the Jacobite primate of the East, and Elias the Nestorian metropolitan of Damascus (see *Asseman. Bibliothec. Oriental.* tom. ii. p. 291, tom. iii. p. 514, &c.), that the Melchites, Jacobites, Nestorians, &c., agree in the *doctrine*, and differ only in the *expression*. Our most learned and rational divines—Basnage, Le Clerc, Beausobre, La Croze, Mosheim, Jablonski—are inclined to favor this charitable judgment; but the zeal of Petavius is loud and angry, and the moderation of Dupin is conveyed in a whisper.

prevailed. In the house of his uncle, the archbishop Theophilus, he imbibed the orthodox lessons of zeal and dominion, and five years of his youth were profitably spent in the adjacent monasteries of Nitria. Under the tuition of the abbot Serapion, he applied himself to ecclesiastical studies with such indefatigable ardor, that in the course of *one* sleepless night he has perused the four Gospels, the Catholic Epistles, and the Epistle to the Romans. Origen he detested; but the writings of Clemens and Dionysius, of Athanasius and Basil, were continually in his hands: by the theory and practice of dispute, his faith was confirmed and his wit was sharpened; he extended round his cell the cobwebs of scholastic theology,* and meditated the works of allegory and metaphysics, whose remains, in seven verbose folios, now peaceably slumber by the side of their rivals.[20] Cyril prayed and fasted in the desert, but his thoughts (it is the reproach of a friend[21]) were still fixed on the world; and the call of Theophilus, who summoned him to the tumult of cities and synods, was too readily obeyed by the aspiring hermit. With the approbation of his uncle he assumed the office, and acquired the fame, of a popular preacher. His comely person adorned the pulpit, the harmony of his

Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria.

20 La Croze, (*Hist. du Christianisme des Indes*, tom. i. p. 24), avows his contempt for the genius and writings of Cyril. De tous les ouvrages des anciens il y en a peu qu'on lise avec moins d'utilité : and Dupin, (*Bibliothèque Ecclesiastique*, tom. iv. pp. 42–52), in words of respect, teaches us to despise them.

21 Of *Isidore of Pelusium*, (l. i. epist. 25. p. 8). As the letter is not of the most creditable sort, Tillemont, less sincere than the Bollandists, affects a doubt whether *this* Cyril is the nephew of Theophilus, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. xiv. p. 268).†

* Philosophers and laymen cannot expect to entirely comprehend the mystery of theology, which is of so intricate and abtruse a nature as to perplex and confuse the minds of the very elect. No writer of ancient or modern times has equaled in interest and vivacity the clearly expressed ideas of M. de Voltaire on theological subjects, and his explanations, will please and instruct the orthodox reader. "The theologian," says the witty Frenchman, "knows perfectly that, "according to St. Thomas, angels are corporeal with relation to God; that the "soul receives its being in the body; and that man has a vegatative, sensitive, "and intellectual soul.

"That the soul is all in all, and all in every part.
"That it is the efficient and formal cause of the body.
"That it is the greatest in nobleness of form.
"That the appetite is a passive power.
"That archangels are the medium between angels and principalities.
"That baptism regenerates of itself and by chance.
"That the catechism is not a sacrament but sacramental.
"That certainty springs from the cause and subject.
"That concupiscence is the appetite of sensitive delectation.
"That conscience is an act and not a power.

"The angel of the schools has written about 4,000 fine pages in this style, and "a shaven-crowned young man passes three years in filling his brains with this "sublime knowledge, after which he receives the bonnet of a doctor of Sorbonne, "instead of going to Bedlam."—E.

† The character and proceedings of Cyril have already been considered, (ch. 32, vol. iii. p. 514.—ENG. CH.

voice resounded in the cathedral, his friends were stationed to lead or second the applause of the congregation,[22] and the hasty notes of the scribes preserved his discourses, which, in their effect, though not in their composition, might be compared with those of the Athenian orators. The death of Theophilus expanded and realized the hopes of his nephew. The clergy of Alexandria was divided; the soldiers and their general supported the claims of the archdeacon; but a resistless multitude, with voices and with hands, asserted the cause of their favorite; and, after a period of thirty-nine years, Cyril was seated on the throne of Athanasius.[23]

His tyranny, A. D. 413, 414, 415, &c.

The prize was not unworthy of his ambition. At a distance from the court, and at the head of an immense capital, the patriarch, as he was now styled, of Alexandria, had gradually usurped the state and authority of a civil magistrate. The public and private charities of the city were managed by his discretion; his voice inflamed or appeased the passions of the multitude; his commands were blindly obeyed by his numerous and fanatic *parabolani*,[24] familiarized in their daily office with scenes of death; and the præfects of Egypt were awed or provoked by the temporal power of these Christian pontiffs. Ardent in the prosecution of heresy, Cyril auspiciously opened his reign by oppressing the Novatians, the most innocent and harmless of the sectaries. The interdiction of their religious worship appeared in his eyes a just and meritorious act; and he confiscated their holy vessels, without apprehending the guilt of sacrilege. The toleration, and even the privileges, of the Jews, who had multiplied to the number of forty thousand, were secured by the laws of the Cæsars and Ptolemies, and a long prescription of seven hundred years since the foundation of Alexandria. Without

[22] A grammarian is named by *Socrates*, (l. vii. c. 13), *διάπυρος δὲ ακροατὴς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κυρίλλου καθεστὼς, καὶ περὶ τὸ κρότους ἐν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις αὐτοῦ ἐγειρειν ἦν σπουδαιότατος.*

[23] See the youth and promotion of Cyril, in *Socrates*, (l. vii. c. 7), and Renaudot (*Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* pp. 106, 108). The Abbé Renaudot drew his materials from the *Arabic History* of Severus, bishop of Hermopolis Magna, or Ashmunein, in the tenth century, who can never be trusted, unless our assent is extorted by the internal evidence of facts.

[24] The *Parabolani* of Alexandria were a charitable corporation, instituted during the plague of Gallienus, to visit the sick and to bury the dead. They gradually enlarged, abused, and sold the privileges of their order. Their outrageous conduct during the reign of Cyril provoked the emperor to deprive the patriarch of their nomination, and to restrain their number to five or six hundred. But these restraints were transient and ineffectual. See the *Theodosian Code*, l. xvi. tit. ii, and Tillemont, *Mém Eccles.* tom. xiv. pp. 276–278.

any legal sentence, without any royal mandate, the patriarch, at the dawn of day, led a seditious multitude to the attack of the synagogues. Unarmed and unprepared, the Jews were incapable of resistance; their houses of prayer were leveled with the ground, and the episcopal warrior, after rewarding his troops with the plunder of their goods, expelled from the city the remnant of the unbelieving nation. Perhaps he might plead the insolence of their prosperity, and their deadly hatred of the Christians, whose blood they had recently shed in a malicious or accidental tumult. Such crimes would have deserved the animadversion of the magistrate; but in this promiscuous outrage, the innocent were confounded with the guilty, and Alexandria was impoverished by the loss of a wealthy and industrious colony. The zeal of Cyril exposed him to the penalties of the Julian law; but in a feeble government, and a superstitious age, he was secure of impunity, and even of praise. Orestes complained; but his just complaints were too quickly forgotten by the ministers of Theodosius, and too deeply remembered by a priest who affected to pardon, and continued to hate, the præfect of Egypt. As he passed through the streets, his chariot was assaulted by a band of five hundred of the Nitrian monks; his guards fled from the wild beasts of the desert; his protestations that he was a Christian and a Catholic, were answered by a volley of stones, and the face of Orestes was covered with blood. The loyal citizens of Alexandria hastened to his rescue; he instantly satisfied his justice and revenge against the monk by whose hand he had been wounded, and Ammonius expired under the rod of the lictor. At the command of Cyril his body was raised from the ground, and transported in solemn procession to the cathedral; the name of Ammonius was changed to that of Thaumasius the *wonderful;* his tomb was decorated with the trophies of martyrdom, and the patriarch ascended the pulpit to celebrate the magnanimity of an assassin and a rebel. Such honors might incite the faithful to combat and die under the banners of the saint; and he soon prompted, or accepted, the sacrifice of a virgin, who professed the religion of the Greeks, and cultivated the friendship of Orestes. Hypatia, the daughter of Theon the mathematician, was initiated in her father's studies: her learned comments have elucidated the geometry of Apollonius and Diophantus, and she

publicly taught, both at Athens and Alexandria, the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle.[25] In the bloom of beauty, and in the maturity of wisdom, the modest maid refused her lovers and instructed her disciples; the persons most illustrious for their rank or merit were impatient to visit the female philosopher; and Cyril beheld, with a jealous eye, the gorgeous train of horses and slaves who crowded the door of her academy. A rumor was spread among the Christians, that the daughter of Theon was the only obstacle to the reconciliation of the præfect and the archbishop; and that obstacle was speedily removed. On a fatal day, in the holy season of Lent, Hypatia was torn from her chariot, stripped naked, dragged to the church, and inhumanly butchered by the hands of Peter the reader, and a troop of savage and merciless fanatics: her flesh was scraped from her bones with sharp oyster-shells,[26] and her quivering limbs were delivered to the flames. The just progress of inquiry and punishment was stopped by seasonable gifts; but the murder of Hypatia has imprinted an indelible stain on the character and religion* of Cyril of Alexandria.[27]

Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, A. D. 428. April 10.

Superstition, perhaps, would more gently expiate the blood of a virgin, than the banishment of a saint; and Cyril had accompanied his uncle to the iniquitous synod of the Oak. When the memory of Chrysostom was restored and consecrated, the nephew of Theophilus, at the head of a dying faction, still maintained the justice of his sentence; nor was it till after a tedious delay and an obstinate resistance, that he

[25] For Theon and his daughter Hypatia, see Fabricius, *Bibliothec.* tom viii. pp. 210, 211. Her article in the *Lexicon* of Suidas is curious and original. Hesychius, (*Meursii Opera*, tom. vii. pp. 295, 296), observes, that she was persecuted *διὰ τὴν υπερβάλλουσαν σοφίαν*; and an epigram in the *Greek Anthology* (l. i c, 76, p. 159, edit. Brodæi), celebrates her knowledge and eloquence. She is honorably mentioned, (*Epist.* 10, 15, 16, 33–80, 124, 135, 153), by her friend and disciple the philosophic bishop Synesius.†

[26] *Ὀστράκοις ἀνείλον, καὶ μεληδὸν διασπάσαντες*, &c., Oyster shells were plentifully strewed on the sea beach before the Cæsareum. I may therefore prefer the literal sense, without rejecting the metaphorical version of *tegulæ*, tiles, which is used by M. de Valois. I am ignorant, and the assassins were probably regardless, whether their victim was yet alive.

[27] These exploits of St. Cyril are recorded by *Socrates*, (l. vii. c. 13, 14, 15), and the most reluctant bigotry is compelled to copy an historian who coolly styles the murderers of Hypatia *ἀνδρες τὸ φρόνημα ἔνθερμοι*. At the mention of that injured name, I am pleased to observe a blush even on the cheek of Baronius, (A. D. 415, No. 48).

* Was Paganism ever guilty of such barbarism and intolerance? — E.

† Suidas says that Hypatia was married to the philosopher Isidorus. *Clinton, F. R.* i 589.—ENG. CH.

yielded to the consent of the Catholic world.[28] His enmity to the Byzantine pontiffs[29] was a sense of interest, not a sally of passion: he envied their fortunate station in the sunshine of the imperial court; and he dreaded their upstart ambition, which oppressed the metropolitans of Europe and Asia, invaded the provinces of Antioch and Alexandria, and measured their diocese by the limits of the empire. The long moderation of Atticus, the mild usurper of the throne of Chrysostom, suspended the animosities of the Eastern patriarchs; but Cyril was at length awakened by the exaltation of a rival more worthy of his esteem and hatred. After the short and troubled reign of Sisinnius, bishop of Constantinople, the factions of the clergy and people were appeased by the choice of the emperor, who, on this occasion, consulted the voice of fame, and invited the merit of a stranger. Nestorius,[30] a native of Germanicia, and a monk of Antioch, was recommended by the austerity of his life, and the eloquence of his sermons; but the first homily which he preached before the devout Theodosius betrayed the acrimony and impatience of his zeal. "Give "me, O Cæsar!" he exclaimed, "give me the earth purged "of heretics, and I will give you in exchange the kingdom "of heaven. Exterminate with me, the heretics; and with "you, I will exterminate the Persians." On the fifth day, as if the treaty had been already signed, the patriarch of Constantinople discovered, surprised, and attacked, a secret conventicle of the Arians: they preferred death to submission; the flames that were kindled by their despair, soon spread to the neighboring houses, and the triumph of Nestorius was clouded by the name of *incendiary*. On either side of the Hellespont, his episcopal vigor imposed a rigid formulary of faith and discipline; a chronological error concerning the festival of Easter was punished as an offence against the church and state. Lydia and Caria,

[28] He was deaf to the entreaties of Atticus of Constantinople, and of Isidore of Pelusium, and yielded only (if we may believe *Nicephorus*, l. xiv. c. 18), to the personal intercession of the Virgin. Yet in his last years he still muttered, that John Chrysostom had been justly condemned, (Tillemont, *Mém Eccles.* tom. xiv. pp. 278–282. Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 412, No. 46–64).*

[29] See their characters in the history of *Socrates*, (l. vii. c. 25–28); their power and pretensions, in the huge compilation of Thomassin, (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. pp 80–91).

[30] His elevation and conduct are described by *Socrates*, (l. vii. c 29, 31); and Marcellinus seems to have applied the eloquentiæ satis, sapientiæ parum, of Sallust.

* For the synod of the Oak and the fate of Chrysostom, see ch. 32, vol. iii, p. 505. —ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

Sardes and Miletus, were purified with the blood of the obstinate Quartodecimans; and the edict of the emperor, or rather of the patriarch, enumerates three and twenty degrees and denominations in the guilt and punishment of heresy.[31] But the sword of persecution which Nestorius so furiously wielded was soon turned against his own breast. Religion was the pretence; but, in the judgment of a contemporary saint, ambition was the genuine motive of episcopal warfare.[32]

His heresy, A. D. 429–431.

In the Syrian school, Nestorius had been taught to abhor the confusion of the two natures, and nicely to discriminate the humanity of his *master* Christ from the divinity of the *Lord* Jesus.[33] The Blessed Virgin he revered as the mother of Christ, but his ears were offended with the rash and recent title of mother of God,[34] which had been insensibly adopted since the origin of the Arian controversy. From the pulpit of Constantinople, a friend of the patriarch, and afterwards the patriarch himself, repeatedly preached against the use, or the abuse, of a word[35] unknown to the apostles, unauthorized

[31] *Cod. Theodos.* l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 65, with the illustrations of Baronius, (A. D. 428, No. 25, &c.), Godefroy, (ad locum), and Pagi, (*Critica*, tom. ii. p. 208).

[32] *Isidore of Pelusium*, (l. iv. Epist. 57). His words are strong and scandalous —τί θαυμάζεις, εἰ καὶ νῦν περι πράγμα θεῖον καὶ γόγου κρεῖττον διαφωνεῖν προσποιοῦνται ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας ἐκβακχευόμενοι. Isidore is a saint, but he never became a bishop; and I half suspect that the pride of Diogenes trampled on the pride of Plato.*

[33] La Croze, (*Christianisme des Indes*, tom. i. pp. 44–53. Thesaurus Epistolicus, (*La Crozianus*, tom. iii. pp. 276–280), has detected the use of ὁ δεσπότης and ο κυρίος Ιησοῦς, which, in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, discriminates the school of Diodorus of Tarsus and his Nestorian disciples.

[34] Θεοτόκος—*Deipara*; as in zoology, we familiarly speak of oviparous and viviparous animals. It is not easy to fix the invention of this word, which La Croze, (*Christianisme des Indes*, tom. i. p. 16), ascribes to Eusebius of Cæsarea and the Arians. The orthodox testimonies are produced by Cyril and Petavius (*Dogmat. Theolog.* tom. v. l. v. c. 15, p. 254, &c.); but the veracity of the saint is questionable, and the epithet of θεοτόκος so easily slides from the margin to the text of a Catholic MS.

[35] Basnage, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, a work of controversy, (tom. i. p. 505), justifies the mother, by the blood, of God, (*Acts*, xx. 28, with Mill's various readings). But the Greek MSS. are far from unanimous; and the primitive style of the blood of Christ is preserved in the Syriac version, even in those copies which were used by the Christians of St. Thomas on the coast of Malabar. (La Croze, *Christianisme des Indes*, tom. i. p. 347). The jealousy of the Nestorians and Monophysites has guarded the purity of their text.

* Isidore was an abbot. He wisely kept aloof from the turmoil around him, but from his retreat he observed it calmy and stated his sentiments frankly to all parties. These were always expressed in the private communications of letters, of which he is said to have written ten thousand; twelve hundred have been preserved. In one of these, (l. 2, ep. 127), he even imputed to Cyril the sale of bishoprics. Had he aspired to episcopal power, and spoken in synods and councils, as he wrote in his correspondence, he would have been the object of furious persecution. By his fearless censures, he incurred the hostility of Eusebius, bishop of Pelusium, and the presbyter Zosimus, from whom he had much to endure (l. 2, ep. 22); and some wanted to render him odious as a follower of Origen. But never having been a public accuser or dangerous competitor, he escaped the "anger of celestial minds."—Eng. Ch.

by the church, and which could only tend to alarm the timorous, to mislead the simple, to amuse the profane, and to justify, by a seeming resemblance, the old genealogy of Olympus.[36] In his calmer moments Nestorius confessed, that it might be tolerated or excused by the union of the two natures, and the communication of their *idioms*:[37] but he was exasperated, by contradiction, to disclaim the worship of a new-born, an infant Deity, to draw his inadequate similes from the conjugal or civil partnerships of life, and to describe the manhood of Christ as the robe, the instrument, the tabernacle of his Godhead. At these blasphemous sounds, the pillars of the sanctuary were shaken. The unsuccessful competitors of Nestorius indulged their pious or personal resentment, the Byzantine clergy were secretly displeased with the intrusion of a stranger: whatever is superstitious or absurd, might claim the protection of the monks; and the people were interested in the glory of their virgin patroness.[38] The sermons of the archbishop, and the service of the altar, were disturbed by seditious clamor; his authority and doctrine were renounced by separate congregations; every wind scattered round the empire the leaves of controversy; and the voice of the combatants on a sonorous theatre re-echoed in the cells of Palestine and Egypt. It was the duty of Cyril to enlighten the zeal and ignorance of his innumerable monks: in the school of Alexandria, he had imbibed and professed the incarnation of one nature; and the successor of Athanasius consulted his pride and ambition, when he rose in arms against another Arius, more formidable and more guilty, on the second throne of the hierarchy. After a short correspondence, in which the rival prelates disguised their hatred in the hollow language of respect and charity, the patriarch of Alexandria denounced to the prince and people, to the East and to the West, the damnable errors

[36] The Pagans of Egypt already laughed at the new Cybele of the Christians,* (*Isidor.* l. i. epist. 54), a letter was forged in the name of Hypatia, to ridicule the theology of her assassin, (*Synodicon*, c. 216, in iv. tom. *Concil.* p. 484) In the article of NESTORIUS, Bayle has scattered some loose philosophy on the worship of the Virgin Mary.

[37] The *ἀντίλοσις* of the Greeks, a mutual loan or transfer of the idioms or properties of each nature to the other—of infinity to man, passibility to God, &c. Twelve rules on this nicest of subjects compose the *Theological Grammar* of Petavius, (*Dogmat. Theolog.* tom. v. l. iv. c. 14, 15, p. 209, &c.)

[38] See Ducange, C. P. *Christiana*, l. i. p. 30, &c.

* The reader will remember the remark of Ammonius Saccus, (the teacher of Origen,) who, in the second century, taught "that Christianity and Paganism, "when rightly understood, differed in no essential points, but had a common "origin, and really were one and the same religion."—E.

of the Byzantine pontiff. From the East, more especially from Antioch, he obtained the ambiguous counsels of toleration and silence, which were addressed to both parties while they favored the cause of Nestorius. But the Vatican received with open arms the messengers of Egypt. The vanity of Celestine was flattered by the appeal; and the partial version of a monk decided the faith of the pope, who, with his Latin clergy, was ignorant of the language, the arts, and the theology of the Greeks. At the head of an Italian synod, Celestine weighed the merits of the cause, approved the creed of Cyril, condemned the sentiments and person of Nestorius, degraded the heretic from his episcopal dignity, allowed a respite of ten days for recantation and penance, and delegated to his enemy the execution of this rash and illegal sentence. But the patriarch of Alexandria, whilst he darted the thunders of a god, exposed the errors and passions of a mortal; and his twelve anathemas[39] still torture the orthodox slaves, who adore the memory of a saint, without forfeiting their allegiance to the synod of Chalcedon. These bold assertions are indelibly tinged with the colors of the Apollinarian heresy; but the serious, and perhaps the sincere, professions of Nestorius have satisfied the wiser and less partial theologians of the present times.[40]

First council of Ephesus, A. D. 431. June-October.

Yet neither the emperor nor the primate of the East were disposed to obey the mandate of an Italian priest; and a synod of the Catholic, or rather of the Greek, church was unanimously demanded, as the sole remedy that could appease or decide this ecclesiastical quarrel.[41] Ephesus, on all sides accessible by sea and land, was chosen for the place, the festival of Pentecost for the day, of the meeting; a writ of summons was despatched to each metropolitan, and a guard was

[39] *Concil.* tom. iii. p. 943. They have never been *directly* approved by the church, (Tillemont, *Mém Eccles.* tom. xiv. pp. 368–372). I almost pity the agony of rage and sophistry with which Petavius seems to be agitated in the sixth book of his *Dogmata Theologica.*

[40] Such as the rational Basnage, (ad tom. i. *Variar. Lection. Canisii in Præfat.* c. 2, pp. 11–23), and La Croze, the universal scholar, *Christianisme des Indes*, tom. i. pp. 16–20. *De l'Ethiopie*, pp. 26–27. *Thesaur. Epist.* p. 176, &c., 283, 285). His free sentence is confirmed by that of his friends Jablonski, (*Thesaur. Epist.* tom. i. pp. 193-201) and *Mosheim*, (idem, p. 304. Nestorium crimine caruisse est et mea sententia); and three more respectable judges will not easily be found. Asseman, a learned and modest slave, can *hardly* discern, (*Bibliothec Orient.* tom. iv. pp. 190-224) the guilt and error of the Nestorians.

[41] The origin and progress of the Nestorian controversy, till the synod of Ephesus, may be found in *Socrates*, (l. vii. c. 32), *Evagrius*, (l. i. c. 1, 2), *Liberatus* (Brev. c. 1-4), the original *Acts*, (Concil. tom. iii. pp. 551-991, edit. Venise, 1728), the Annals of Baronius and Pagi, and the faithful collections of Tillemont, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. xiv. pp. 283-377).

stationed to protect and confine the fathers till they should settle the mysteries of heaven, and the faith of the earth. Nestorius appeared, not as a criminal, but as a judge; he depended on the weight rather than the number of his prelates, and his sturdy slaves from the baths of Zeauxippus, were armed for every service of injury or defence. But his adversary Cyril was more powerful in the weapons both of the flesh and of the spirit. Disobedient to the letter, or at least to the meaning, of the royal summons, he was attended by fifty Egyptian bishops, who expected from their patriarch's nod the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He had contracted an intimate alliance with Memnon, bishop of Ephesus. The despotic primate of Asia disposed of the ready succors of thirty or forty episcopal votes; a crowd of peasants, the slaves of the church, was poured into the city to support with blows and clamors a metaphysical argument; and the people zealously asserted the honor of the Virgin, whose body reposed within the walls of Ephesus.[42] The fleet, which had transported Cyril from Alexandria, was laden with the riches of Egypt: and he disembarked a numerous body of mariners, slaves, and fanatics, enlisted with blind obedience under the banner of St. Mark and the mother of God. The fathers, and even the guards, of the council were awed by this martial array; the adversaries of Cyril and Mary were insulted in the streets, or threatened in their houses; his eloquence and liberality made a daily increase in the number of his adherents; and the Egyptian soon computed that he might command the attendance and the voices of two hundred bishops.[43] But the author of the twelve anathemas foresaw and dreaded the opposition of John of Antioch, who, with a small, though respectable, train of metropolitans and divines, was advancing by slow journeys from the distant capital of the East. Impatient of a delay, which he stigmatized as voluntary and culpable,[44] Cyril announced

[42] The Christians of the four first centuries were ignorant of the death and burial of Mary. The tradition of Ephesus is affirmed by the synod, ἔνθα ὁ Θεολόγος Ἰωάννης, καὶ ἡ Θεοτόκος παρθένος ἡ ἁγία Μαρια. *Concil.* tom. iii. p. 1102), yet it has been superseded by the claim of Jerusalem; and her *empty* sepulchre, as it was shown to the pilgrims, produced the fable of her resurrection and assumption, in which the Greek and Latin churches have piously acquiesced. See Baronius, (*Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 48, No 6, &c.), and Tillemont, (*Mém. Ecclés.* tom. i, p. 467-477).

[43] The Acts of Chalcedon, (*Concil.* tom. iv. pp. 1405, 1408), exhibit a lively picture of the blind, obstinate servitude of the bishops of Egypt to their patriarch.

[44] Civil or ecclesiastic business detained the bishops at Antioch till the 18th of May. Ephesus was at the distance of thirty days' journey; and ten days more may be fairly allowed for accidents and repose. The march of Xenophon over

the opening of the synod sixteen days after the festival of Pentecost. Nestorius, who depended on the near approach of his Eastern friends, persisted, like his predecessor Chrysostom, to disclaim the jurisdiction, and to disobey the summons, of his enemies: they hastened his trial, and his accuser presided in the seat of judgment. Sixty-eight bishops, twenty-two of metropolitan rank, defended his cause by a modest and temperate protest: they were excluded from the councils of their brethren. Candidian, in the emperor's name, requested a delay of four days: the profane magistrate was driven with outrage and insult from the assembly of the saints. The whole of this momentous transaction was crowded into the compass of a summer's day: the bishops delivered their separate opinions; but the uniformity of style reveals the influence or the hand of a master, who has been accused of corrupting the public evidence of their acts and subscriptions.[45] Without a dissenting voice, they recognized in the epistles of Cyril, the Nicene creed and the doctrine of the fathers: but the partial extracts from the letters and homilies of Nestorius were interrupted by curses and anathemas; and the heretic was degraded from his episcopal and ecclesiastical dignity. The sentence, maliciously inscribed to the new Judas, was affixed and proclaimed in the streets of Ephesus: the weary prelates, as they issued from the church of the mother of God, were saluted as her champions: and her victory was celebrated by the illuminations, the songs, and the tumult of the night.

Condemnation of Nestorius, June 22.

On the fifth day, the triumph was clouded by the arrival and indignation of the Eastern bishops. In a chamber of the inn, before he had wiped the dust from his shoes, John of Antioch

Opposition of the Orientals, June 27, &c.

the same ground enumerates above 260 parasangs or leagues; and this measure might be illustrated from ancient and modern itineraries, if I knew how to compare the speed of an army, a synod, and a caravan. John of Antioch is reluctantly acquitted by Tillemont himself, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. xiv. pp. 386-389).*

[45] Μεμφόμενον μὴ κατὰ τὸ δεον τὰ εν Ἐφέσῳ συντεθῆναι υπουνήματα, πανουργία δὲ και τινι ἀθεσμῳ καινοτομία Κυρίλλου τεχνάζοντος. *Evagrius*, l. i. c. 7. The same imputation was urged by count Irenæus, (tom. iii. p. 1249), and the orthodox critics do not find it an easy task to defend the purity of the Greek or Latin copies of the *Acts*.

* The boldness with which Cyril carried his measures at the council of Ephesus, is well exhibited by Neander, (*Hist. of Chris.* 4. 151-169). His "arbitrary "and illegal conduct had created an impression very unfavorable to him in the "imperial court at Constantinople." This caused his summons to be accompanied by the special letter to which Gibbon has alluded, and which Neander says, "was drawn up with more good sense than could have been expected from "Theodosius, and we can scarcely be mistaken in supposing that it was dictated "by a wiser head." Yet Cyril disregarded the emperor's censures and commands, and, with daring defiance, made his own will paramount.—ENG. CH.

gave audience to Candidian the imperial minister; who related his ineffectual efforts to prevent or to annul the hasty violence of the Egyptian. With equal haste and violence, the Oriental synod of fifty bishops degraded Cyril and Memnon from their episcopal honors, condemned, in the twelve anathemas, the purest venom of the Apollinarian heresy, and described the Alexandrian primate as a monster, born and educated for the destruction of the church.[46] *His* throne was distant and inaccessible; but they instantly resolved to bestow on the flock of Ephesus the blessing of a faithful shepherd. By the vigilance of Memnon, the churches were shut against them, and a strong garrison was thrown into the cathedral. The troops, under the command of Candidian, advanced to the assault; the outguards were routed and put to the sword, but the place was impregnable: the besiegers retired; their retreat was pursued by a vigorous sally; they lost their horses, and many of the soldiers were dangerously wounded with clubs and stones. Ephesus, the city of the Virgin, was defiled with rage and clamor, with sedition and blood; the rival synods darted anathemas and excommunications from their spiritual engines; and the court of Theodosius was perplexed by the adverse and contradictory narratives of the Syrian and Egyptian factions. During a busy period of three months, the emperor tried every method, except the most effectual means of indifference and contempt, to reconcile this theological quarrel. He attempted to remove or intimidate the leaders by a common sentence of acquittal or condemnation; he invested his representatives at Ephesus with ample power and military force: he summoned from either party eight chosen deputies to a free and candid conference in the neighborhood of the capital, far from the contagion of popular frenzy. But the Orientals refused to yield, and the Catholics, proud of their numbers and of their Latin allies, rejected all terms of union or toleration. The patience of the meek Theodosius was provoked, and he dissolved in anger this episcopal tumult, which at the distance of thirteen centuries, assumes the venerable aspect of the third œcumenical council.[47] "God is my witness,"

[46] Ὁ δὲ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν ἐκκλῆσιῶν τεχθεὶς καὶ τραφείς. After the coalition of John and Cyril, these invectives were mutually forgotten. The style of declamation must never be confounded with the genuine sense which respectable enemies entertain of each other's merit, (*Concil.* tom. iii. p. 1244).

[47] See the acts of the synod of Ephesus in the original Greek, and a Latin version almost contemporary, (*Concil.* tom. iii. pp. 991-1332, with the Synodicon adversus *Tragœdiam Irenæi*, tom. iv. pp. 235-497), the *Ecclesiastical Histories* of

said the pious prince, "that I am not the author of this "confusion. His providence will discern and punish the "guilty. Return to your provinces, and may your private "virtues repair the mischief and scandal of your meeting." They returned to their provinces; but the same passions which had distracted the synod of Ephesus were diffused over the Eastern world. After three obstinate and equal campaigns, John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria condescended to explain and embrace: but their seeming re-union must be imputed rather to prudence than to reason, to the mutual lassitude, rather than to the Christian charity, of the patriarchs.

Victory of Cyril, A. D. 431–435.

The Byzantine pontiff had instilled into the royal ear a baleful prejudice against the character and conduct of his Egyptian rival. An epistle of menace and invective,[48] which accompanied the summons, accused him as a busy, insolent, and envious priest, who perplexed the simplicity of the faith, violated the peace of the church and state, and, by his artful and separate addresses to the wife and sister of Theodosius, presumed to suppose, or to scatter, the seeds of discord in the imperial family. At the stern command of his sovereign, Cyril had repaired to Ephesus, where he was resisted, threatened, and confined, by the magistrates in the interest of Nestorius and the Orientals; who assembled the troops of Lydia and Ionia to suppress the fanatic and disorderly train of the patriarch. Without expecting the royal license, he escaped from his guards, precipitately embarked, deserted the imperfect synod, and retired to his episcopal fortress of safety and independence. But his artful emissaries, both in the court and city, successfully labored to appease the resentment, and to conciliate the favor, of the emperor. The feeble son of Arcadius was alternately swayed by his wife and sister, by the eunuchs and women of the palace: superstition and avarice were their ruling passions; and the orthodox chiefs were assiduous in their endeavors to

Socrates, (l. vii. c. 34), and *Evagrius*, (l. i. c. 3, 4, 5), and the Breviary of Liberatus (in *Concil.* tom. vi. pp. 419-459, c. 5, 6), and *Mémoires Eccles.* of Tillemont, (tom. xiv. pp. 377–487.)

[48] Ταραχὴν, (says the emperor in pointed language), *τό γε ἐπὶ σαυτῳ καὶ χωρισμὸν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐμβέβληκας * * * ὡς θρασυτέρας ὁρμῆς πρεπούσης μᾶλλον ἢ ἀκριβείαις * * * καὶ ποικιλίας μᾶλλον τούτων ἡμῖν ὑσης ἢπερ ἁπλότητος * * * παντὸς μᾶλλον ἢ ἱέρεως * * * τά τε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τά τε τῶν βασιλέων μέλλειν χωρίζειν βούλεσθαι, ὡς οὐκ οὔσης ἀφορμῆς ἑτέρας εὐδοκιμήσεως.* I should be curious to know how much Nestorius paid for these expressions, so mortifying to his rival.

alarm the former, and to gratify the latter. Constantinople and the suburbs were sanctified with frequent monasteries, and the holy abbots, Dalmatius and Eutyches,[49] had devoted their zeal and fidelity to the cause of Cyril, the worship of Mary, and the unity of Christ. From the first moment of their monastic life, they had never mingled with the world, or trod the profane ground of the city. But in this awful moment of the danger of the church, their vow was superseded by a more sublime and indispensable duty. At the head of a long order of monks and hermits, who carried burning tapers in their hands, and chanted litanies to the mother of God, they proceeded from their monasteries to the palace. The people were edified and inflamed by this extraordinary spectacle, and the trembling monarch listened to the prayers and adjurations of the saints, who boldly pronounced, that none could hope for salvation, unless they embraced the person and the creed of the orthodox successor of Athanasius. At the same time every avenue of the throne was assaulted with gold. Under the decent names of *eulogies* and *benedictions*, the courtiers of both sexes were bribed according to the measure of their power and rapaciousness. But their incessant demands despoiled the sanctuaries of Constantinople and Alexandria; and the authority of the patriarch was unable to silence the just murmur of his clergy, that a debt of sixty thousand pounds had already been contracted to support the expense of this scandalous corruption.[50] Pulcheria, who relieved her

[49] Eutyches, the heresiarch Eutyches, is honorably named by Cyril as a friend, a saint, and the strenuous defender of the faith. His brother, the abbot Dalmatius, is likewise employed to bind the emperor and all his chamberlains *terribili conjuratione*. Synodicon, c. 203, in *Concil* tom. iv. p. 467.*

[50] Clerici qui hic sunt contristantur, quod ecclesia Alexandrina nudata sit hujus causa turbelæ; et debet præter illa quæ hinc transmissa sint *auri libras mille quingentas*. Et nunc ei scriptum est ut præstet; sed de tua ecclesia præsta avaritiæ quorum nosti, &c. This curious and original letter from Cyril's archdeacon to his creature, the new bishop of Constantinople, has been unaccountably preserved in an old Latin version, (Synodicon, c. 203, *Concil.* tom. iv. pp. 465-468). The mask is almost dropped, and the saints speak the honest language of interest and confederacy.†

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* Neander, (*Hist. of Chris.* 4. 164), quoting Harduin, says, that "Dalmatius "was a writer in one of the imperial bureaux, and had a wife and children." He was persuaded by a venerated monk, Isacios, to join the fraternity, in which he obtained great influence and became Archimandrite. The emperor sometimes visited him in his cell; but never could prevail upon him to leave his solitude, even to take part in the public penitential processions, when the frequent earthquakes filled Constantinople with alarm. It was usual for new patriarchs to pay their respects to him. But Dalmatius refused to admit Nestorius, of whom he said, "An evil beast has come among us, to injure many by his doctrines." For eight and forty years he had never left his cell, till his hatred of the patriarch and the influence of Cyril moved him to the extraordinary effort here exhibited. —E. C.

† This letter from Epiphanius to Maximianus was preserved by Theodoret. (*Neander.* 4, 173.)—ENG. CH.

brother from the weight of an empire, was the firmest pillar of orthodoxy; and so intimate was the alliance between the thunders of the synod and the whispers of the court, that Cyril was assured of success if he could displace one eunuch, and substitute another in the favor of Theodosius. Yet the Egyptian could not boast of a glorious or decisive victory. The emperor, with unaccustomed firmness, adhered to his promise of protecting the innocence of the Oriental bishops; and Cyril softened his anathemas, and confessed, with ambiguity and reluctance, a two-fold nature of Christ, before he was permitted to satiate his revenge against the unfortunate Nestorius.[51]

Exile of Nestorius, A. D. 435.

The rash and obstinate Nestorius, before the end of the synod, was oppressed by Cyril, betrayed by the court, and faintly supported by his Eastern friends. A sentiment of fear or indignation prompted him, while it was yet time, to affect the glory of a voluntary abdication;[52] his wish, or at least his request, was readily granted; he was conducted with honor from Ephesus to his old monastery of Antioch; and, after a short pause, his successors, Maximian and Proclus, were acknowledged as the lawful bishops of Constantinople. But in the silence of his cell, the degraded patriarch could no longer resume the innocence and security of a private monk. The past he regretted, he was discontented with

[51] The tedious negotiations that succeeded the synod of Ephesus are diffusely related in the original Acts, (*Concil.* tom. iii. pp. 1339-1771, ad fin. vol. and the *Synodicon*, in tom. iv.), *Socrates*, (l. vii. c. 28, 35, 40, 41,), *Evagrius*, (l. i. c. 6, 7, 8, 12), *Liberatus*, (c. 7-10), Tillemont, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. xiv. pp. 487-676). The most patient reader will thank me for compressing so much nonsense and falsehood in a few lines.

[52] Αὐτοῦ τε αὖ δεηθέντος, ἐπετρώπη κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐπαναζεῦξαι μοναστήριον. *Evagrius*, l. i. c. 7. The original letters in the *Synodicon*, (c. 15, 24, 25, 26), justify the *appearance* of a voluntary resignation, which is asserted by Ebed-Jesu, a Nestorian writer, apud Asseman, *Bibliot. Oriental.* tom. iii. pp. 299, 302.*

* Nestorius was deposed by an imperial edict; and, at his own humble request, was permitted to return to his monastery at Antioch.—GERM. ED.

The circumstantial narrative of *Neander*, (4, 166-170), gives a very different aspect to the fall of Nestorius. Wearied and harassed by the restless hostility of Cyril, he wrote to the imperial chamberlain, Scholasticus, saying, that if "the "maintenance of the true faith could be secured, he would gladly return to his "cloister and its blessed tranquillity." Obeying his sister Pulcheria and disturbed, by the insinuations of Cyril's bribed advocates, the weak Theodosius availed himself of this letter, and through the prætorian prefect informed Nestorius, but without any manifestation of unfriendly feeling, that "the neces- "sary orders had been given for his returning, in the most convenient and de- "sirable manner, to his cloister." In reply to this, the patriarch resigned his office, again commending to the emperor "the care of maintaining pure doctrine." There are no proofs of his having engaged in any intrigues after his retirement; but he had many friends in Constantinople; and after the death of his successor Maximianus the populace clamored for his restoration. This induced his enemies to obtain an order for his removal to a greater distance, and his subsequent persecution.—ENG. CH.

the present, and the future he had reason to dread: the oriental bishops successively disengaged their cause from his unpopular name, and each day decreased the number of the schismatics who revered Nestorius as the confessor of the faith. After a residence at Antioch of four years, the hand of Theodosius subscribed an edict,[53] which ranked him with Simon the magician, proscribed his opinions and followers, condemned his writings to the flames, and banished his person first to Petra in Arabia, and at length to Oasis, one of the *islands* of the Libyan desert.[54] Secluded from the church and from the world, the exile was still pursued by the rage of bigotry and war. A wandering tribe of the Blemmyes or Nubians invaded his solitary prison: in their retreat they dismissed a crowd of useless captives; but no sooner had Nestorius reached the banks of the Nile, than he would gladly have escaped from a Roman and orthodox city to the milder servitude of the savages. His flight was punished as a new crime: the soul of the patriarch inspired the civil and ecclesiastical powers of Egypt; the magistrates, the soldiers, the monks, devoutly tortured the enemy of Christ and St. Cyril; and, as far as the confines of Æthiopia, the heretic was alternately dragged and recalled, till his aged body was broken by the hardships and accidents of

[53] See the imperial letters in the *Acts* of the Synod of Ephesus, (*Concil.* tom. iii. pp. 1730–1735). The odious name of *Simonians*, which was affixed to the disciples of this τερατώδους διδασκαλίας, was designed ὡς ἂν ονείδεσι προβληθέντες αἰώνιον ὑπομένοιεν τιμωρίαν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, καὶ μήτε ζῶντας τιμωρίας, μήτε θανόντας ἀτιμίας ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχειν. Yet these were Christians! who differed only in names and in shadow.

[54] The metaphor of islands is applied by the grave civilians, (*Pandect.* l. xlviii. tit. 22. leg. 7), to those happy spots which are discriminated by water and verdure from the Libyan sands. Three of these under the common name of Oasis, or Alvahat: 1. The temple of Jupiter Ammon. 2. The middle Oasis, three days' journey to the west of Lycopolis. 3. The southern where Nestorius was banished, in the first climate, and only three days' journey from the confines of Nubia. See a learned note of Michaelis, (ad *Descript. Ægypt. Abulfedæ*, p. 21-34).*

* 1 The Oasis of Sivah has been visited by Mons. Drovetti and Mr. Browne. 2. The little Oasis, that of El Kassar, was visited and described by Belzoni. 3. The great Oasis, and its splendid ruins, have been well described in the travels of Sir A. Edmonstone. To these must be added another Western Oasis, also visited by Sir A. Edmonstone.—MILMAN.

The most sensible meaning, assigned to the word *Oasis*, derives it from *Ouah*, the plural of *Wah*, Arab. for a dwelling; so that it denotes an inhabited spot in the desert. Herodotus mentions but one, which he calls an "island of the blest." The three named by Gibbon, were known in the time of Strabo. Many more have since been discovered, which Browne, Burckhardt, Belzoni and other travelers have described. There is no satisfactory evidence that they were ever used as penal solitudes, prior to the building of Constantinople. The first on record who sent refractory opponents there is Constantius, and the emperor Julian is said to have imitated him. From that time, deportation to them was a punishment held to be second only to that of death. Justinian relaxed its severity into a "relegatio ad tempus." The *Notitia Imperii* proves that Roman garrisons were kept there.—ENG. CH.

these reiterated journeys. Yet his mind was still independent and erect; the president of Thebais was awed by his pastoral letters; he survived the Catholic tyrant of Alexandria, and, after sixteen years' banishment, the synod of Chalcedon would perhaps have restored him to the honors, or at least to the communion, of the church. The death of Nestorius prevented his obedience to their welcome summons;[55] and his disease might afford some color to the scandalous report, that his tongue, the organ of blasphemy, had been eaten by the worms. He was buried in a city of Upper Egypt, known by the names of Chemnis, or Panopolis, or Akmim;[56] but the immortal malice of the Jacobites has persevered for ages to cast stones against his sepulchre, and to propagate the foolish tradition, that it was never watered by the rain of heaven, which equally descends on the righteous and the ungodly.[57] Humanity may drop a tear on the fate of Nestorius; yet justice must observe, that he suffered the persecution which he had approved and inflicted.[58]

Heresy of Eutyches, A. D. 448.

The death of the Alexandrian primate, after a reign of thirty-two years, abandoned the Catholics to the intemperance of zeal and the abuse of

[55] The invitation of Nestorius to the synod of Chalcedon is related by Zacharias, bishop of Melitene, (*Evagrius*, l. ii. c. 2. Asseman. *Bibliot. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 55), and the famous Xenaias or Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis, (Asseman. *Bibliot. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 40, &c.), denied by Evagrius and Asseman, and stoutly maintained by La Croze, (*Thesaur. Epistol.* tom. iii. p. 181, &c.) The fact is not improbable: yet it was the interest of the Monophysites to spread the invidious report; and *Eutychius*, (tom. ii. p. 12), affirms, that Nestorius died after an exile of seven years, and consequently ten years before the synod of Chalcedon.

[56] Consult D'Anville, (*Mémoire sur l'Egypte*, p. 191), Pocock (*Description of the East*, vol. i. p. 76), Abulfeda (*Descript. Ægypt*, p. 14), and his commentator Michaelis (*Not.* pp. 78-83), and the *Nubian Geographer*, (p. 42), who mentions, in the twelfth century, the ruins and the sugar-canes of Akmin.*

[57] Eutychius, (*Annal.* tom. iii. p. 12), and Gregory Bar Hebræus, or Abulpharagius, (*Asseman.* tom ii. p. 316), represent the credulity of the tenth and twelfth centuries.

[58] We are obliged to *Evagrius*, (l. i. c. 7), for some extracts from the letters of Nestorius; but the lively picture of his sufferings is treated with insult by the hard and stupid fanatic.†

* The ancient accounts of this place have been supposed to refer to two different towns. (*Cellarius*, 2, 823.) Chemmis was its original designation. New settlers under the Ptolemys, finding their Pan, or some deity like him, worshiped there, gave the place its Greek name. *Diodorus Siculus*, (l. 18.) says that both have the same meaning, and Dr. Lepsius says that Chem was the Pan of the Egyptians, but doubts whether the place had its original name from this. (*Letters from Egypt*, p. 115, edit. Bohn.) Most writers mention it only as Panopolis, and the district around it was denominated Nomos Panopolitos. Strabo says, that, in his time, it was inhabited chiefly by linen-weavers and lapidaries. Akmim, or, according to Lepsius, Echmim, is the Arabian form given to its old name.—E. C.

† In this sentiment Neander concurs. "The heart of Evagrius," he says (4. 182), "was so steeled by the power of dogmatic fanaticism, that he had no sense to "perceive the composure and dignity of Nestorius; and could see nothing but "pride and obstinacy, in the expressions of a noble spirit, unbowed to servility "by all its misfortunes."—ENG. CH.

victory.[59] The *Monophysite* doctrine (one incarnate nature) was rigorously preached in the churches of Egypt and the monasteries of the East; the primitive creed of Apollinaris was protected by the sanctity of Cyril; and the name of EUTYCHES, his venerable friend, has been applied to the sect most adverse to the Syrian heresy of Nestorius. His rival Eutyches was the abbot, or archimandrite, or superior, of three hundred monks, but the opinions of a simple and illiterate recluse might have expired in the cell, where he had slept above seventy years, if the resentment or indiscretion of Flavian, the Byzantine pontiff, had not exposed the scandal to the eyes of the Christian world. His domestic synod was instantly convened, their proceedings were sullied with clamor and artifice, and the aged heretic was surprised into a seeming confession, that Christ had not derived his body from the substance of the Virgin Mary. From their partial decree, Eutyches appealed to a general council, and his cause was vigorously asserted by his godson Chrysaphius, the reigning eunuch of the palace, and his accomplice Dioscorus, who had succeeded to the throne, the creed, the talents, and the vices of the nephew of Theophilus. By the special summons of Theodosius, the second synod of Ephesus was judiciously composed of ten metropolitans and ten bishops from each of the six dioceses of the Eastern empire: some exceptions of favor or merit enlarged the number to one hundred and thirty-five; and the Syrian Barsumas, as the chief and representative of the monks, was invited to sit and vote with the successors of the apostles. But the despotism of the Alexandrian patriarch again oppressed the freedom of debate: the same spiritual and carnal weapons were again drawn from the arsenals of Egypt; the Asiatic veterans, a band of archers, served under the orders of Dioscorus; and the more formidable monks, whose minds were inaccessible to reason or mercy, besieged the doors of the cathedral. The general, and, as it should seem, the

Second council of Ephesus, A. D. 449, Aug. 8–11.

[59] Dixi Cyrillum dum viveret, auctoritate sua effecisse, ne Eutychianismus et Monophysitarum error in nervum erumperet: idque verum puto * * * aliquo * * * honesto modo παλινωδίαν cecinerat. The learned but catious Jablonski did not always speak the whole truth. Cum Cyrillo lenius omnino egi, quam si tecum aut cum aliis rei hujus probe gnaris et æquis rerum æstimatoribus sermones privatos conferrem. (*Thesaur. Epistol.* La Crozian, tom. i. pp. 197, 198); an excellent key to his dissertations on the Nestorian controversy! *

* This Cyril appears to have raised the controversy for the express purpose of obtaining the assistance of the court against the bishops who opposed him. In this he at first but too well succeeded.—GERM. ED.

unconstrained, voice of the fathers, accepted the faith and even the anathemas of Cyril; and the heresy of the two natures was formally condemned in the persons and writings of the most learned orientals. "May those who "divide Christ be divided with the sword, may they be "hewn in pieces, may they be burnt alive;" were the charitable wishes of a Christian synod.[60] The innocence and sanctity of Eutyches were acknowledged without hesitation; but the prelates, more especially those of Thrace and Asia, were unwilling to depose their patriarch for the use or even the abuse of his lawful jurisdiction. They embraced the knees of Dioscorus, as he stood with a threatening aspect on the footstool of his throne, and conjured him to forgive the offences, and to respect the dignity, of his brother. "Do you mean to raise a sedition?" exclaimed the relentless tyrant. "Where are the officers?" At these words a furious multitude of monks and soldiers, with staves, and swords, and chains, burst into the church: the trembling bishops hid themselves behind the altar, or under the benches, and as they were not inspired with the zeal of martyrdom, they successively subscribed a blank paper, which was afterwards filled with the condemnation of the Byzantine pontiff. Flavian was instantly delivered to the wild beasts of this spiritual amphitheatre: the monks were stimulated by the voice and example of Barsumas to avenge the injuries of Christ: it is said that the patriarch of Alexandria reviled, and buffeted, and kicked, and trampled his brother of Constantinople:[61] it is certain, that the victim,

[60] Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος εἶπεν, ἄρον καῦσον Εὐσέβιον, οὗτος ζῶν καῇ, οὗτος εἰς δύο γένηται, ὡς ἐμέρισε, μερισθῇ * * * εἴ τις λέγει δύο, ἀνάθεμα. At the request of Dioscorus, those who were not able to roar (βοῦσαι) stretched out their hands. At Chalcedon, the Orientals disclaimed these exclamations: but the Egyptians more consistently declared ταῦτα και τοτε ειπομεν και νῦν λέγομεν, (*Concil.* tom. lv. p. 1012).

[61] Ἔλεγε δὲ, Eusebius, bishop of Dorylæum), τὸν Φλαβιανον τε δειλαίως ἀναιρεθῆναι πρὸς Διοσκόρου ὠθουμενον τε καὶ λακνιζόμενον: and this testimony of *Evagrius*, (l. ii. c. 2), is amplified by the historian *Zonaras*, (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 44), who affirms that Dioscorus kicked like a wild ass. But the language of Liberatus, (*Brev.* c. 12, in *Concil.* tom. vi. p. 438), is more cautious; and the Acts of Chalcedon, which lavish the names of *homicide*, *Cain*, &c., do not justify so pointed a charge. The monk Barsumas is more particularly accused—ἔσφαξ τὸν μακαριον Φλαυιανον· αὐτὸς ἔστηκε και ἔλεγε, σφάξον, (*Concil.* tom. iv. p. 1423).*

* Neander relates, (4 220,) "the high-handed violence of Dioscorus," at the second council of Ephesus. The deputies, whom Leo the Great had sent there at the invitation of Theodosius, escaped with difficulty, and were obliged to seek a safe passage homeward, through unfrequented by-ways. It was from this Roman pontiff, that the council received its appellation of "The Robber Synod." Barsumas was an abbot in Syria, the head of a faction devoted to Cyril and vehemently opposed to Theodoret, (*Neander*, 4, 199.) As a staunch supporter of Dioscorus, he was allowed to take a seat and vote in this council, to represent the Anti-Nestorian monks of that district. A numerous troop of them were introduced as hearers, but, in fact, to overpower discussion by their outrageous clamors.—ENG. CH.

before he could reach the place of his exile, expired, on the third day, of the wounds and bruises which he had received at Ephesus. This second synod has been justly branded as a gang of robbers and assassins; yet the accusers of Dioscorus would magnify his violence, to alleviate the cowardice and inconstancy of their own behavior.

Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, Oct. 8–No. 1.

The faith of Egypt had prevailed: but the vanquished party was supported by the same pope who encountered without fear the hostile rage of Attila and Genseric. The theology of Leo, his famous *tome* or epistle on the mystery of the incarnation, had been disregarded by the synod of Ephesus: his authority, and that of the Latin church, was insulted in his legates, who escaped from slavery and death to relate the melancholy tale of the tyranny of Dioscorus and the martyrdom of Flavian. His provincial synod annulled the irregular proceedings of Ephesus; but as this step was itself irregular, he solicited the convocation of a general council in the free and orthodox provinces of Italy. From his independent throne, the Roman bishop spoke and acted without danger, as the head of the Christians, and his dictates were obsequiously transcribed by Placidia and her son Valentinian; who addressed their Eastern colleague to restore the peace and unity of the church. But the pageant of Oriental royalty was moved with equal dexterity by the hand of the eunuch; and Theodosius could pronounce, without hesitation, that the church was already peaceful and triumphant, and that the recent flame had been extinguished by the just punishment of the Nestorians. Perhaps the Greeks would be still involved in the heresy of the Monophysites, if the emperor's horse had not fortunately stumbled; Theodosius expired; his orthodox sister, Pulcheria, with a nominal husband, succeeded to the throne; Chrysaphius was burnt, Dioscorus was disgraced, the exiles were recalled, and the *tome* of Leo was subscribed by the Oriental bishops. Yet the pope was disappointed in his favorite project of a Latin council: he disdained to preside in the Greek synod, which was speedily assembled at Nice in Bithynia; his legates required in a peremptory tone the presence of the emperor; and the weary fathers were transported to Chalcedon under the immediate eye of Marcian and the senate of Constantinople. A quarter of a mile from the Thracian Bosphorus, the church of St. Euphemia was built on the summit of a gentle though lofty

ascent: the triple structure was celebrated as a prodigy of art, and the boundless prospect of the land and sea might have raised the mind of a sectary to the contemplation of the God of the universe. Six hundred and thirty bishops were ranged in order in the nave of the church; but the patriarchs of the East were preceded by the legates, of whom the third was a simple priest; and the place of honor was reserved for twenty laymen of consular or senatorian rank. The gospel was ostentatiously displayed in the centre, but the rule of faith was defined by the papal and imperial ministers, who moderated the thirteen sessions of the council of Chalcedon.[62] Their partial interposition silenced the intemperate shouts and execrations, which degraded the episcopal gravity; but, on the formal accusation of the legates, Dioscorus was compelled to descend from his throne to the rank of a criminal, already condemned in the opinion of his judges. The Orientals, less adverse to Nestorius than to Cyril, accepted the Romans as their deliverers: Thrace, and Pontus, and Asia, were exasperated against the murderer of Flavian, and the new patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch secured their places by the sacrifice of their benefactor. The bishops of Palestine, Macedonia, and Greece, were attached to the faith of Cyril; but in the face of the synod, in the heat of the battle, the leaders, with their obsequious train, passed from the right to the left wing, and decided the victory by this seasonable desertion. Of the seventeen suffragans who sailed from Alexandria, four were tempted from their allegiance, and the thirteen, falling prostrate on the ground, implored the mercy of the council, with sighs and tears, and a pathetic declaration, that, if they yielded, they should be massacred on their return to Egypt, by the indignant people. A tardy repentance was allowed to expiate the guilt or error of the accomplices of Dioscorus: but their sins were accumulated on his head; he neither asked nor hoped for pardon, and the moderation of those who pleaded for a general amnesty

62 The acts of the Council of Chalcedon, (*Concil* tom. iv. pp. 761-2071), comprehend those of *Ephesus*, (pp. 890–1189), which again comprise the synod of Constantinople under Flavian, (pp. 930–1072); and it requires some attention to disengage this double involution. The whole business of Eutyches, Flavian, and Dioscorus, is related by *Evagrius*, (l. i. c. 9-12, and l. ii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4), and Liberatus (*Brev.* c. 11, 12, 13, 14). Once more, and almost for the last time, I appeal to the diligence of Tillemont, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. xv. pp. 479-719. The annals of Baronius and Pagi will accompany me much further on my long and laborious journey.*

* The village of Kadi-Kiuy now marks the site, on which once stood the memorable Chalcedon. Porter's *Travels*, ii. 737.—ENG. CH.

was drowned in the prevailing cry of victory and revenge. To save the reputation of his late adherents, some *personal* offences were skillfully detected; his rash and illegal excommunication of the pope, and his contumacious refusal (while he was detained a prisoner) to attend the summons of the synod. Witnesses were introduced to prove the special facts of his pride, avarice, and cruelty; and the fathers heard with abhorrence, that the alms of the church were lavished on the female dancers, that his palace, and even his bath, was open to the prostitutes of Alexandria, and that the infamous Pansophia, or Irene, was publicly entertained as the concubine of the patriarch.[63]

Faith of Chalcedon.

For these scandalous offences Dioscorus was deposed by the synod, and banished by the emperor; but the purity of his faith was declared in the presence, and with the tacit approbation, of the fathers. Their prudence supposed, rather than pronounced, the heresy of Eutyches, who was never summoned before their tribunal; and they sat silent and abashed, when a bold Monophysite, casting at their feet a volume of Cyril, challenged them to anathematize in his person the doctrine of the saint. If we fairly peruse the acts of Chalcedon as they are recorded by the orthodox party,[64] we shall find that a great majority of the bishops embraced the simple unity of Christ; and the ambiguous concessions, that he was formed OF or FROM two natures, might imply either their previous existence, or their subsequent confusion, or

[63] Μάλιστα ἡ περιβόητος Πανσοφία, ἡ καλουμένη Ὀρεινὴ, (perhaps Εἰρηνὴ,) περὶ ἧς καὶ ὁ πολυάνθρωπος τῆς Ἀλεξανδρεων δῆμος ἀφῆκε φωνην, αὐτῆς τε και τοῦ ἐραστοῦ μεμνημένος. (*Concil.* tom. iv. p. 1276). A specimen of the wit and malice of the people is preserved in the *Greek Anthology*, (l. ii. c. 5, p. 188, edit. Wechel), although the application was unknown to the editor Brodæus. The nameless epigrammatist raises a tolerable pun, by confounding the episcopal salutation of "Peace be to all!" with the genuine or corrupted name of the bishop's concubine:

Εἰρηνη πάντεσσιν, ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν ἐπελθων,
Πῶς δυναται πᾶσιν, ἣν μόνος ἔνδον ἔχει;

I am ignorant whether the patriarch, who seems to have been a jealous lover, is the Cimon of a preceding epigram, whose πεὸς ἔστηκος was viewed with envy and wonder by Priapus himself.

[64] Those who reverence the infallibility of synods, may try to ascertain their sense. The leading bishops were attended by partial or careless scribes, who dispersed their copies round the world. Our Greek MSS. are sullied with the false and prescribed reading of ἐκ τῶν φυσεων, (*Concil.* tom. iii. p. 1460): the authentic translation of Pope Leo I. does not seem to have been executed, and the old Latin versions materially differ from the present Vulgate, which was revised (A. D. 550) by Rusticus, a Roman priest, from the best MSS. of the Ἀκοίμητοι at Constantinople, (*Ducange, C. P. Christiana*, l. iv. p. 151), a famous monastery of Latins, Greeks, and Syrians. See *Concil.* tom. iv. pp. 1959–2049, Pagi, *Critica*, tom. ii. p. 326, &c.

some dangerous interval between the conception of the man and the assumption of the God. The Roman theology, more positive and precise, adopted the term most offensive to the ears of the Egyptians, that Christ existed IN two natures; and this momentous particle[65] (which the memory, rather than the understanding, must retain) had almost produced a schism among the Catholic bishops. The *tome* of Leo had been respectfully, perhaps sincerely, subscribed; but they protested, in two successive debates, that it was neither expedient nor lawful to transgress the sacred landmarks which had been fixed at Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus, according to the rule of Scripture and tradition. At length they yielded to the importunities of their masters; but their infallible decree, after it had been ratified with deliberate votes and vehement acclamations, was overturned in the next session by the opposition of the legates and their Oriental friends. It was in vain that a multitude of episcopal voices repeated in chorus, "The definition of the "fathers is orthodox and immutable! The heretics are now "discovered! Anathema to the Nestorians! Let them "depart from the synod! Let them repair to Rome!"[66] The legates threatened, the emperor was absolute, and a committee of eighteen bishops prepared a new decree, which was imposed on the reluctant assembly. In the name of the fourth general council, the Christ in one person, but *in* two natures, was announced to the Catholic world: an invisible line was drawn between the heresy of Apollinaris and the faith of St. Cyril; and the road to Paradise, a bridge as sharp as a razor, was suspended over the abyss by the master-hand of the theological artist. During ten centuries of blindness and servitude, Europe received her religious opinions from the oracle of the Vatican; and the same doctrine, already varnished with the rust of antiquity, was admitted without dispute into the creed of the reformers, who disclaimed the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. The synod of Chalcedon still triumphs in the protestant churches; but the ferment of controversy has subsided, and the most

[65] It is darkly represented in the microscope of *Petavius* (tom. v. l. iii. c. 5); yet the subtle theologian is himself afraid—ne quis fortasse supervacaneam, et nimis anxiam putet hujusmodi vocularum inquisitionem, et ab instituti theologici gravitate alienam, (p. 124)

[66] Ἐβόησαν, ἡ ὁ ὅρος κρατείτω ἢ ἀπερχόμεθα * * * οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες φανεροὶ γένωνται, οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες Νεστοριανοί εἰσιν, οἱ ἀντιλέγοτες εἰς Ῥωμην ἀπέλθωσιν. (*Concil.* tom. iv. p. 1449.) Evagrius and Liberatus present only the placid face of the synod, and discreetly slide over these embers, suppositos cineri doloso.

pious Christians of the present day are ignorant, or careless, of their own belief concerning the mystery of the incarnation.

Discord of the East, A. D. 451-482.

Far different was the temper of the Greeks and Egyptians under the orthodox reigns of Leo and Marcian. Those pious emperors enforced with arms and edicts the symbol of their faith;[67] and it was declared by the conscience or honor of five hundred bishops, that the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon might be lawfully supported, even with blood. The Catholics observed with satisfaction, that the same synod was odious both to the Nestorians and the Monophysites;[68] but the Nestorians were less angry, or less powerful, and the East was distracted by the obstinate and sanguinary zeal of the Monophysites. Jerusalem was occupied by an army of monks; in the name of the one incarnate nature, they pillaged, they burnt, they murdered; the sepulchre of Christ was defiled with blood;* and the gates of the city were guarded in tumultuous rebellion against the troops of the emperor. After the disgrace and exile of Dioscorus, the Egyptians still regretted their spiritual father; and detested the usurpation of his successor, who was introduced by the fathers of Chalcedon. The throne of Proterius was supported by a guard of two thousand soldiers; he waged a five years' war against the people of Alexandria; and, on the first intelligence of the death of Marcian, he became the victim of their zeal. On the third day before the festival of Easter, the patriarch was besieged in the cathedral, and murdered in the baptistery. The remains of his mangled corpse were delivered to the flames, and his ashes to the wind: and the

[67] See, in the Appendix to the *Acts of Chalcedon*, the confirmation of the synod by Marcian, (*Concil.* tom. iv. pp. 1781, 1783), his letters to the monks of Alexandria, (p. 1791,) of Mount Sinai, (p. 1793,) of Jerusalem and Palestine, (p. 1798,) his laws against the Eutychians, (pp. 1809, 1811, 1831, the correspondence of Leo with the provincial synods on the revolution of Alexandria, (pp. 1835, 1930.)

[68] Photius (or rather Eulogius of Alexandria) confesses, in a fine passage, the specious color of this double charge against Pope Leo and his synod of Chalcedon. (*Bibliot. cod.* ccxxv. p. 768). He waged a double war against the enemies of the church, and wounded either foe with the darts of his adversary—*καταγλήλοις βελεσι τούς ἀντιπάλους ἐτιτρωσκε.* Against Nestorius he seemed to introduce the *σώγχυσις* of the Monophysites; against Eutyches he appeared to countenance the *ὑποστασέων διάφορα* of the Nestorians. The apologist claims a charitable interpretation for the saints: if the same had been extended to the heretics, the *sound* of the controversy would have been lost in the air.

* These zealots warmly discussed the nature of Christ, but paid little heed to his example or precepts. "Love your enemies," is the command of Jesus, which cannot be obeyed by murdering your friends. "Christ," said the assembled bishops, "is of one person, but *in* two natures;" and this decree, they asserted, might be lawfully supported, even with blood. They saw no incongruity in supporting the "gospel of glad tidings" at the point of the sword, and in defiling, with the blood of their fellow-Christians, the sepulchre of the "God of Peace."—E.

deed was inspired by the vision of a pretended angel; an ambitious monk, who, under the name of Timothy the Cat,[69] succeeded to the place and opinions of Dioscorus. This deadly superstition was inflamed, on either side, by the principle and the practice of retaliation: in the pursuit of a metaphysical quarrel, many thousands[70] were slain, and the Christians of every degree were deprived of the substantial enjoyments of social life, and of the invisible gifts of baptism and the holy communion. Perhaps an extravagant fable of the times may conceal an allegorical picture of these fanatics, who tortured each other, and themselves. "Under the consulship of Venantius and Celer," says a grave bishop, "the people of Alexandria, and all Egypt, were "seized with a strange and diabolical frenzy: great and "small, slaves and freedmen, monks and clergy, the natives "of the land, who opposed the synod of Chalcedon, lost "their speech and reason, barked like dogs, and tore with "their own teeth, the flesh from their hands and arms."[71]

The Henoticon of Zeno, A. D. 482.

The disorders of thirty years at length produced the famous HENOTICON[72] of the emperor Zeno, which in his reign, and in that of Anasta-

[69] Αἴλουρος, from his nocturnal expeditions. In darkness and disguise he crept round the cells of the monastery, and whispered the revelation to his slumbering brethren, (*Theodor. Lector.* l. i.) *

[70] Φόνους τε τολμηθῆναι μυρίους, αἱμάτων πλήθει μολυνθῆναι μὴ μόνοι τὴν ν ἀγῆλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἄερα. Such is the hyperbolic language of the Henoticon.†

[71] See the Chronicle of Victor Tununensis, in the *Lectiones Antiquæ* of Canisius, republished by Basnage, tom. i. p. 326.

[72] The *Henoticon* is transcribed by *Evagrius*, (l. iii. c. 13), and translated by Liberatus, (*Brev.* c. 18). Pagi, (*Critica*, tom. ii. p. 411), and Asseman, (*Bibliot. Orient.* tom. i. p. 343), are satisfied that it is free from heresy; but Petavius, (*Dogmat. Theolog.* tom. v. l. i. c. 13, p. 40), most unaccountably affirms Chalcedonensem ascivit. An adversary would prove that he had never read the *Henoticon.*‡

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* The murder of Proterius was perpetrated in 457. The dignity into which Timotheus Ailurus had *whispered* himself, was taken from him three years afterwards by the emperor Leo, who banished him to Cherson. During the usurpation of Basiliscus in 476, he was reinstated; and being then far advanced in years, was allowed peacefully to hold the patriarchate till his death in 477. (*Neander*, iv. 233–236. *Clinton, F. R.* i. 449, ii. 544.)—ENG CH.

† While this competition for the rich prize of the Alexandrian patriarchate exhausted society by perpetuated confusion and carnage, Palestine was equally disturbed. "The fanatical monk Theodosius ruled there supreme in the cloisters, "and set all in commotion by his vehement fury against such as would not reject "the decrees of the council of Chalcedon. Juvenalis, the patriarch of Jerusalem, "was banished, and his place filled by Theodosius, who deposed and appointed "bishops at his will. Similar occurrences were witnessed in other cities. The evil "could not be checked without forcible measures, and provinces were laid waste "by fire and sword." (*Neander*, iv. 232.)—ENG. CH.

‡ The principal design of the *Henoticon* was to tranquilize Egypt; but it was, by no means generally acceptable to the people of that country.—GERM. ED.

This "Concordat," as it is designated by Neander, (4, 239), embraced wider aims; it proposed "a basis for the peace of the whole church;" and took a middle ground, on which "neither party should stigmatize the other as heretical." But here again the angry spirits involuntarily confessed, that peace and truth were not their objects. "Far from closing the schism, the *Henoticon* made it

sius, was signed by all the bishops of the East, under the penalty of degradation and exile, if they rejected or infringed this salutary and fundamental law. The clergy may smile or groan at the presumption of a layman who defines the articles of faith; yet if he stoops to the humiliating task, his mind is less infected by prejudice or interest, and the authority of the magistrate can only be maintained by the concord of the people. It is in ecclesiastical story, that Zeno appears least contemptible; and I am not able to discern any Manichæan or Eutychian guilt in the generous saying of Anastasius, That it was unworthy of an emperor to persecute the worshipers of Christ and the citizens of Rome. The Henoticon was most pleasing to the Egyptians; yet the smallest blemish has not been described by the jealous, and even jaundiced, eyes of our orthodox schoolmen, and it accurately represents the Catholic faith of the incarnation, without adopting or disclaiming the peculiar terms or tenets of the hostile sects. A solemn anathema is pronounced against Nestorius and Eutyches; against all heretics by whom Christ is divided, or confounded, or reduced to a phantom. Without defining the number or the article of the word *nature*, the pure system of St. Cyril, the faith of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus, is respectfully confirmed, but, instead of bowing at the name of the fourth council, the subject is dismissed by the censure of all contrary doctrines, *if* any such have been taught either elsewhere or at Chalcedon. Under this ambiguous expression, the friends and the enemies of the last synod might unite in a silent embrace. The most reasonable Christians acquiesced in this mode of toleration; but their reason was feeble and inconstant, and their obedience was despised as timid and servile by the vehement spirit of their brethren. On a subject which engrossed the thoughts and discourses of men, it was difficult to preserve an exact neutrality; a book, a sermon, a prayer, rekindled the flame of controversy; and the bonds of communion were alternately broken and renewed by the private animosity of the bishops. The space between Nestorius and Eutyches was filled by a thousand shades of language and opinion; the

" wider than it was before. Instead of two parties, there were four—the zealots " on either side, and the moderates on both, who accepted the compromise. On " the death of Zeno, Anastasius, only desirous of preserving peace, and of " silencing the heretic-makers on both sides, would not abandon the treaty of co- " alition. But his moderation made him an object of suspicion, and was even " represented as persecution. Serious disturbances, proceeding from this struggle, " broke out during his reign in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Constantinople,"—E. C.

acephali[73] of Egypt, and the Roman pontiffs, of equal valor, though of unequal strength, may be found at the two extremities of the theological scale. The acephali, without a king or a bishop, were separated above three hundred years from the patriarchs of Alexandria, who had accepted the communion of Constantinople, without exacting a formal condemnation of the synod of Chalcedon. For accepting the communion of Alexandria, without a formal approbation of the same synod, the patriarchs of Constantinople were anathematized by the popes. Their inflexible despotism involved the most orthodox of the Greek churches in this spiritual contagion, denied or doubted the validity of their sacraments,[74] and fomented, thirty-five years, the schism of the East and West, till they finally abolished the memory of four Byzantine pontiffs, who had dared to oppose the supremacy of St. Peter.[75] Before that period, the precarious truce of Constantinople and Egypt had been violated by the zeal of the rival prelates. Macedonius, who was suspected of the Nestorian heresy, asserted, in disgrace and exile, the synod of Chalcedon, while the successor of Cyril would have purchased its overthrow with a bribe of two thousand pounds of gold.

The Trisagion, and religious war, till the death of Anastasius, A. D. 508–518.

In the fever of the times, the sense, or rather the sound, of a syllable, was sufficient to disturb the peace of an empire. The TRISAGION,[76] (thrice holy,) "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts!" is supposed, by the Greeks, to be the

[73] See Renaudot, (*Hist. Patriarch. Alex* pp. 123, 131, 145, 195, 247). They were reconciled by the care of Mark I. (A. D. 799–819): he promoted their chiefs to the bishoprics of Athribis and Talba, (perhaps Tava. See *D'Anville*, p. 82), and supplied the sacraments, which had failed for want of an episcopal ordination. †

[74] De his quos baptizavit, quos ordinavit Acacius, majorum traditione confectam et veram, præcipue religiosæ solicitudini congruam præbemus sine difficultate medicinam (Gelacius, in epist. i. ad Euphemium, *Concil.* tom. v. 286.) The offer of a medicine proves the disease, and numbers must have perished before the arrival of the Roman physician. Tillemont himself, (*Mém. Eccles.* tom. xvi. pp. 372, 642, &c.,) is shocked at the proud, uncharitable temper of the popes; they are now glad, says he, to invoke St. Flavian of Antioch, St. Elias of Jerusalem, &c., to whom they refused communion whilst upon earth. But Cardinal Baronius is firm and hard as the rock of St. Peter.

[75] Their names were erased from the diptych of the church: ex venerabili diptycho, in quo piæ memoriæ transitum ad cœlum habentium episcoporum vocabula continentur. (*Concil.* tom. iv. p. 1846.) This ecclesiastical record was therefore equivalent to the book of life.

[76] Petavius, (*Dogmat. Theolog.* tom. v. l. v. c. 2, 3, 4, pp. 217–225), and Tillemont, (*Mem. Eccles.* tom. xiv. p. 713, &c., 799), represent the history and doctrine of the Trisagion. In the twelve centuries between Isaiah and St. Proclus's boy, who was taken up into heaven before the bishop and the people of Constantinople, the song was considerably improved. The boy heard the angels sing, "Holy God! "Holy Strong! Holy Immortal!"

† The *Acephaloi*, or "headless sect," were so denominated, because they had no chief or leader. (*Neander*, 4, 239.) They were the most zealous of the Monophysite party, and demanded an unqualified renunciation of the Chalcedonian council. There was method in their madness, and system in their extravagance; or, it might be supposed, that they had received their name from wanting the seat of reason.—ENG. CH.

identical hymn which the angels and cherubim eternally repeat before the throne of God, and which, about the middle of the fifth century, was miraculously revealed to the church of Constantinople. The devotion of Antioch soon added, "who was crucified for us!" and this grateful address, either to Christ alone, or to the whole Trinity, may be justified by the rules of theology, and has been gradually adopted by the Catholics of the East and West. But it had been imagined by a Monophysite bishop;[77] the gift of an enemy was at first rejected as a dire and dangerous blasphemy, and the rash innovation had nearly cost the emperor Anastasius his throne and his life.[78] The people of Constantinople were devoid of any rational principles of freedom; but they held, as a lawful cause of rebellion, the color of a livery in the races, or the color of a mystery in the schools. The Trisagion, with and without this obnoxious addition, was chanted in the cathedral by two adverse choirs, and when their lungs were exhausted, they had recourse to the more solid arguments of sticks and stones: the aggressors were punished by the emperor, and defended by the patriarch; and the crown and mitre were staked on the event of this momentous quarrel. The streets were instantly crowded with innumerable swarms of men, women, and children; the legions of monks, in regular array, marched, and shouted, and fought at their head, "Christians! "this is the day of martyrdom: let us not desert our "spiritual father; anathema to the Manichæan tyrant! he "is unworthy to reign." Such was the Catholic cry; and the galleys of Anastasius lay upon their oars before the palace, till the patriarch had pardoned his penitent, and hushed the waves of the troubled multitude. The triumph of Macedonius was checked by a speedy exile; but the zeal of his flock was again exasperated by the same question, "Whether one of the Trinity had been crucified?" On this momentous occasion, the blue and green factions of Constantinople suspended their discord, and the civil and military powers were annihilated in their presence. The

[77] Peter Gnapheus, the *fuller*, (a trade which he had exercised in his monastery), patriarch of Antioch. His tedious story is discussed in the Annals of Pagi, (A. D. 477-490), and a dissertation of M. de Valois at the end of his *Evagrius*.*

[78] The troubles under the reign of Anastasius must be gathered from the *Chronicles* of Victor, Marcellinus, and Theophanes. As the last was not published in the time of Baronius, his critic Pagi is more copious, as well as more correct.

* The elevation of Peter "the fuller" is wrongly attributed to Zeno by John Malalas and Nicephorus. He was appointed by the usurper Basiliscus in 476, and displaced on the return of Zeno in 477. After a succession of four patriarchs, he was restored in 485, and died in 488. (*Clinton, H. R.* ii. 553-555.)—ENG. CH.

keys of the city, and the standards of the guards, were deposited in the Forum of Constantine, the principal station and camp of the faithful. Day and night they were incessantly busied either in singing hymns to the honor of their God, or in pillaging and murdering the servants of their prince. The head of his favorite monk, the friend, as they styled him, of the enemy of the Holy Trinity, was borne aloft on a spear; and the firebrands, which had been darted against heretical structures, diffused the undistinguishing flames over the most orthodox buildings. The statues of the emperor were broken, and his person was concealed in a suburb, till, at the end of three days, he dared to implore the mercy of his subjects. Without his diadem, and in the posture of a suppliant, Anastasius appeared on the throne of the circus. The Catholics, before his face, rehearsed their genuine Trisagion; they exulted in the offer which he proclaimed by the voice of a herald, of abdicating the purple; they listened to the admonition, that, since *all* could not reign, they should previously agree in the choice of a sovereign; and they accepted the blood of two unpopular ministers, whom their master, without hesitation, condemned to the lions. These furious but transient seditions were encouraged by the success of Vitalian, who, with an army of Huns and Bulgarians, for the most part idolaters, declared himself the champion of the Catholic faith. In this pious rebellion he depopulated Thrace, besieged Constantinople, exterminated sixty-five thousand of his fellow-Christians, till he obtained the recall of the bishops, the satisfaction of the pope, and the establishment of the council of Chalcedon, an orthodox treaty, reluctantly signed by the dying Anastasius, and more faithfully performed by the uncle of Justinian.

First religious war. A. D. 514.

And such was the event of the *first* of the religious wars, which have been waged in the name, and by the disciples, of the God of peace.[79]*

[79] The general history, from the council of Chalcedon to the death of Anastasius, may be found in the *Breviary of Liberatus*, (c. 14–19), the second and third books of *Evagrius*, the *Abstract* of the two books of Theodore the Reader, the *Acts of the Synods*, and the *Epistles of the Popes*, (*Concil.* tom. v.) The series is continued with some disorder in the xvth and xvith tomes of the *Mémoires Ecclesiastiques* of Tillemont And here I must take leave forever of that incomparable guide—whose bigotry is overbalanced by the merits of erudition, diligence, veracity, and scrupulous minuteness. He was prevented by death from completing, as he designed, the sixth century of the church and empire.

* "These Christians," says Gibbon, "differed only in names and shadow," and yet these metaphysical distinctions caused the most bloody and relentless wars. It is doubtful whether either the victors or the vanquished understood or respected the teachings of the "God of Peace," and it is certain that the noble words of Jesus, "Blessed are the merciful," awakened no responsive chord in the minds of these Christian bigots.—E.

Theological character and government of Justinian. A. D. 519-565.

Justinian has been already seen in the various lights of a prince, a conqueror, and a lawgiver: the theologian[80] still remains, and it affords an unfavorable prejudice, that his theology should form a very prominent feature of his portrait. The sovereign sympathized with his subjects in their superstitious reverence for living and departed saints: his Code, and more especially his Novels, confirm and enlarge the privileges of the clergy; and in every dispute between a monk and a layman, the partial judge was inclined to pronounce that truth, and innocence, and justice, were always on the side of the church. In his public and private devotions, the emperor was assiduous and exemplary; his prayers, vigils, and fasts, displayed the austere penance of a monk; his fancy was amused by the hope, or belief, of personal inspiration; he had secured the patronage of the Virgin and St. Michael the archangel; and his recovery from a dangerous disease was ascribed to the miraculous succor of the holy martyrs Cosmas and Damian. The capital and the provinces of the East were decorated with the monuments of his religion;[81] and, though the far greater part of these costly structures may be attributed to his taste or ostentation, the zeal of the royal architect was probably quickened by a genuine sense of love and gratitude towards his invisible benefactors. Among the titles of imperial greatness, the name of *Pious* was most pleasing to his ear; to promote the temporal and spiritual interest of the church,

[80] The strain of the *Anecdotes of Procopius*, (c. 11, 13, 18, 27, 28), with the learned remarks of Alemannus, is confirmed, rather than contradicted, by the *Acts of the Councils*, the fourth book of *Evagrius*, and the complaints of the African Facundus, in his twelfth book—de tribus capitulis, "cum videri doctus appetit "importune * * * spontaneis quæstionibus ecclesiam turbat." See *Procop. de Bell. Goth.* l. iii. c. 35.*

[81] *Procop. de Ædificiis*, l. i. c. 6, 7, &c., passim.

* Of Justinian *Neander* says, (4, 244), "he meant to be considered a zealous "champion of the Chalcedonian orthodoxy. Intermeddling in theological dis- "putes was with him a favorite passion: and he would very willingly have been "lawgiver to the church, in the same sense as he was to the state; but the more "he acted, or supposed he acted, by his own impulse, the more he served as the "tool of others;† and in conclusion *Neander* adds, (p. 288), "Justinian's long "reign was the occasion of the greatest mischiefs in the Greek church." Anthimus, dissatisfied with his obscure bishopric of Trebizond, aspired to that of Constantinople, which he obtained, by ingratiating himself with Theodora. Envious rivals accused him of unsound doctrine, and interested in their cause Agapetus, the head of the Western church, then among them as envoy from Theodoric to the Byzantine court. This pontiff alarmed the conscience of Justinian; Anthimus was deposed; intrigues and troubles followed, which extended from Jerusalem on one side, even to Rome on the other; and the tottering empire was still more weakened by these controversial shocks.—ENG. CH.

† Justinian was greatly influenced by his beautiful wife Theodora, (who was a born theologian,) and she in her turn was influenced by her favorite eunuchs and the intriguing bishops by whom she was surrounded.—E.

was the serious business of his life; and the duty of father of his country was often sacrificed to that of defender of the faith. The controversies of the times were congenial to his temper and understanding; and the theological professors must inwardly deride the diligence of a stranger, who cultivated their art and neglected his own. "What can ye "fear," said a bold conspirator to his associates, "from "your bigoted tyrant? Sleepless and unarmed he sits "whole nights in his closet, debating with reverend grey-"beards, and turning over the pages of ecclesiastical "volumes."[82] The fruits of these lucubrations were displayed in many a conference; where Justinian might shine as the loudest and most subtle of the disputants, in many a sermon, which, under the name of edicts and epistles, proclaimed to the empire the theology of their master. While the barbarians invaded the provinces, while the victorious legions marched under the banners of Belisarius and Narses, the successor of Trajan, unknown to the camp, was content to vanquish at the head of a synod. Had he invited to these synods a disinterested and rational spectator, Justinian might have learned, "*that* religious controversy "is the offspring of arrogance and folly; *that* true piety is "most laudably expressed by silence and submission; *that* "man, ignorant of his own nature, should not presume to "scrutinize the nature of his God; and *that* it is sufficient "for us to know, that power and benevolence are the "perfect attributes of the Deity."[83]

His persecution:

Toleration was not the virtue of the times, and indulgence to rebels has seldom been the virtue of princes. But when the prince descends to the narrow and peevish character of a disputant, he is easily provoked to supply the defect of argument by the plentitude of power, and to chastise without mercy the perverse blindness of those who willfully shut their eyes against the light of demonstration. The reign of Justinian was a uniform

[82] Ὃς δὲ κάθηται ἀφύλακτος ἐς ἀεὶ ἐπὶ λέσχης τινὸς ἀωρὶ νυκτῶν, ὁμοῦ τοῖς των ἱερέων ἔσχατον γέρονσιν ἀνακυκλεῖν τὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγια σπουδὴν ἔχωι. *Procop. de Bell. Goth.* l. iii. c. 32. In the life of St. Eutychius, (apud Aleman. ad *Procop. Arcan.* c. 18), the same character is given with a design to praise Justinian.

[83] For these wise and moderate sentiments,* Procopius, (de *Bell. Goth.* l. i. c. 3) is scourged in the preface of Alemannus, who ranks him among the *political* Christians—sed longe verius hæresium omnium sentinas, prorsusque Atheos—abominable Atheists, who preached the imitation of God's mercy to man, (ab *Hist. Arcan.* c. 13).

* The reader will not fail to observe that, as early as the fifth century, Christian controversialists had already learned to designate "wise and moderate senti-"ments," like the above quotation from Procopius, as "abominable Atheism."—E.

yet various scene of persecution: and he appears to have surpassed his indolent predecessors, both in the contrivance of his laws and the rigor of their execution. The insufficient term of three months was assigned for the conversion or exile of all heretics;[84] and if he still connived at their precarious stay, they were deprived, under his iron yoke, not only of the benefits of society, but of the common birth-right of men and Christians. At the end of four hundred years, the Montanists of Phrygia,[85] still breathed the wild enthusiasm of perfection and prophecy, which they had imbibed from their male and female apostles, the special organs of the Paraclete. On the approach of the Catholic priests and soldiers, they grasped with alacrity the crown of martyrdom; the conventicle and the congregation perished in the flames; but these primitive fanatics were not extinguished three hundred years after the death of their tyrant. Under the protection of the Gothic confederates, the church of the Arians at Constantinople had braved the severity of the laws: their clergy equalled the wealth and magnificence of the senate; and the gold and silver, which was seized by the rapacious hand of Justinian, might perhaps be claimed as the spoils of the provinces and the trophies of the barbarians. A secret remnant of Pagans, who still lurked in the most refined and the most rustic conditions of mankind, excited the indignation of the Christians, who were perhaps unwilling that any strangers should be the witnesses of their intestine quarrels. A bishop was named as the inquisitor of the faith, and his diligence soon discovered in the court and city, the magistrates, lawyers, physicians and sophists, who still cherished the superstition of the Greeks. They were sternly informed that they must choose without delay between the displeasures of Jupiter or Justinian, and that their aversion to the gospel could no longer be disguised under the scandalous mask of indifference or impiety. The patrician Photius perhaps alone was resolved to live and to die like his ancestors; he enfranchised himself with the stroke of a dagger, and left his tyrant the poor consolation

Of heretics;

Of Pagans;

[84] This alternative, a precious circumstance, is preserved by John Malalas, (tom. ii. p. 63, edit. Venet. 1733), who deserves more credit as he draws towards his end. After numbering the heretics, Nestorians, Eutychians, &c., "ne expectent," says Justinian, "ut digni venia judicentur: jubemus, enim ut * * * convicti et "aperti hæretici justæ et idoneæ animadversioni subjiciantur." Baronius copies and applauds this edict of the *Code*, (A. D. 527, No. 39, 40).

[85] See the character and principles of the Montanists, in Mosheim. *de Rebus Christ.* ante Constantinum, pp. 410–424.

of exposing with ignominy the lifeless corpse of the fugitive. His weaker brethren submitted to their earthly monarch, underwent the ceremony of baptism, and labored, by their extraordinary zeal, to erase the suspicion, or to expiate the guilt, of idolatry. The native country of Homer, and the theatre of the Trojan war, still retained the last sparks of his mythology: by the care of the same bishop, seventy thousand Pagans were detected and converted in Asia, Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria; ninety-six churches were built for the new proselytes; and linen vestments, bibles, and liturgies, and vases of gold and silver, were supplied by the pious munificence of Justinian.[86] The Jews, who had been gradually stripped of their immunities, were oppressed by a vexatious law, which compelled them to observe the festival of Easter the same day on which it was celebrated by the Christians.[87] And they might complain with the more reason, since the Catholics themselves did not agree with the astronomical calculations of their sovereign: the people of Constantinople delayed the beginning of their Lent a whole week after it had been ordained by authority; and they had the pleasure of fasting seven days, while meat was exposed for sale by the command of the emperor. The Samaritans of Palestine[88] were a motley race, an ambiguous sect, rejected as Jews by the Pagans, by the Jews as schismatics, and by the Christians as idolaters. The abomination of the cross had already been planted on their holy mount of Garizim,[89] but the persecution of Justinian afforded only the alternative of baptism or rebellion. They chose the latter: under the standard of a desperate leader, they rose in arms, and retaliated their wrongs on the lives, the property, and the temples, of a defenceless people. The Samaritans were finally subdued by the regular forces of

Of Jews;

Of Samaritans.

86 Theophan. *Chron.* p. 153. John, the Monophysite bishop of Asia, is a more authentic witness of this transaction, in which he was himself employed by the emperor, (Asseman. *Bib. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 85).

87 Compare Procopius, (*Hist. Arcan.* c. 28, and *Aleman's Notes,*) with Theophanes, (*Chron.* p. 190). The council of Nice has intrusted the patriarch, or rather the astronomers, of Alexandria, with the annual proclamation of Easter; and we still read, or rather we do not read, many of the Paschal epistles of St. Cyril. Since the reign of Monophysitism in Egypt, the Catholics were perplexed by such a foolish prejudice as that which so long opposed, among the Protestants, the reception of the Gregorian style.

88 For the religion and history of the Samaritans, consult Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs*, a learned and impartial work.

89 Sichem Neapolis, Naplous, the ancient and modern seat of the Samartians, is situate in a valley between the barren Ebal, the mountain of cursing to the north, and the fruitful *Garizim*, or mountain of blessing to the south, ten or eleven hours' travel from Jerusalem. See Maundrel. *Journey from Aleppo, &c.*, pp. 59–63.

the East: twenty thousand were slain, twenty thousand were sold by the Arabs to the infidels of Persia and India, and the remains of that unhappy nation atoned for the crime of treason by the sin of hypocrisy. It has been computed that one hundred thousand Roman subjects were extirpated in the Samaritan war,[90] which converted the once fruitful province into a desolate and smoking wilderness. But in the creed of Justinian, the guilt of murder could not be applied to the slaughter of unbelievers: and he piously labored to establish with fire and sword the unity of the Christian faith.[91]

His orthodoxy.

With these sentiments, it was incumbent on him, at least, to be always in the right. In the first years of his administration, he signalized his zeal as the disciple and patron of orthodoxy: the reconciliation of the Greeks and Latins established the *tome* of St. Leo as the creed of the emperor and the empire; the Nestorians and Eutychians were exposed, on either side, to the double edge of persecution; and the four synods, of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and *Chalcedon*, were ratified by the code of a Catholic lawgiver.[92] But while Justinian strove to maintain the uniformity of faith and worship, his wife Theodora, whose vices were not incompatible with devotion,* had listened to the Monophysite teachers; and the open or clandestine enemies of the church revived and multiplied at the smile of their gracious patroness. The capital, the

90 Procop. *Anecdot.* c. 11. Theophan. *Chron.* p. 122. John Malalas, *Chron.* tom. ii. p. 62. I remember an observation, half philosophical, half superstitious, that the province which had been ruined by the bigotry of Justinian, was the same through which the Mahometans penetrated into the empire.

91 The expression of Procopius is remarkable: *οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἐδόκει φόνος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι, ἤν γε μὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης οἱ τε ευτῶντες τύχοιεν ὄντες.* *Anecdot.* c. 13.

92 See the *Chronicle* of Victor, p. 328, and the original evidence of the laws of Justinian. During the first years of his reign, Baronius himself is in extreme good humor with the emperor, who courted the popes, till he got them into his power.

* The famous Theodora, who, in her youth, was celebrated for her fascinating beauty and licentious indulgence, was always active in Christian work, and exerted in her old age, as the wife of the emperor Justinian, a most potent influence in formulating creeds and directing the faith of her Christian subjects. It was her influence that brought Anthimus from his obscure bishopric at Trebizond and installed him at Constantinople. The intrigues and troubles which followed, says Neander, "extended from Jerusalem on one side, even to Rome on the other." But the Christian influence of the empress Theodora was not as great, neither were her crimes to be compared with those of Constantine, the first Christian emperor. For, while the pious Constantine was guilty of murdering almost his entire family, the saintly Theodora was only suspected of murdering her illegitimate son, whose existence was a constant reminder of former intrigues, and whose death she considered necessary to maintain her exalted reputation. Gibbon has shown "that her vices were not incompatible with devotion;" and it may be said to her credit, that as empress she was never accused of indulging in the indiscretions of her youth.—E.

palace, the nuptial bed, were torn by spiritual discord; yet so doubtful was the sincerity of the royal consorts, that their seeming disagreement was imputed by many to a secret and mischievous confederacy against the religion and happiness of their people.[93] The famous dispute of the THREE CHAPTERS,[94] which has filled more volumes than it deserves lines, is deeply marked with this subtle and disingenuous spirit. It was now three hundred years since the body of Origen[95] had been eaten by the worms: his soul, of which he held the pre-existence, was in the hands of its Creator, but his writings were eagerly perused by the monks of Palestine. In these writings, the piercing eye of Justinian descried more than ten metaphysical errors; and the primitive doctor, in the company of Pythagoras and Plato, was devoted by the clergy to the *eternity* of hell-fire, which he had presumed to deny. Under the cover of this precedent, a treacherous blow was aimed at the council of Chalcedon. The fathers had listened without impatience to the praise of Theodore of Mopsuestia;[96] and their justice or indulgence had restored both Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Ibas of Edessa, to the communion of the church. But the characters of these

The three chapters, A. D. 532-698.

93 Procopius, *Anecdot.* c. 13. *Evagrius*, l. iv. c. 10. If the ecclesiastical never read the secret historian, their common suspicion proves at least the general hatred.

94 On the subject of the three chapters, the original act of the fifth general council of Constantinople supply much useless, though authentic, knowledge. (*Concil.* tom. vi. pp. 14–19). The *Greek Evagrius* is less copious and correct, (l. iv. c. 38), than the three zealous *Africans*, *Facundus*, (in his twelve books, de tribus capitulis, which are most correctly published by Sirmond), Liberatus (in his *Breviarum*, c. 22, 23, 24,) and Victor Tunnunensis in his Chronicle (in tom. i. *Antiq. Lect. Canisii*, pp. 330–334). The Liber Pontificalis, or Anastasius, (in *Vigilio*, *Pelagio*, &c.), is original *Italian* evidence. The modern reader will derive some information from Dupin, (*Bibliot. Ecclés.* tom. v. pp. 189-207), and Basnage, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, tom. i. pp. 519-541); and yet the latter is too firmly resolved to depreciate the authority and character of the popes. *

95 Origin had indeed too great a propensity to imitate the πλάνη and δυσσεβέια or the old philosophers (Justinian, ad Mennam, in *Concil* tom. vi. p. 356). His moderate opinions were too repugnant to the zeal of the church, and he was found guilty of the heresy of reason.†

96 Basnage, (*Præfat.* pp. 11–14, ad tom. i. *Antiq. Lect. Canis.*) has fairly weighed the guilt and innocence of Theodore of Mopsuestia. If he composed 10,000 volumes, as many errors would be a charitable allowance. In all the subsequent catalogues of heresiarchs he alone, without his two brethren, is included; and it is the duty of Asseman, (*Bibliot. Orient.* tom. iv. pp. 203-207), to justify the sentence.

* "The Three Chapters," is an incorrect translation of περὶ τριῶν κεφαλαίων —*de tribus capitulis*, which denoted, not chapters, but the three heads or points of dispute which had so long agitated the church, (*Neander*, 4, 254). This edict was designed by Justinian, like the *Henoticon* of Zeno, to compose differences, but was equally ineffectual.—ENG. CH.

† During the last decade, many clergymen have been convicted of this crime against religion, "the heres. of reason," and forced to abandon their churches: and yet, in spite of the most severe discipline, the number of clerical offenders is still increasing.—E.

Oriental bishops were tainted with the reproach of heresy; the first had been the master, the two others were the friends, of Nestorius: their most suspicious passages were accused under the title of the *three chapters;* and the condemnation of their memory must involve the honor of a synod, whose name was pronounced with sincere or affected reverence by the Catholic world. If these bishops, whether innocent or guilty, were annihilated in the sleep of death, they would not probably be awakened by the clamor, which after a hundred years was raised over their grave. If they were already in the fangs of the dæmon, their torments could neither be aggravated nor assuaged by human industry. If in the company of saints and angels they enjoyed the rewards of piety, they must have smiled at the idle fury of the theological insects who still crawled on the surface of the earth. The foremost of these insects, the emperor of the Romans, darted his sting, and distilled his venom, perhaps without discerning the true motives of Theodora and her ecclesiastical faction. The victims were no longer subject to his power, and the vehement style of his edicts could only proclaim their damnation, and invite the clergy of the East to join in a full chorus of curses and anathemas. The East, with some hesitation, consented to the voice of her sovereign: the fifth general council, of three patriarchs and one hundred and sixty-five bishops, was held at Constantinople; and the authors, as well as the defenders, of the three chapters, were separated from the communion of the saints, and solemnly delivered to the prince of darkness. But the Latin churches were more jealous of the honor of Leo and the synod of Chalcedon; and if they had fought as they usually did under the standard of Rome, they might have prevailed in the cause of reason and humanity. But their chief was a prisoner in the hands of the enemy; the throne of St. Peter, which had been disgraced by the simony, was betrayed by the cowardice, of Vigilius, who yielded, after a long and inconsistent struggle, to the despotism of Justinian and the sophistry of the Greeks. His apostasy provoked the indignation of the Latins, and no more than two bishops could be found who would impose their hands on his deacon and successor Pelagius. Yet the perseverance of the popes insensibly transferred to their adversaries the

Fifth general council. Second of Constantinople, A. D. 553, May 4–June 2.

appellation of schismatics; the Illyrian, African, and Italian churches, were oppressed by the civil and ecclesiastical powers, not without some effort of military force;[97] the distant barbarians transcribed the creed of the Vatican, and in the period of a century, the schism of the three chapters expired in an obscure angle of the Venetian province.[98] But the religious discontent of the Italians had already promoted the conquests of the Lombards, and the Romans themselves were accustomed to suspect the faith, and to detest the government of their Byzantine tyrant.

Heresy of Justinian, A. D. 564.

Justinian was neither steady nor consistent in the nice process of fixing his volatile opinions and those of his subjects. In his youth he was offended by the slightest deviation from the orthodox line; in his old age, he transgressed the measure of temperate heresy, and the Jacobites, not less than the Catholics, were scandalized by his declaration, that the body of Christ was incorruptible, and that his manhood was never subject to any wants and infirmities, the inheritance of our mortal flesh. This *phantastic* opinion was announced in the last edicts of Justinian; and at the moment of his seasonable departure, the clergy had refused to subscribe, the prince was prepared to persecute, and the people were resolved to suffer or resist. A bishop of Treves, secure beyond the limits of his power, addressed the monarch of the East in the language of authority and affection, "Most gracious "Justinian, remember your baptism and your creed. Let "not your gray hairs be defiled with heresy. Recall your "fathers from exile, and your followers from perdition. "You cannot be ignorant, that Italy and Gaul, Spain and "Africa, already deplore your fall, and anathematize your "name. Unless, without delay, you destroy what you have "taught; unless you exclaim with a loud voice, I have "erred, I have sinned, anathema to Nestorius, anathema to "Eutyches, you will deliver your soul to the same flames "in which *they* will eternally burn." He died and made

[97] See the complaints of Liberatus and Victor, and the exhortations of Pope Pelagius to the conquerer and exarch of Italy, Schisma * * * per potestates publicas opprimatur, &c. (*Concil.* tom. iv, p. 467, &c.) An army was detained to suppress the sedition of an Illyrian city. See Procopius, (*de Bell. Goth.* l. iv. c. 25): ὑπερ ἕνεκα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ διαμάχονται. He seems to promise an ecclesiastical history. It would have been curious and impartial.

[98] The bishops of the patriarchate of Aquileia were reconciled by pope Honorius, A. D. 638, (*Muratori, Annali d' Italia*, tom. v. p. 376); but they again relapsed, and the schism was not finally extinguished till 698. Fourteen years before, the church of Spain had overlooked the fifth general council with contemptuous silence, (xiii. Concil. Toletan. in Concil. tom. vii. pp. 487-494).

no sign.[99] His death restored in some degree the peace of the church, and the reigns of his four successors, Justin, Tiberius, Maurice, and Phocas, are distinguished by a rare, though fortunate, vacancy in the ecclesiastical history of the East.[100]

The Monothelite controversy. A. D. 659.

The faculties of sense and reason are least capable of acting on themselves; the eye is most inaccessible to the sight, the soul to the thought; yet we think, and even feel, that *one will*, a sole principle of action, is essential to a rational and conscious being. When Heraclius returned from the Persian war, the orthodox hero consulted his bishops, whether the Christ whom he adored, of one person, but of two natures, was actuated by a single or a double will. They replied in the singular, and the emperor was encouraged to hope that the Jacobites of Egypt and Syria might be reconciled by the profession of a doctrine, most certainly harmless, and most probably true, since it was taught even by the Nestorians themselves.[101] The experiment was tried without effect, and the timid or vehement Catholics condemned even the semblance of a retreat in the presence of a subtle and audacious enemy. The orthodox (the prevailing) party devised new modes of speech, and argument, and interpetation: to either nature of Christ, they speciously applied a proper and distinct energy; but the difference was no longer visible when they allowed that the human and the divine will were invariably the same.[102] The disease was attended with the customary symptoms; but the Greek clergy, as if satiated with the endless controversy of the incarnation, instilled a

[99] Nicetius, bishop of Treves, (*Concil.* tom. vi. pp. 511–513); he himself, like most of the Gallican prelates, (Gregor. Epist. l. vii. ep. 5, in *Concil* tom. vi. p. 1007), was separated from the communion of the four patriarchs by his refusal to condemn the three chapters. Baronius almost pronounces the damnation of Justinian, (A. D. 565, No. 6).

[100] After relating the last heresy of Justinian, (l. iv. c. 39, 40, 41), and the edict of his successor (l. v. c. 3), the remainder of the history of Evagrius, is filled with civil, instead of ecclesiastical, events.

[101] This extraordinay, and perhaps inconsistent, doctrine of the Nestorians, had been observed by La Croze, (*Christianisme des Indes*, tom. i. pp. 19, 20), and is more fully exposed by Abulpharagius, (*Bibliot. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 292. *Hist. Dynast.* p. 91, vers. Latin. Pocock), and Asseman himself, (tom. iv. p. 218). They seem ignorant that they might allege the positive authority of the ecthesis. Ὁ μίαρος Νεστόριος καίπερ διαίρων τὴν θείαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρώπησιν, καὶ δύο εἰσάγων υἱούς, (the common reproach of the Monophysites), δύο θελήματα τούτων εἶπειν οὐκ ἐτόλμησε, τοὐναντίον δὲ ταῦτο βουλίαν τῶν * * * θυο πρόσωπων ἐδόξασε. (*Concil.* tom. vii. p. 205).

[102] See the Orthodox faith in Petavius. (*Dogmata Theolog.* tom. v. l. ix. c. 6–10, pp. 433–447):—all the depths of this controversy are sounded in the Greek dialogue between Maximus and Pyrrhus, (ad calcem tom. viii. *Annal. Baron*, pp. 755-794), which relates a real conference, and produced as short-lived a conversion.

healing counsel into the ear of the prince and people. They declared themselves MONOTHELITES, (asserters of the unity of will,) but they treated the words as new, the questions as superfluous, and recommended a religious silence as the most agreeable to the prudence and charity of the gospel. This law of silence was successively imposed by the *ecthesis* or exposition of Heraclius, the *type* or model of his grandson Constans;[103] and the imperial edicts were subscribed with alacrity or reluctance by the four patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch. But the bishop and monks of Jerusalem sounded the alarm; in the language, or even in the silence, of the Greeks, the Latin churches detected a latent heresy: and the obedience of pope Honorius to the commands of his sovereign was retracted and censured by the bolder ignorance of his successors. They condemned the execrable and abominable heresy of the Monothelites, who revived the errors of Manes, Apollinaris, Eutyches, &c.; they signed the sentence of excommunication on the tomb of St. Peter; the ink was mingled with the sacramental wine, the blood of Christ; and no ceremony was omitted that could fill the superstitious mind with horror and affright. As the representative of the Western church, pope Martin and his Lateran synod anathematized the perfidious and guilty silence of the Greeks; one hundred and five bishops of Italy, for the most part the subjects of Constans, presumed to reprobate his wicked *type* and the impious *ecthesis* of his grandfather, and to confound the authors and their adherents with the twenty-one notorious heretics, the apostates from the church, and the organs of the devil. Such an insult under the tamest reign could not pass with impunity. Pope Martin ended his days on the inhospitable shore of the Tauric Chersonesus, and his oracle, the abbot Maximus, was inhumanly chastised by the amputation of his tongue and his right hand.[104] But the same invincible spirit survived in their successors, and the triumph of the Latins avenged

The ecthesis of Heraclius, A. D. 639. The type of Constans, A. D. 648.

[103] Impiissimam ecthesim * * * scelerosum typum (*Concil.* tom. vii. p. 366), diabolicæ operationis genimina (fors. *germina*, or else the Greek γενηματα in the original. *Concil.* p. 363, 364.) are the expressions of the eighteenth anathema. The epistle of Pope Martin to Amandus, a Gallican bishop, stigmatizes the Monothelites and their heresy with equal virulence, (p. 392.)

[104] The sufferings of Martin and Maximus are described with pathetic simplicity in their original letters and acts, (*Concil.* tom. vii. pp. 63–78. *Baron. Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 656, No. 2, et annos subsequent). Yet the chastisement of their disobedience, ἐξόρια and σώματος αἴκισμος, had been previously announced in the Type of Constans, (*Concil.* tom. vii. p. 240).

their recent defeat, and obliterated the disgrace of the three chapters. The synods of Rome were confirmed by the sixth general council of Constantinople, in the palace and presence of a new Constantine, a descendant of Heraclius. The royal convert converted the Byzantine pontiff and a majority of the bishops;[105] the dissenters, with their chief, Macarius of Antioch, were condemned to the spiritual and temporal pains of heresy; the East condescended to accept the lessons of the West; and the creed was finally settled, which teaches the Catholics of every age, that two wills or energies are harmonized in the person of Christ. The majesty of the pope and the Roman synod was represented by two priests, one deacon, and three bishops: but these obscure Latins had neither arms to compel, nor treasures to bribe, nor language to persuade; and I am ignorant by what arts they could determine the lofty emperor of the Greeks to abjure the catechism of his infancy, and to persecute the religion of his fathers. Perhaps the monks and people of Constantinople[106] were favorable to the Lateran creed, which is indeed the least reasonable of the two: and the suspicion is countenanced by the unnatural moderation of the Greek clergy, who appear in this quarrel to be conscious of their weakness. While the synod debated, a fanatic proposed a more summary decision, by raising a dead man to life; the prelates assisted at the trial, but the acknowledged failure may serve to indicate, that the passions and prejudices of the multitude were not enlisted on the side of the Monothelites. In the next generation, when the son of Constantine was deposed and slain by the disciple of Macarius, they tasted the feast of revenge and dominion: the image or monument of the sixth council was defaced, and the original acts were committed to the flames. But in the second year, their patron was cast headlong from the throne, the bishops of the East were released from their occasional conformity, the Roman faith was more firmly re-planted by the orthodox successors of Bardanes, and the fine problems of the incarnation were

Sixth general council. Second of Constantinople, A. D. 680, November 7. A. D. 681, September 16.

[105] Eutychius, (*Annal.* tom. ii. p. 368), most erroneously supposes that the 124 bishops of the Roman synod transported themselves to Constantinople; and by adding them to the 168 Greeks, thus composes the sixth council of 292 fathers.

[106] The Monothelite Constans was hated by all, διὰ τοι ταῦτα (says Theophanes, *Chron.* p. 292), ἐμισήθη σφόδρως παπὰ πάντων. When the Monothelite monk failed in his miracle, the people shouted, ὅλαὸς ἀνεβόησε, (*Concil.* tom. vii. p. 1032). But this was a natural and transient emotion; and I much fear that the latter is an anticipation of orthodoxy in the good people of Constantinople.

forgotten in the more popular and visible quarrel of the worship of images.[107]

Union of the Greek and Latin churches.

Before the end of the seventh century, the creed of the incarnation, which had been defined at Rome and Constantinople, was uniformly preached in the remote islands of Britain and Ireland;[108] the same ideas were entertained, or rather the same words were repeated,* by all the Christians whose liturgy was performed in the Greek or Latin tongue. Their numbers, and visible splendor, bestowed an imperfect claim to the appellation of Catholics; but in the East they were marked with the less honorable name of *Melchites*, or royalists;[109] of men, whose faith, instead of resting on the basis of Scripture, reason, or tradition, had been established, and was still maintained, by the arbitrary power of a temporal monarch. Their adversaries might allege the words of the fathers of Constantinople, who profess themselves the slaves of the king; and they might relate, with

107 The history of Monothelitism may be found in the *Acts of the Synods* of Rome, (tom. vii. pp. 77-395, 601-608), and Constantinople, pp. 609–1429). Baronius extracted some original documents from the Vatican library: and his chronology is rectified by the diligence of Pagi. Even Dupin, (*Bibliothèque Ecclés.* tom. vi. pp. 57-71), and Basnage, (*Hist. de l'Eglise*, tom. i. pp. 541-555), afford a tolerable abridgment.

108 In the Lateran synod of 679, Wilfrid, an Anglo-Saxon bishop, subscribed pro omni Aquilonari parte Britanniæ et Hiberniæ, quæ ab Anglorum et Britonum, necnon Scotorum et Pictorum gentibus colebantur, (Eddius, in *Vit. St. Wilfrid*, c. 31, apud Pagi, *Critica*, tom. iii. p. 88). Theodore, (magnæ insulæ Britanniæ archiepiscopus et philosophus), was long expected at Rome, (*Concil.* tom. vii. p. 714), but he contented himself with holding, (A. D. 680), his provincial synod of Hatfield, in which he received the decrees of Pope Martin and the first Lateran council against the Monothelites, (*Concil.* tom. vii. p. 597, &c.) Theodore a monk of Tarsus in Cilicia, had been named to the primacy of Britain by Pope Vitalian, (A. D. 688; see Baronius and Pagi), whose esteem for his learning and piety was tainted by some distrust of his national character—ne quid contrarium veritati fidei, Græcorum more, in ecclesiam cui præesset introduceret. The Cilician was sent from Rome to Canterbury under the tuition of an African guide, (Bedæ, *Hist. Eccles, Anglorum*, l. iv. c. 1). He adhered to the Roman doctrine; and the same creed of the incarnation has been uniformly transmitted from Theodore to the modern primates, whose sound understanding is perhaps seldom engaged with that abstruse mystery.†

109 This name, unknown till the tenth century, appears to be of Syriac origin. It was invented by the Jacobites, and eagerly adopted by the Nestorians and Mahometans; but it was accepted without shame by the Catholics, and is frequently used in the Annals of Eutychius, (Asseman. *Bibliot. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 507, &c. tom. iii. p. 355. Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 119). Ἡμεῖς δοῦλοι τοῦ Βασιλέως, was the acclamation of the fathers of Constantinople, (*Concil.* tom. vii. p. 765).

* Mark the distinction.—E.

† Wighard, who had been appointed to the see of Canterbury by Egbert, king of Kent, died at Rome, whither he had gone for ordination. Vitalian selected in his place Hadrian, abbot of the Niridian monastery near Naples, who declined the dignity, and recommended the monk Theodore. This choice the pope confirmed, on condition that Hadrian should accompany his friend. On their arrival, the new archbishop gave to his associate the abbey of St. Peter, (afterwards St. Augustine's); they not only acted together in cordial harmony, but diffused the same spirit around them. Bede says, that Theodore was the first "whom all the English church obeyed." (*Ecc. Hist.* p. 170–172, edit. Bohn.)—ENG. CH.

malicious joy, how the decrees of Chalcedon had been inspired and reformed by the emperor Marcian and his virgin bride. The prevailing faction will naturally inculcate the duty of submission, nor is it less natural that dissenters should feel and assert the principles of freedom. Under the rod of persecution, the Nestorians and Monophysites degenerated into rebels and fugitives; and the most ancient and useful allies of Rome were taught to consider the emperor not as the chief, but as the enemy, of the Christians. Language, the leading principle which unites or separates the tribes of mankind, soon discriminated the sectaries of the East, by a peculiar and perpetual badge, which abolished the means of intercourse and the hope of reconciliation. The long dominion of the Greeks, their colonies, and above all their eloquence, had propagated a language doubtless the most perfect that has been contrived by the art of man. Yet the body of the people, both in Syria and Egypt, still persevered in the use of their national idioms; with this difference, however, that the Coptic was confined to the rude and illiterate peasants of the Nile, while the Syriac,[110] from the mountains of Assyria to the Red sea, was adapted to the higher topics of poetry and argument. Armenia and Abyssinia were infected by the speech or learning of the Greeks; and their barbaric tongues, which have been revived in the studies of modern Europe, were unintelligible to the inhabitants of the Roman empire. The Syriac and the Coptic, the Armenian and the Æthiopic, are consecrated in the service of their respective churches: and their theology is enriched by domestic versions[111] both of the

Perpetual separation of the Oriental sects.

110 The Syriac, which the natives revere as the primitive language, was divided into three dialects. 1. The *Aramæan*, as it was refined at Edessa and the cities of Mesopotamia. 2. The *Palestine*, which was used in Jerusalem, Damascus, and the rest of Syria. 3. The *Nabathæan*, the rustic idiom of the mountains of Assyria, and the villages of Irak, (Gregor. Abulpharag. *Hist. Dynast.* p. 11). On the Syriac, see Ebed-Jesu, (Asseman. tom. iii. p. 326, &c.) whose prejudice alone could prefer it to the Arabic.

111 I shall not enrich my ignorance with the spoils of Simon, Walton, Mill, Wetstein, Assemannus, Ludolphus, La Croze, whom I have consulted with some care. It appears, 1. *That*, of all the versions which are celebrated by the fathers, it is doubtful whether any are now extant in their pristine integrity.* 2. *That* the Syriac has the best claim, and that the consent of the Oriental sects is a proof that it is more ancient than their schism.

* Modern theologians give curious, if not romantic, explanations, to account for the admitted discrepancies in the Gospel text. Alexander Roberts, D. D., "Professor of Humanity, St. Andrew's, and Member of the English New Testament "Company," in his learned and useful work, entitled, *Companion to the Revised Version of the English New Testament*, states, on the first page, that, "the "varieties of reading in the *New Testament* were reckoned at about 30,000 in the "last century, they are generally referred to as amounting to no less than 150,000 "at the present day." This difficulty is, however, easily explained by him, as fol-

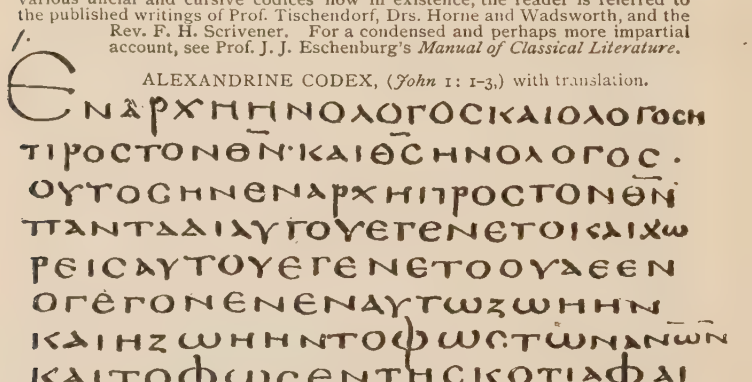
Scriptures and of the most popular fathers. After a period of thirteen hundred and sixty years, the spark of controversy,

lows: (p. 160), "God has not seen fit to provide the Church by a miracle, with in- "fallible translators, any more than with infallible transcribers, printers, and "readers." Of course, the printers and proof-readers are greatly to blame. This is an admitted fact. Every author, not excepting the author of the *Bible*, knows by sad experience, how difficult it is to induce these perverse disciples of Faust to correct errors, how ingenious they are in inventing new ones, and what diabolical skill they possess in concealing their mistakes until after they have been published to the world. But the bible manuscripts were not printed but written, and Dr. Roberts is suspicious that the transcribers were but little better than the printers. On page four, we are informed that, "in regard to the *New Testament*, "no miracle has been wrought to preserve its text as it came from the pens of "the inspired writers. That would have been a thing altogether out of harmony "with God's method of governing the world."

Theologians are not Agnostics, and they clearly understand the nature of God. They are familiar with his thoughts and desires, his purposes and his motives; and Dr. Roberts is in entire harmony with modern theologians in his positive assertion regarding the indifference which God has manifested in relation to the fate of the *New Testament* manuscripts. It seems clearly apparent, therefore, that we are indebted to the zeal of the early Christians, and to them and their monkish successors only, for the preservation of the "Written Word," even in the imperfect condition it now remains.

The *fac-simile* illustrations herewith given, show a few verses of each of the more important Gospel manuscripts, and for a full history and explanation of the various uncial and cursive codices now in existence, the reader is referred to the published writings of Prof. Tischendorf, Drs. Horne and Wadsworth, and the Rev. F. H. Scrivener. For a condensed and perhaps more impartial account, see Prof. J. J. Eschenburg's *Manual of Classical Literature*.

ALEXANDRINE CODEX, (*John* 1: 1–3,) with translation.



In the year 1628, Cyril, patriarch of Constantinople, presented to King Charles I. by his ambassador, Sir Thomas Rowe, a copy of the Greek Scriptures. It has been named the "Codex Alexandrinus," because it is supposed to have formerly been in Alexandria. It is written with uncial, that is, capital letters, with no intervals between the words, as will be seen in the above fac-simile illustration and the following translation, which latter is from Stowe's *Bible History*. It is assigned by scholars to the fifth century, although Eschenburg and other critics place it in the sixth, and Cassimir Oudin as late as the tenth century. We are told it was written by the monks for the use of a monastery of the order of Acœmets, *i. e., vigilant, never sleeping*. It has no apostolic signature. It is highly commended by Dr. Roberts, and is probably as good authority as any in existence. In the year 1753, it was deposited in the British Museum, where it now remains.

The reader will perceive by the following translation of the above codex, which

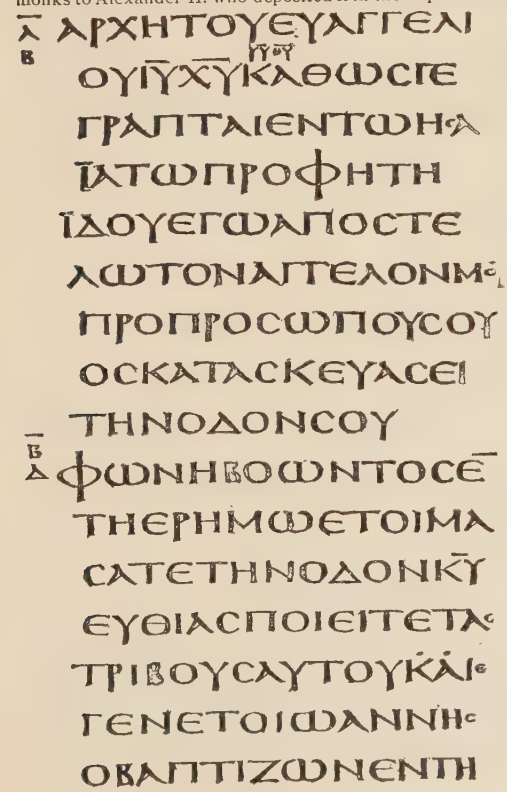
first kindled by a sermon of Nestorius, still burns in the bosom of the East, and the hostile communions still main-

is printed, like the original, in capital letters, without divisions between the words, or punctuation marks of any kind, the great difficulty of reading these old uncials.

INTHEBEGINNINGWASTHEWORDANDTHEWORDWAS
WITHGD·ANDGDWASTHEWORD·
HEWASINTHEBEGINNINGWITHGD.
ALLWEREMADEBYHIMANDWITH
OUTHIMWASMADENOTONE *THING*
THATWASMADEINHIMLIFEWAS
ANDTHELIFEWASTHELIGHTOFMN
ANDTHELIGHTINDARKNESSSHINETH
ANDTHEDARKNESSDIDNOTITCOMPREHEND.

SINAITIC CODEX, *Mark*, 11: 1-4.

At the convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai, in 1859, Professor Tischendorf discovered this manuscript. It was copied by him, and the original given by the monks to Alexander II. who deposited it in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg.

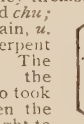


It is written on the finest vellum. Prof. Tischendorf considered it "an inestimable treasure for Christian science," but Doctor Roberts thinks he "was naturally disposed to exaggerate somewhat both the antiquity and value of his wonderful discovery." The doctor considers that it was written in the fourth century, "and though it contains many obvious errors, it yields assistance of a kind most precious towards the settlement of the true text of the *New Testament*." It is presumed, however, that the "many "obvious errors" it contains, are excused from assisting in this precious work. This codex, like all the others, is anonymous it being *undated* and *unsigned* by either of the Apostles.

As to the age of any of the Gospel manuscripts, it is a matter of uncertainty and conjecture. A judgment is based upon the fact that the formation of the written Greek characters gradually changed during the different centuries. The more ancient manuscripts

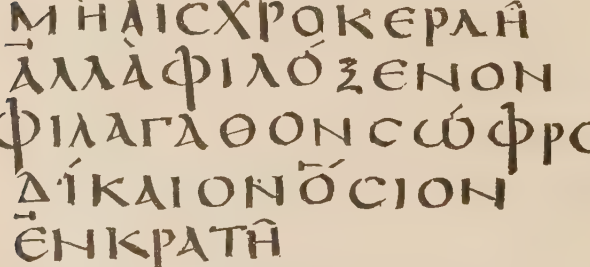
tain the faith and discipline of their founders. In the most abject state of ignorance, poverty, and servitude, the

are written in capital letters, without spaces between the words, and without signs of punctuation. Accents and aspirates, according to Eschenberg, were introduced in the seventh century. In the eighth and ninth, the capital letters were a little longer, and had greater inclination. After this period, a smaller style of writing, called cursive, was introduced; and if we trace backward the formation of letters to their source, we will find the originals in the hieroglyphics of Egypt. Max Müller, in his *Essay on Freedom*, traces our written characters from Egypt to Phœnicia, from Phœnicia to Greece, from Greece to Italy, and from Italy to England. "When we write," says he, (and he quotes as authority, Bunsen's *Egypt*, ii., pp. 77–150,) "a capital F when we "draw the top line and the smaller line through the middle of the letter, we "really draw the two horns of the cerastes, the horned serpent which the ancient "Egyptians used for representing the sound of *F*. They write the name of the "king whom the Greeks called *Chéops*, and they themselves *Chu-fu*, like this: "Here the first sign, the sieve, is to be pronounced *chu;* "the horned serpent, *fu*, and the little bird again, *u*. "cursive or Hieratic writing, the horned serpent "in the later Demotic as and . The "who borrowed their letters from the "Egyptians, wrote and . The Greeks, who took "from the Phœni- cians wrote . When the "stead of writing like the Phœnicians from right to "to write from left to right, they turned each letter, and became K, our k, "so vau, became F, the Greek so-called Digamma, the Latin F. The first "letter in *Chu-fu*, too, still exists in our alphabet, and in the transverse "line of our H we must recognize the last remnant of the lines which divide the "sieve. The sieve appears in Hieratic as , in Phœnician as , and in "ancient Greek as , which occurs on an inscription found at Myce- "næ and elsewhere as the sign of the spiritus asper, while in Latin it is known "to us as the letter H. In the same manner the undulating line of our capital "still recalls very strikingly the bent back of the crouching lion, which in "the later hieroglyphic inscriptions represents the sound of *L*.



the second, In the more appears as Phœnicians Hieratic their letters Greeks, inleft, began

CODEX CLAROMONTANUS. (Stichometric,—*Tit.* i. 8, 9.)



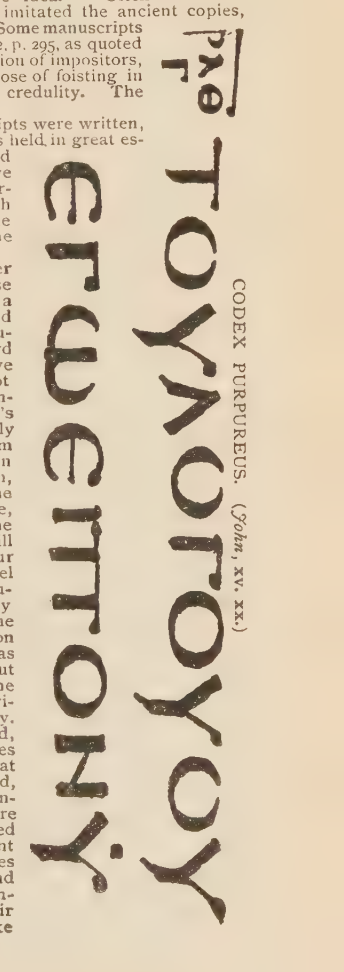
In the fifth century Euthalius of Alexandria, published portions of the *New Testament*, arranged into longer or shorter clauses, for the convenience of the reader. Manuscripts written in this style are called "stichometric;" and stichometry is really nothing but a rude substitute for punctuation.

In Crabb's *Technological Dictionary*, an illustration may be seen of the Oriental, Greek, and Latin, alphabets, and of alphabets derived from or allied to them. In the Greek alphabets are shown the Cadmean, Pelasgian, Sigean, Nemean, Delian, Athenian, Teian and the alphabet of Simonides, called the Ionic, which he completed 500 years B. C. Also, other Greek alphabets of different ages; namely one

Nestorians and Monophysites reject the spiritual supremacy of Rome, and cherish the toleration of their Turkish

used in the time of Alexander the Great, B.C. 330; the alphabet drawn from the coins of the Antiochi, Kings of Syria, &c., B. C. 240 to 187; that of Constantine the Great, A. D. 306; of Justinian the Great, A. D. 527; of Heraclius, A. D. 610; of Leo Jaurus, A. D. 716; a specimen of small Greek letters, and another of capitals, in the eighth century. From the first century to the present time, there is a vast difference in the formation of these written characters, but the change was gradually made, and varied greatly in different countries, so that no definite time can be given for the age of any manuscript, judging by the formation of the written characters, but only an approximate idea. "Often in earlier "times," says Eschenburg, "transcribers strictly imitated the ancient copies, "and preserved all the peculiarities unchanged." "Some manuscripts "ascribed to the highest antiquity," says Marsh, v. 2, p. 295, as quoted by Taylor, "have been discovered to be the composition of impositors, "as late as the seventeenth century, for the purpose of foisting in "favorite doctrines, and imposing on Christian credulity. The "Montford and Berlin MSS. for instance."

The vellum on which some of the older manuscripts were written, was sometimes stained with purple, which color was held in great esteem by the Romans, and letters in silver and gold were impressed on this purple ground. Twelve leaves of a beautiful codex, called the Codex Purpureus, remain; four of which are in the British Museum, six in the Vatican, and two at Vienna. The vellum is thin, and of fine texture. It still retains the purple dye, but the silver letters have turned black.



CODEX PURPUREUS. (*John*, xv. xx.)

The *New Testament* was early translated into other languages, and some reliance is placed upon these old versions; but of course, a copy, and still less a translation, can never hope to equal an original; and it is greatly to be regretted that no original manuscript has survived, as an acknowledged standard of authority. The King James' version claims to have been translated from the original Greek, but it is not certain that Greek was the original language employed. It is positively asserted that St. Matthew's Gospel was written in Hebrew, and it is very likely that the "original Greek" was a translation from the original Hebrew. Be this as it may, it is certain that the Vulgate, the Latin, the Persic, the Armenian, the Ethiopic, the Sahidic, the Coptic, and the Syriac, are all undoubted translations, and, therefore, not to be considered as a standard of authority. The Cursive MSS. are of modern date, and rank still lower in the scale, and our best, and indeed, our only authority for judging of the purity of the gospel text is found in the old Uncials. It is on their authority that the revisers of the *New Testament* wisely omitted interpolations, like the doxology, from the Lord's prayer, and corrected forgeries, that bear on the most essential doctrines of Christianity, such as *1 John*, v: 7, 8; *1 Tim.* iii: 16; and many others; but while the old uncials thus conclusively prove the errors of the modern cursives, there is really no evidence to demonstrate their own claim to authenticity.

Prof. C. E. Stowe, D.D. in his great work entitled, *Origin and History of the Books of the Bible*, states on p. 19 of that learned and orthodox history, that "It is not the words of the *Bible* that were inspired, "it is not the thoughts of the *Bible* that were inspired, it is the men who wrote the *Bible* that were "inspired." If this statement from this celebrated Christian writer be admitted as true, it will account for all the errors and contradictions our Scriptures now contain. They are the uninspired thoughts and writings of inspired men. The authors were inspired but the inspiration has not extended to their works, which are filled with errors and mistakes, like all human productions.

masters, which allows them to anathematize, on the one hand, St. Cyril and the synod of Ephesus; on the other,

The Codex Beza, also called the Cambridge manuscript, because it is preserved in the University Library at Cambridge, was found at Lyons, in the monastery of St. Irenæus, A. D. 1562. Nothing whatever is known of its previous history. Beza, who once owned it, and presented it to the Cambridge University, stated, according to Taylor, "that it should rather be kept, for the avoiding of "offence of certain persons, than to be published." "Perhaps of all the manuscripts now extant, this is the most ancient," says Bishop Marsh. "Many strange interpolations and manifest corruptions occur in it," says Dr. Roberts, "but it is nevertheless of great value." It varies from the common Greek text in a greater degree than any other. It is generally referred by critics to the sixth century. Like the others it is undated and unsigned by either of the Apostles.

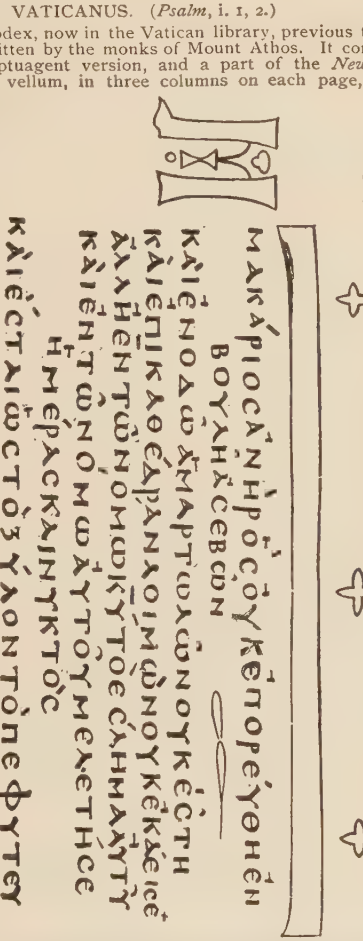
CODEX EPHRÆMI. (*1 Tim.* iii. v. 15.)

This codex is what is termed a palimpsest, that is, a manuscript on which the original writing has been removed, and the parchment utilized for a more modern production. By the use of chemicals, or by boiling in oil raised to a high temperature, this old writing is often restored, and made quite legible. The Ephræm Codex was discovered by Dr. Allix in the beginning of the 18th century. It is now in the Royal Library in Paris, and is ascribed to the seventh century. "It is in great disorder," says Taylor, "many leaves lost; many wholly "illegible." The pale writing is the *New Testament* passage in Greek, and the dark lines one of St. Ephræm's sermons.

pope Leo and the council of Chalcedon. The weight which they cast into the downfall of the Eastern empire demands

THE CODEX VATICANUS. (*Psalm*, i. 1, 2.)

Nothing is known of this codex, now in the Vatican library, previous to the year 1475. It was probably written by the monks of Mount Athos. It contains the *Old Testament* in the Septuagent version, and a part of the *New* It is written on parchment or vellum, in three columns on each page, with the letters all of the same size, except at the beginning of a book, without any division of words, and with but few abbreviations. It is preserved in the Vatican Library at Rome. Doctor Roberts, for some inscrutable reason, classes it in the feminine gender, and calls it "the queen of all the manuscripts of the *New Testament*." He places this manuscript as high as the fourth century, while Taylor places it in the sixth, and Eschenberg in the seventh. It is undated and does not bear an Apostolic signature.

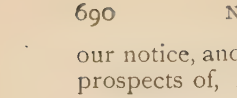


Uncial writing continued in general use till the middle of the tenth century. From the eleventh century downward, cursive, or running hand, has prevailed. A complete description of these MSS. may be seen in the great critical editions of the *New Testament*. We have only given a few lines of each of the principal codices, sufficient, however, it is believed, for showing the general appearance of the whole.

These codices are the highest and, with the exception of the versions translated into other languages, are almost the only authority for the Christian religion; and they each consist of a few strokes of a stylus, upon parchment or vellum, from the hand of some unknown monk. They are written in a dead language, in characters but a few removes from the old Egyptian hieroglyphics, and if they ever contained direct commands and positive orders from the deity to mankind, those commands and those orders cannot now be correctly interpreted. A congress of the most learned and devout Christian scholars of Europe and America, have wasted years of labor in the effort, and the result—the revised version—is unsatisfactory to themselves, and is repudiated by many orthodox theologians. On the first page of their work called a *Companion*, and which is really an *apology*, Dr. Roberts, their learned spokesman, says, in almost his first written line, "the "number of varieties of reading are now referred to as amounting to no less than "150.000." We cannot be surprised, therefore, at his remark—not satirically, but reverentially made, that—"No miracle has been wrought to preserve the text."

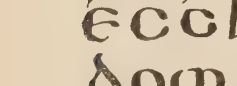
our notice, and the reader may be amused with the various prospects of, I. The Nestorians. II. The Jacobites. III.

CODEX LAUDIANUS.



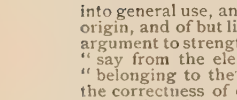
This illustration is from the Codex Laudianus, a manuscript supposed to be of the sixth century, and now in the Bodleian library at Oxford. By comparing the writing with a Latin manuscript of the same period, a close resemblance between the two alphabets then in use, will be observed.

CODEX BASILENSIS.



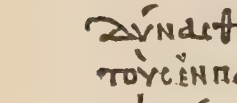
After the tenth century the cursive or running hand writing came into general use, and manuscripts written in this style are known to be of modern origin, and of but little textual value. Dr. Roberts, however, who employs every argument to strengthen his cause, says that, "although a manuscript may date, "say from the eleventh century, it might have been accurately copied from one "belonging to the second;" but this supposition adds no weight in favor of the correctness of our received version, because the text might also have been changed and corrupted, and it is useless to speculate or theorize on ancient manuscripts whose authenticity cannot be established by positive evidence.

CODEX RUBER.



Cardinal Ximenes, published an edition of the Greek *New Testament*, in 1517. Erasmus printed an edition at about the same time. Robert Stephens published in 1546, Beza in 1565, and it is this edition which was principally followed in the authorized English version. Beza, Erasmus, and Stephens, are the names which are usually cited as authority. A very handsome Latin edition was issued at Mentz in 1452; and a few copies of this publication are known to be in existence at the present day.

CODEX MONACENSIS.



Great stress is laid by all the apologists for the Gospel manuscripts, upon the fact that their condition is equal, if not superior, to the classical writings of antiquity, "such as the orations of Cicero and the histories of Polybius and of Livy, "and how do we know," they ask, "that we have the veritable *Iliad* and "*Odyssey*?" Unless we admit the human origin of the bible, this comparison is useless, for the above writings are admitted to be the work of man, and do not claim, like the bible, to be inspired. There is no penalty attached to their disbelief, and no reward for their belief. We judge of them by their intrinsic merit alone, and all writings, whether sacred or profane, should be judged by the same standard.—E.

The Marionites[112] IV. The Armenians. V. The Copts; and, VI. The Abyssinians. To the three former, the Syriac is common; but of the latter, each is discriminated by the use of a national idiom. Yet the modern natives of Armenia and Abyssinia would be incapable of conversing with their ancestors; and the Christians of Egypt and Syria, who reject the religion, have adopted the language, of the Arabians. The lapse of time has seconded the sacerdotal arts; and in the East, as well as in the West, the Deity is addessed in an obsolete tongue, unknown to the majority of the congregation.

I. Both in his native and his episcopal province, the heresy of the unfortunate Nestorius was speedily obliterated. The Oriental bishops, who at Ephesus had resisted to his face the arrogance of Cyril, were mollified by his tardy concessions. The same prelates, or their successors, subscribed, not without a murmur, the decrees of Chalcedon; the power of the Monophysites reconciled them with the Catholics in the conformity of passion, of interest, and insensibly of belief; and their last reluctant sigh was breathed in the defence of the three chapters. Their dissenting brethren, less moderate, or more sincere, were crushed by the penal laws: and as early as the reign of Justinian, it became difficult to find a church of Nestorians within the limits of the Roman empire. Beyond those limits they had discovered a new world, in which they might hope for liberty, and aspire to conquest. In Persia, notwithstanding the resistance of the Magi, Christianity had struck a deep root, and the nations of the East reposed under its salutary shade. The *Catholic*, or primate, resided in the capital: in *his* synods, and in *their* dioceses, his metropolitans, bishops, and clergy, represented the pomp and order of a regular hierarchy: they rejoiced in the increase of proselytes, who were converted from the Zendavesta to the Gospel, from the secular to the monastic life; and their zeal was stimulated by the presence of an artful and formidable enemy. The Persian church had been founded by the missionaries of Syria; and their

I. The Nestorians.

[112] On the account of the Monophysites and Nestorians, I am deeply indebted to the *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* of Joseph Simon Assemannus. That learned Maronite was dispatched, in the year 1715, by Pope Clement XI. to visit the monasteries of Egypt and Syria, in search of MSS. His four folio volumes, published at Rome, 1719-1728, contain a part only, though perhaps the most valuable, of his extensive project. As a native and as a scholar, he possessed the Syriac literature; and, though a dependant of Rome, he wishes to be moderate and candid.

language, discipline, and doctrine, were closely interwoven with its original frame. The *Catholics* were elected and ordained by their own suffragans; but their filial dependance on the patriarchs of Antioch is attested by the canons of the Oriental church.[113] In the Persian school of Edessa,[114] the rising generations of the faithful imbibed their theological idiom; they studied in the Syriac version the ten thousand volumes of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and they revered the apostolic faith and holy martyrdom of his disciple Nestorius, whose person and language were equally unknown to the nations beyond the Tigris. The first indelible lesson of Ibas, bishop of Edessa, taught them to execrate the *Egyptians*, who, in the synod of Ephesus, had impiously confounded the two natures of Christ. The flight of the masters and scholars, who were twice expelled from the Athens of Syria, dispersed a crowd of missionaries inflamed by the double zeal of religion and revenge. And the rigid unity of the Monophysites, who, under the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius, had invaded the thrones of the East, provoked their antagonists, in a land of freedom, to avow a moral, rather than a physical, union of the two persons of Christ. Since the first preaching of the gospel, the Sassanian kings beheld, with an eye of suspicion, a race of aliens and apostates, who had embraced the religion, and who might favor the cause, of the hereditary foes of their country. The royal edicts had often prohibited their dangerous correspondence with the Syrian clergy; the progress of the schism was grateful to the jealous pride of Perozes, and he listened to the eloquence of an artful prelate, who painted Nestorius as the friend of Persia, and urged him to secure the fidelity of his Christian subjects by granting a just preference to the victims and enemies of the Roman tyrant. The Nestorians composed a large majority of the clergy and people; they were encouraged

[113] See the Arabic canons of Nice in the translation of Abraham Ecchelensis, No. 37, 38, 39, 40. *Concil.* tom. ii. pp. 335, 336, edit. Venet. These vulgar titles, *Nicene* and *Arabic*, are both apocryphal. The council of Nice enacted no more than twenty canons, (Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* l. i. c. 8); and the remainder, seventy or eighty, were collected from the s[illegible]s of the Greek church. The Syriac edition of Maruthas is no longer extant, (Asseman. *Bibliot. Oriental.* tom. i. p. 195, tom. iii. p. 74), and the Arabic version is marked with many recent interpolations. Yet this *Code* contains many curious relics of ecclesiastical discipline; and since it is equally revered by all the Eastern communions, it was probably finished before the schism of the Nestorians and Jacobites, (Fabric. *Bibliot. Graec.* tom. xi. pp. 363–367).

[114] Theodore the Reader, (l. ii. c. 5, 49, ad calcem *Hist. Eccles.*), has noticed this Persian school of Edessa. Its ancient splendor, and the two æras of its downfall, (A. D. 431 and 489), are clearly discussed by Assemanni, (*Biblioth. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 402; iii. pp. 376, 378; iv. pp. 70, 924.)

by the smile, and armed with the sword, of despotism; yet many of their weaker brethren were startled at the thought of breaking loose from the communion of the Christian world, and the blood of seven thousand seven hundred Monophysites or Catholics, confirmed the uniformity of faith and discipline in the churches of Persia.[115] Their ecclesiastical institutions are distinguished by a liberal principle of reason, or at least of policy; the austerity of the cloister was relaxed and gradually forgotten; houses of charity were endowed for the education of orphans and foundlings; the law of celibacy, so forcibly recommended to the Greeks and Latins, was disregarded by the Persian clergy; and the number of the elect was multiplied by the public and reiterated nuptials of the priests, the bishops, and even the patriarch himself. To this standard of natural and religious freedom, myriads of fugitives resorted from all the provinces of the Eastern empire; the narrow bigotry of Justinian was punished by the emigration of his most industrious subjects; they transported into Persia the arts both of peace and war: and those who deserved the favor, were promoted in the service, of a discerning monarch. The arms of Nushirvan, and his fiercer grandson, were assisted with advice, and money, and troops, by the desperate sectaries who still lurked in their native cities of the East; their zeal was rewarded with the gift of the Catholic churches; but when those cities and churches were recovered by Heraclius, their open profession of treason and heresy compelled them to seek a refuge in the realm of their foreign ally. But the seeming tranquility of the Nestorians was often endangered, and sometimes overthrown. They were involved in the common evils of Oriental despotism: their enmity to Rome could not always atone for their attachment to the gospel: and a colony of three hundred thousand Jacobites, the captives of Apamea and Antioch, was permitted to erect a hostile altar in the face of the *Catholic*, and in the sunshine of the court. In his last treaty, Justinian introduced some conditions which tended to enlarge and fortify the toleration of Christianity in Persia. The emperor, ignorant of the rights of conscience, was incapable of pity or esteem

Sole masters of Persia, A. D. 500, &c.

115 A dissertation on the state of the Nestorians has swelled in the hands of Assemanni to a folio volume of 950 pages, and his learned researches are digested in the most lucid order. Besides this fourth volume of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, the extracts in the three preceding tomes, (tom. i. p. 203; ii. p. 321–463; iii. 64–70, 378–395, &c., 403–408, 508–589), may be usefully consulted.

for the heretics who denied the authority of the holy synods: but he flattered himself that they would gradually perceive the temporal benefits of union with the empire and the church of Rome; and if he failed in exciting their gratitude, he might hope to provoke the jealousy of their sovereign. In a latter age, the Lutherans have been burnt at Paris, and protected in Germany, by the superstition and policy of the most Christian king.

Their missions in Tartary, India, China, &c., A. D. 500–1200.

The desire of gaining souls for God, and subjects for the church, has excited in every age the diligence of the Christian priests. From the conquest of Persia they carried their spiritual arms to the North, the East, and the South; and the simplicity of the gospel was fashioned and painted with the colors of the Syriac theology. In the sixth century, according to the report of a Nestorian traveller,[116] Christianity was successfully preached to the Bactrians, the Huns, the Persians, the Indians, the Persarmenians, the Medes, and the Elamites: the barbaric churches, from the gulf of Persia to the Caspian sea, were almost infinite; and their recent faith was conspicuous in the number and sanctity of their monks and martyrs. The pepper coast of Malabar, and the isles of the ocean, Socotora and Ceylon, were peopled with an increasing multitude of Christians, and the bishops and clergy of those sequestered regions derived their ordination from the Catholic of Babylon. In a subsequent age, the zeal of the Nestorians overleaped the limits which had confined the ambition and curiosity both of the Greeks and Persians. The missionaries of Balch and Samarcand pursued without fear the footsteps of the roving Tartar, and insinuated themselves into the camps of the valleys of Imaus and the banks of the Selinga. They exposed a metaphysical creed to those illiterate shepherds: to those sanguinary warriors, they recommended humanity

116 See the *Topographia Christiana* of Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, or the Indian navigator, l. iii. pp. 178. 179; l. xi. p. 337. The entire work, of which some curious extracts may be found in *Photius*, (cod. xxxvi. p. 9, 10, edit. Hoeschel), Thevenot, (in the first part of his *Relation des Voyages*, &c.), and Fabricus, (*Biblioi. Græc.* l. iii. c. 25, tom. ii. pp. 603–617), has been published by Father Montfaucon at Paris, 1707, in the *Nova Collectio Patrum*, (tom. ii. pp. 113-346). It was the design of the author to confute the impious heresy of those who maintained that the earth is a globe, and not a flat, oblong table, as it is represented in the *Scriptures*, (l. ii. p. 138.) But the nonsense of the monk is mingled with the practical knowledge of the traveler, who performed his voyage A. D. 522, and published his book at Alexandria, A. D., 547, (l. ii. p. 140, 141. Montfaucon, *Præfat.* c. 2). The Nestorianism of Cosmas, unknown to his learned editor, was detected by La Croze, *Christianisme des Indes*, (tom. i. pp. 40–55), and is confirmed by Assemanni. (*Bibliot. Orient.* tom. iv. pp. 605, 606).

and repose. Yet a khan, whose power they vainly magnified, is said to have received at their hands the rites of baptism, and even of ordination; and the fame of *Prester* or *Presbyter* John[117] has long amused the credulity of Europe. The royal convert was indulged in the use of a portable altar; but he despatched an embassy to the patriarch, to inquire how, in the season of Lent, he should abstain from animal food, and how he might celebrate the eucharist in a desert that produced neither corn nor wine. In their progress by sea and land, the Nestorians entered China by the port of Canton and the northern residence of Sigan. Unlike the senators of Rome, who assumed with a smile the characters of priests and augurs, the mandarins, who affect in public the reason of philosophers, are devoted in private to every mode of popular superstition. They cherished and they confounded the gods of Palestine and of India; but the propagation of Christianity awakened the jealousy of the state, and, after a short vicissitude of favor and persecution, the foreign sect expired in ignorance and oblivion.[118] Under

[117] In its long progress to Mosul, Jerusalem, Rome, &c., the story of Prester John evaporated in a monstrous fable, of which some features have been borrowed from the Lama of Thibet, (*Hist. Généalogique des Tartares*, p. ii p. 42. *Hist. de Gengiscan*, p. 31, &c.), and were ignorantly transferred by the Portuguese to the emperor of Abyssinia, (*Ludolph. Hist. Æthiop. Comment.* l. ii. c. 1). Yet it is probable that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Nestorian Christianity was professed in the horde of the Keraites, (*D'Herbelot*, pp. 256, 915, 959. *Assemanni*, tom. iv. pp. 468-504.*

[118] The Christianity of China, between the seventh and the thirteenth century, is invincibly proved by the consent of Chinese, Arabian, Syriac, and Latin evidence. (Assemannus, *Biblioth. Orient.* tom iv. p. 502-552. *Mém. de l'Académie des inscript*, tom. xxx. p. 802-819.) The inscription of Siganfu, which describes the fortunes of the Nestorian church from the first mission, A. D. 636, to the current year 781, is accused of forgery by La Croze, Voltaire, &c., who become the dupes of their own cunning, while they are afraid of a Jesuitical fraud.†

* The extent to which Nestorian Christianity prevailed among the Tartar tribes is one of the most curious questions in Oriental history. M. Schmidt, (*Geschichte der Ost Mongolen*, notes, p. 383.) appears to question the Christianity of Ong Chaghan, and his Keraite subjects.—MILMAN.

For Prester John, see Marco Polo's *Travels*, p. 121, edit. Bohn, and our English travelers Porter and Layard, as referred to in the next page.—ENG. CH.

† This famous monument, the authenticity of which many have attempted to impeach, rather from hatred to the Jesuits, by whom it was made known, than by a candid examination of its contents, is now generally considered above all suspicion. The Chinese text, and the facts which it relates, are equally strong proofs of its authenticity. This monument was raised as a memorial of the establishment of Christianity in China. It is dated the year 1092 of the era of the Greeks, or the Seleucidæ, A. D. 781, in the time of the Nestorian patriarch Anan-jesu. It was raised by Iezdbouzid, priest and chorepiscopus of *Chumdan*, that is, of the capital of the Chinese empire, and the son of a priest who came from Balkh in Tokharistan. Among the various arguments which may be urged in favor of the authenticity of this monument, and which has not yet been advanced, may be reckoned the name of the priest by whom it was raised. The name is Persian, and at the time the monument was discovered, it would have been impossible to have imagined it; for there was no work extant from whence the knowledge of it could be derived. I do not believe that even since this period, any book has been published in which it can be found a second time. It is very celebrated amongst the Armenians, and is derived from a martyr, a Persian by birth, of the royal race,

the reign of the caliphs, the Nestorian church was diffused from China to Jerusalem and Cyprus; and their numbers, with those of the Jacobites, were computed to surpass the Greek and Latin communions.[119] Twenty-five metropolitans or archbishops composed their hierarchy, but several of these were dispensed, by the distance and danger of the way, from the duty of personal attendance, on the easy condition that every six years they should testify their faith and obedience to the *Catholic* or patriarch of Babylon, a vague appellation, which has been successively applied to the royal seats of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Bagdad. These remote branches are long since withered, and the old patriarchal trunk[120] is now divided by the *Elijahs* of Mosul, the representatives, almost in lineal descent, of the genuine and primitive succession, the *Josephs* of Amida, who are reconciled to the church of Rome,[121] and the *Simeons* of Van or Ormia, whose revolt at the head of forty thousand families, was promoted in the sixteenth century by the Sophis of Persia. The number of three hundred thousand is allowed for the whole body of the Nestorians, who, under the name of Chaldeans or Assyrians, are confounded with the most learned or the most powerful nation of Eastern antiquity.

The Christians of St. Thomas in India, A. D. 883.

According to the legend of antiquity, the gospel was preached in India by St. Thomas. At the end of the ninth century, his shrine, perhaps in the neighborhood of Madras, was

119 Jacobitæ et Nestorianæ plures quam Græci et Latini. Jacob. a Vitriaco, *Hist. Hierosol.* l. ii. c. 76, p. 1093, in the Gesta Dei per Francos. The numbers are given by Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 172.

120 The division of the patriarchate may be traced in the *Bibliotheca Orient.* of Assemannus, tom. i. p. 523-549; tom. ii. p. 457, &c.; tom. iii. p. 603, p. 621–623; tom. iv. p. 164–169, p. 423, p. 622–629, &c.

121 The pompous language of Rome, on the submission of a Nestorian patriarch, is elegantly represented in the seventh book of Fra Paolo. Babylon, Nineveh, Arbela, and the trophies of Alexander, Tauris, and Ecbatena, the Tigris and Indus.*

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who perished towards the middle of the seventh century, and rendered his name celebrated among the Christian nations of the East. *St. Martin*, vol. i. p. 69. M. Remusat has also strongly expressed his conviction of the authenticity of this monument. *Mélanges Asiatiques*, P. i. p. 33. D'Ohson, in his *History of the Moguls*, concurs in this view. Yet M. Schmidt, (*Geschichte der Ost Mongolen*, p. 384,) denies that there is any satisfactory proof that such a monument was ever found in China, or that it was not manufactured in Europe. But if the Jesuits had attempted such a forgery, would it not have been more adapted to further their peculiar views?—MILMAN.

* Most eastern travelers tell us of the Nestorians and Nestorian-Chaldæans in Kurdistan, whom the Turks still call Nasara. See *Porter's Travels*, ii. 578, and Layard's *Nineveh*, i. 233–261; also for a second visit to the same region, see his *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 421–435. Van and Ormia (Ooroomia) are two distinct places. See *Porter*, ii. 591; *Layard*, 390, 406; and p. 184, vol. v. Bohn's ed.—E. C.

devoutly visited by the ambassadors of Alfred,[122] and their return with a cargo of pearls and spices rewarded the zeal of the English monarch, who entertained the largest projects of trade and discovery.[123] When the Portuguese first opened the navigation of India, the Christians of St. Thomas had been seated for ages on the coast of Malabar, and the difference of their character and color attested the mixture of a foreign race. In arms, in arts, and possibly in virtue, they excelled the natives of Hindostan: the husbandmen cultivated the palm-tree, the merchants were enriched by the pepper-trade, the soldiers preceded the *nairs* or nobles of Malabar, and their hereditary privileges were respected by the gratitude or the fear of the king of Cochin and the Zamorin himself. They acknowledged a Gentoo sovereign, but they were governed, even in temporal concerns, by the bishop of Angamala. He still asserted his ancient title of Metropolitan of India, but his real jurisdiction was exercised in fourteen hundred churches, and he was intrusted with the care of two hundred thousand souls. Their religion would have rendered them the firmest and most cordial allies of the Portuguese, but the inquisitors soon discovered in the Christians of St. Thomas the unpardonable guilt of heresy and schism. Instead of owning themselves the subjects of the Roman pontiff, the spiritual and temporal monarch of the globe, they adhered, like their ancestors, to the communion of the Nestorian patriarch; and the bishops whom he ordained at Mosul traversed the dangers of the sea and land to reach their diocese on the coast of Malabar. In their Syriac liturgy, A. D. 1500, &c.

122 The Indian missionary, St. Thomas, an apostle, a Manichæan, or an Armenian merchant, (La Croze, *Christianisme des Indes*, tom. i, pp. 57–70), was famous, however, as early as the time of Jerome, (ad Marcellam., *Epist.* 148.) Marco-Polo was informed on the spot that he suffered martyrdom in the city of Malabar, or Meliapour, a league only from Madras, (D'Anville, *Eclaircissemens sur l'Inde*, p. 125), where the Portuguese founded an Episcopal church under the name of St. Thomé, and where the saint performed an annual miracle, till he was silenced by the profane neighborhood of the English. (*La Croze*, tom. ii. pp. 7–16.)

123 Neither the author of the *Saxon Chronicle*, (A. D. 883), nor William of Malmesbury, (*de Gestis Regum Angliæ*, l. ii. c. 4, p. 44), were capable, in the twelfth century, of inventing this extraordinary fact; they are incapable of explaining the motives and measures of Alfred; and their hasty notice serves only to provoke our curiosity. William of Malmesbury feels the difficulty of the enterprise, quod quivis in hoc sæculo miretur; and I almost suspect that the English ambassadors collected their cargo and legend in Egypt. The royal author has not enriched his *Orosius*, (see Barrington's *Miscellanies*), with an Indian, as well as a Scandinavian, voyage.*

* Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, the reputed writer of this portion of the *Saxon Chronicle*, lived at the time, and was therefore a competent authority. Lappenberg says, that "such a step on the part of a monarch like Alfred, will "excite in us little surprise." (*Hist. of Eng.* ii. 71.)—ENG. CH.

the names of Theodore and Nestorius were piously commemorated; they united their adoration of the two persons of Christ; the title of Mother of God was offensive to their ear, and they measured with scrupulous avarice the honors of the Virgin Mary, whom the superstition of the Latins had *almost* exalted to the rank of a goddess. When her image was first presented to the disciples of St. Thomas, they indignantly exclaimed, "We are Christians, not "idolaters!" and their simple devotion was content with the veneration of the cross. Their separation from the Western world had left them in ignorance of the improvements, or corruptions, of a thousand years; and their conformity with the faith and practice of the fifth century, would equally disappoint the prejudices of a Papist or a Protestant. It was the first care of the ministers of Rome to intercept all correspondence with the Nestorian patriarch, and several of his bishops expired in the prisons of the holy office. The flock, without a shepherd, was assaulted by the power of the Portuguese, the arts of the Jesuits, and the zeal of Alexes de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, in his personal visitation of the coast of Malabar. The synod of Diamper, at which he presided, consummated the pious work of the reunion, and rigorously imposed the doctrine and discipline of the Roman church, without forgetting auricular confession, the strongest engine of ecclesiastical torture. The memory of Theodore and Nestorius was condemned, and Malabar was reduced under the dominion of the pope, of the primate, and of the Jesuits, who invaded the see of Angamala or Cranganor. Sixty years of servitude and hypocrisy were patiently endured; but as soon as the Portuguese empire was shaken by the courage and industry of the Dutch, the Nestorians asserted, with vigor and effect, the religion of their fathers. The Jesuits were incapable of defending the power which they had abused: the arms of forty thousand Christians were pointed against their falling tyrants; and the Indian archdeacon assumed the character of bishop, till a fresh supply of episcopal gifts and Syriac missionaries could be obtained from the patriarch of Babylon. Since the expulsion of the Portuguese, the Nestorian creed is freely professed on the coast of Malabar. The trading companies of Holland and England are the friends of toleration; but if oppression be less mortifying than contempt, the Christians of St.

A. D. 1599–1663.

Thomas have reason to complain of the cold and silent indifference of their brethren of Europe.[124]

II. The history of the Monophysites is less copious and interesting than that of the Nestorians. Under the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius, their artful leaders surprised the ear of the prince, usurped the thrones of the East, and crushed on its native soil the school of the Syrians. The rule of the Monophysite faith was defined with exquisite discretion by Severus patriarch of Antioch; he condemned, in the style of the Henoticon, the adverse heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, maintained against the latter the reality of the body of Christ, and constrained the Greeks to allow that he was a liar who spoke truth.[125] But the approximation of ideas could not abate the vehemence of passion; each party was the more astonished that their blind antagonist could dispute on so trifling a difference; the tyrant of Syria enforced the belief of his creed, and his reign was polluted with the blood of three hundred and fifty monks, who were slain, not perhaps without provocation or resistance, under the walls of Apamea.[126] The successor of Anastasius replanted the orthodox standard in the East: Severus fled into Egypt, and his friend, the eloquent Xenaias,[127] who had escaped from the Nestorians of Persia, was suffocated in his exile by the Melchites of Paphlagonia. Fifty-four bishops were swept from their thrones, eight hundred ecclesiastics

II. The Jacobites.

A. D. 518.

[124] Concerning the Christians of St. Thomas, see Asseman. *Bibliot. Orient.* tom. iv. pp. 391–407, 435-451; Geddes's *Church History of Malabar*; and, above all, La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, in 2 vols. 12mo., La Haye, 1758, a learned and agreeable work. They have drawn from the same source, the Portuguese and Italian narratives; and the prejudices of the Jesuits are sufficiently corrected by those of the Protestants.*

[125] Οἷον εἰπεῖν Ψευδαληθης, is the expression of Theodore, in his *Treatise of the Incarnation*, pp. 245, 247, as he is quoted by La Croze, (*Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie et d'Armenie* p. 35), who exclaims, perhaps too hastily. "Quel pitoyable raisonnement!" Renaudot has touched (*Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* pp. 127-138), the Oriental accounts of Severus; and his authentic creed may be found in the epistle of John the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, in the tenth century, to his brother Mennas of Alexandria, (Asseman. *Bibliot. Orient.* tom. ii. pp. 132–141).

[126] Epist. Archimandritarum et Monachorum Syriæ Secundæ ad Papam Hormisdam, *Concil.* tom. v. p. 598–602. The courage of St. Sabas, ut leo animosus, will justify the suspicion that the arms of these monks were not always spiritual or defensive. (Baronius, A. D. 513, No. 7, &c.)

[127] Assemannus, (*Bibliot. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 10–46), and La Croze, (*Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, p. 36–40), will supply the history of Xenaias or Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug, or Hierapolis, in Syria. He was a perfect master of the Syriac language, and the author or editor of a version of the *New Testament*.

* The St, Thomé Christians had excited great interest in the ardent mind of the admirable Bishop Heber. See his curious and, to his friends, highly characteristic letter to Mar Athanasius. Appendix to Journal. The arguments of his friend and coadjutor, Mr. Robinson, (*Last Days of Bishop Heber*), have not convinced me that the Christianity of India is older than the Nestorian dispersion–M.

cast into prison,[128] and notwithstanding the ambiguous favor of Theodora, the Oriental flocks, deprived of their shepherds, must insensibly have been either famished or poisoned. In this spiritual distress, the expiring faction was revived, and united, and perpetuated, by the labors of a monk; and the name of James Baradæus[129] has been preserved in the appellation of *Jacobites*, a familiar sound which may startle the ear of an English reader. From the holy confessors in their prison of Constantinople, he received the powers of bishop of Edessa and apostle of the East, and the ordination of fourscore thousand bishops, priests, and deacons, is derived from the same inexhaustible source The speed of the zealous missionary was promoted by the fleetest dromedaries of a devout chief of the Arabs; the doctrine and discipline of the Jacobites were secretly established in the dominions of Justinian; and each Jacobite was compelled to violate the laws and to hate the Roman legislator. The successors of Severus, while they lurked in convents or villages, while they sheltered their proscribed heads in the caverns of hermits, or the tents of the Saracens, still asserted, as they now assert, their indefeasible right to the title, the rank, and the prerogatives, of the patriarch of Antioch: under the milder yoke of the infidels, they reside about a league from Merdin, in the pleasant monastery of Zapharan, which they have embellished with cells, aqueducts, and plantations. The secondary, though honorable, place is filled by the *maphrian*, who, in his station at Mosul itself, defies the Nestorian *Catholic* with whom he contests the supremacy of the East. Under the patriarch and the maphrian, one hundred and fifty archbishops and bishops have been counted in the different ages of the Jacobite

128 The names and titles of fifty-four bishops who were exiled by Justin, are preserved in the Chronicle of Dionysius, (apud Asseman. tom. ii. p. 54). Severus was personally summoned to Constantinople—for his trial, says Liberatus, (*Brev.* c. 19)—that his tongue might be cut out, says Evagrius, (l. iv. c. iv.) The prudent patriarch did not stay to examine the difference. This ecclesiastical revolution is fixed by Pagi to the month of September of the year 518, (*Critica*, tom. ii. p. 506.)

129 The obscure history of James or Jacobus Baradæus, or Zanzalust, may be gathered from Eutychius, (*Annal.* tom. ii. pp. 144, 147), Renaudot, (*Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 133), and Assemannus, (*Bibliot. Orient.* tom. i. p. 424; tom. ii. pp. 62–69, 324–332, 414; tom. iii. pp. 385–388). He seems to be unknown to the Greeks. The Jacobites themselves had rather deduce their name and pedigree from St. James the apostle.*

* Jacob was a monk of Phasitla, in the district of Nisibis, a man inured to privations and hardships, and of unshaken firmness and constancy. With great rapidity, and through many perils, he traversed Syria and the adjacent provinces in the disguise of a beggar; and from this he received the surname of Al Baradai, Baradæus, the man in rags. (*Neander*, 4, 272.)—ENG. CH.

church; but the order of the hierarchy is relaxed or dissolved, and the greater part of their dioceses is confined to the neighborhood of the Euphrates and the Tigris. The cities of Aleppo and Amida, which are often visited by the patriarch, contain some wealthy merchants and industrious mechanics, but the multitude derive their scanty sustenance from their daily labor: and poverty, as well as superstition, may impose their excessive fasts: five annual lents, during which, both the clergy and laity abstain not only from flesh or eggs, but even from the taste of wine, of oil, and of fish. Their present numbers are esteemed from fifty to fourscore thousand souls, the remnant of a populous church, which has gradually decreased under the oppression of twelve centuries. Yet in that long period, some strangers of merit have been converted to the Monophysite faith, and a Jew was the father of Abulpharagius[130] primate of the East, so truly eminent both in his life and death. In his life, he was an elegant writer of the Syriac and Arabic tongues, a poet, physician, and historian, a subtle philosopher, and a moderate divine. In his death, his funeral was attended by his rival the Nestorian patriarch, with a train of Greeks and Armenians, who forgot their disputes, and mingled their tears over the grave of an enemy. The sect which was honored by the virtues of Abulpharagius appears, however, to sink below the level of their Nestorian brethren. The superstition of the Jacobites is more abject, their fasts more rigid,[131] their intestine divisions are more numerous, and their doctors (as far as I can measure the degrees of nonsense) are more remote from the precincts of reason. Something may possibly be allowed for the vigor of the Monophysite theology; much more for the superior influence of the monastic order. In Syria, in Egypt, in Æthiopia, the Jacobite monks have ever been distinguished by the austerity of their penance and the absurdity of their legends. Alive or dead they are worshiped as the

130 The account of his person and writings is perhaps the most curious article in the Bibliotheca of Assemannus, (tom. ii. pp. 244-321, under the name of *Gregorius Bar-Hebræus*). La Croze, (*Christianisme d'Ethiopie*, pp. 53-63), ridicules the prejudice of the Spaniards against the Jewish blood which secretly defiles their church and state.*

131 This *excessive* abstinence is censured by La Croze, (p. 355), and even by the Syrian Assemannus, (tom. i. p. 226; tom. ii. pp. 304, 305).

* The father, who bore the name of Harun, (Aaron), was the convert to Christianity. The son, who was born in 1226, studied and practiced medicine before he became an ecclesiastic. He was so eminent as a scholar, and his character so estimable, that while he was bishop of Aleppo, the Mahometans among whom he lived intrusted to him the education of their sons.—Eng. Ch.

favorites of the Deity; the crozier of bishop and patriarch is reserved for their venerable hands; and they assume the government of men, while they are yet reeking with the habits and prejudices of the cloister.[132]

III. The MARONITES.

III. In the style of the Oriental Christians, the Monothelites of every age are described under the appellation of *Maronites*,[133] a name which has been insensibly transferred from a hermit to a monastery, from a monastery to a nation. Maron, a saint or savage of the fifth century, displayed his religious madness in Syria; the rival cities of Apamea and Emesa disputed his relics, a stately church was erected on his tomb, and six hundred of his disciples united their solitary cells on the banks of the Orontes. In the controversies of the incarnation, they nicely threaded the orthodox line between the sects of Nestorius and Eutyches; but the unfortunate question of *one will* or operation in the two natures of Christ, was generated by their curious leisure. Their proselyte, the emperor Heraclius, was rejected as a Maronite from the walls of Emesa; he found a refuge in the monastery of his brethren; and their theological lessons were repaid with the gift of a spacious and wealthy domain. The name and doctrine of this venerable school were propagated among the Greeks and Syrians, and their zeal is expressed by Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, who declared before the synod of Constantinople, that sooner than subscribe the *two wills* of Christ, he would submit to be hewn peace-meal and cast into the sea.[134] A similar or a less cruel mode of persecution soon converted the unresisting subjects of the plain, while the glorious title of *Mardaites*,[135] or rebels,

[132] The state of the Monopysites is excellently illustrated in a dissertation at the beginning of the second volume of Assemannus, which contains 142 pages. The Syriac Chronicle of Gregory Bar Hebræus, or Abulpharagius, (*Bibliot. Orient.* tom. ii. pp. 321-463), pursues the double series of the Nestorian *Catholics* and the *Maphrians* of the Jacobites.

[133] The synonymous use of the two words may be proved from Eutychius (*Annal.* tom. ii. pp. 191, 267, 332), and many similar passages which may be found in the methodical table of Pocock. He was not actuated by any prejudice against the Maronites of the tenth century; and we may believe a Melchite, whose testimony is confirmed by the Jacobites and Latins.

[134] *Concil.* tom. vii. p. 780. The Monothelite cause was supported with firmness and subtlety by Constantine, a *Syrian* priest of Apamea, (p. 1040, &c.)

[135] Theophanes, (*Chron.* p. 295, 296, 300, 302, 306), and *Cedrenus*, (pp. 437, 440, relate the exploits of the Mardaites: the name (*Mard*, in Syriac, *rebellavit*), is explained by La Roque, (*Voyage de la Syrie*, tom. ii. p. 53), the dates are fixed by *Pagi*, (A. D. 676), No. 4-14, A. D. 685, No. 3, 4); and even the obscure story of the patriarch John Maron, (Asseman. *Bibliot. Orient.* tom. i. pp. 496-520), illustrates from the year 686 to 707, the troubles of Mount Libanus.*

* Compare on the Mardaites Anquetil du Perron, in the fiftieth volume of the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*; and Schlosser, *Bilderstürmenden Kaiser*, p. 100.—MILMAN.

was bravely maintained by the hardy natives of Mount Libanus. John Maron, one of the most learned and popular of the monks, assumed the character of patriarch of Antioch; his nephew Abraham, at the head of the Maronites, defended their civil and religious freedom against the tyrants of the East. The son of the orthodox Constantine pursued, with pious hatred, a people of soldiers, who might have stood the bulwark of his empire against the common foes of Christ and of Rome. An army of Greeks invaded Syria; the monastery of St. Maron was destroyed with fire; the bravest chieftains were betrayed and murdered, and twelve thousand of their followers were transplanted to the distant frontiers of Armenia and Thrace. Yet the humble nation of the Maronites has survived the empire of Constantinople, and they still enjoy, under their Turkish masters, a free religion and a mitigated servitude. Their domestic governors are chosen among the ancient nobility; the patriarch, in his monastery of Canobin, still fancies himself on the throne of Antioch; nine bishops compose his synod, and one hundred and fifty priests, who retain the liberty of marriage, are intrusted with the care of one hundred thousand souls. Their country extends from the ridge of Mount Libanus to the shores of Tripoli; and the gradual descent affords, in a narrow space, each variety of soil and climate, from the Holy Cedars, erect under the weight of snow,[136] to the vine, the mulberry, and the olive trees of the fruitful valley. In the twelfth century, the Maronites, abjuring the Monothelite error, were reconciled to the Latin churches of Antioch and Rome,[137] and the same alliance

136 In the last century, twenty large cedars still remained, (*Voyage de la Roque*, tom. i. pp. 68–76); at present, they are reduced to four or five, (*Volney*, tom i. p. 264.)* These trees, so famous in Scripture, were guarded by excommunication; the wood was sparingly borrowed for small crosses, &c.; an annual mass was chanted under their shade; and they were endowed by the Syrians with a sensitive power of erecting their branches to repel the snow, to which Mount Libanus is less faithful than it is painted by Tacitus; inter ardores opacum fidumqe nivibus—a daring metaphor, (*Hist.* v. 6.)†

137 The evidence of William of Tyre, (*Hist. in Gestis Dei per Francos*, l. xxii. c. 8, p. 1022), is copied or confirmed by Jacques de Vitra. (*Hist. Hierosolym*, l. ii. c. 77, pp. 1093 1094). But this unnatural league expired with the power of the Franks: and Abulpharagius, who died in 1286), considers the Maronites as a sect of Monothelites, (*Bibliot. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 292.)

* Of the oldest and best-looking trees, I counted eleven or twelve; twenty-five very large ones; about fifty of middling size; and more than three hundred smaller and young ones. Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, 2, 10.—MILMAN.

† Dr. Lepsius, on his return from Egypt, crossed Labinus, and passed through "a venerable forest of cedars in a great level bay of the mountain range." He adds that there are others in more northern tracts. Single stems of these gigantic trees are forty feet in circumference and ninety feet high. The largest *are stated* to be 3,000 years old. *Letters from Egypt*, p. 350, edit. Bohn.—ENG. CH.

has been frequently renewed by the ambition of the popes and the distress of the Syrians. But it may reasonably be questioned, whether their union has ever been perfect or sincere; and the learned Maronites of the college of Rome have vainly labored to absolve their ancestors from the guilt of heresy and schism.[138]

IV. The Armenians. IV. Since the age of Constantine, the ARMENIANS[139] had signalized their attachment to the religion and empire of the Christians.* The disorders of their country, and their ignorance of the Greek tongue, prevented their clergy from assisting at the synod of Chalcedon, and they floated eighty-four years[140] in a state of indifference or suspense, till their vacant faith was finally occupied by the missionaries of Julian of Halicarnassus,[141] who, in Egypt, their common exile, had been vanquished by the arguments or the influence of his rival Severus, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch. The Armenians alone are the pure disciples of Eutyches, an unfortunate parent, who has been renounced by the greater part of his spiritual progeny. They alone persevere in the opinion, that the manhood of Christ was created, or existed without creation, of a divine and incorruptible substance. Their adversaries reproach them with the adoration of a phantom; and they retort the accusation, by deriding or execrating the blasphemy of the Jacobites, who impute to the Godhead

138 I find a description and history of the Maronites in the *Voyage de la Syrie et du Mont Liban par la Roque*, (2 vols. in 12mo., Amsterdam, 1723; particularly tom. i. pp. 42-47, pp. 174-184; tom. ii. pp. 10–120). In the ancient part, he copies the prejudices of Nairon and other Maronites of Rome, which Assemannus is afraid to renounce and ashamed to support. Jablonski, (*Institut. Hist. Christ.* tom. iii. p. 186), Niebuhr, *Voyage de l'Arabie*, &c., tom. ii. pp. 346, 370–381,) and above all, the judicious Volney, (*Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie*, tom. ii. pp. 8–31, Paris, 1787), may be consulted.

139 The religion of the Armenians is briefly described by La Croze, (*Hist. du Christ. de l'Ethiopie et de l'Arménie*, pp. 269-402). He refers to the great Armenian *History of Galanus*, (3 vols. in fol. Rome, 1650-1661), and commends the state of Armenia in the third volume of the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Mission du Levant*. The work of a Jesuit must have sterling merit when it is praised by La Croze.

140 The schism of the Armenians is placed eighty-four years after the council of Chalcedon, (Pagi, *Critica*, ad A. D. 535.) It was consummated at the end of seventeen years; and it is from the year of Christ 552 that we date the era of the Armenians. (*L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, p. 35.) †

141 The sentiments and success of Julian of Halicarnassus may be seen in Liberatus, (*Brev.* c. 19.) Renaudot, (*Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 132-303), and Assemannus, (*Bibliot. Orient.* tom. ii. *Dissertat. de Monophysitis*, c. 8, p. 286.)

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* See vol. ii. ch. xx. p. 179.—MILMAN.

† Religious persecution drove the Armenians to revolt and facilitated the Persian conquest of the country. Chosroes promoted their separation from the Greek church; and under his sanction, Nierses, their first bishop or Catholicus, held a synod at Thriven at 536, by which the Monophysite system was confirmed and the council of Chalcedon anathematized. (*Neander*. 4, 271.)—ENG. CH.

the vile infirmities of the flesh, even the natural effects of nutrition and digestion. The religion of Armenia could not derive much glory from the learning or the power of its inhabitants. The royalty expired with the origin of their schism; and their Christian kings, who arose and fell in the thirteenth century on the confines of Cilicia, were the clients of the Latins, and the vassals of the Turkish sultan of Iconium. The helpless nation has seldom been permitted to enjoy the tranquillity of servitude. From the earliest period to the present hour, Armenia has been the theatre of perpetual war; the lands between Tauris and Erivan were dispeopled by the cruel policy of the Sophis; and myriads of Christian families were transplanted, to perish or to propagate in the distant provinces of Persia. Under the rod of oppression, the zeal of the Armenians is fervent and intrepid: they have often preferred the crown of martyrdom to the white turban of Mahomet; they devoutly hate the error and idolatry of the Greeks; and their transient union with the Latins is not less devoid of truth, than the thousand bishops whom their patriarch offered at the feet of the Roman pontiff.[142] The *Catholic*, or patriarch, of the Armenians, resides in the monastery of Ekmiasin, three leagues from Erivan. Forty-seven archbishops, each of whom may claim the obedience of four or five suffragans, are consecrated by his hand; but the far greater part are only titular prelates, who dignify with their presence and service the simplicity of his court. As soon as they have performed the liturgy, they cultivate the garden; and our bishops will hear with surprise, that the austerity of their life increases in just proportion to the elevation of their rank. In the fourscore thousand towns or villages of his spiritual empire, the patriarch receives a small and voluntary tax from each person above the age of fifteen; but the annual amount of six hundred thousand crowns is insufficient to supply the incessant demands of charity and tribute. Since the beginning of the last century, the Armenians have obtained a large and lucrative share of the commerce of the East: in their return from Europe, the caravan usually halts in the neighborhood of Erivan, the altars are enriched with the fruits of their patient

142 See a remarkable fact of the twelfth century in the *History of Nicetas Choniates*, (p. 258). Yet three hundred years before, Photius (*Epistol.* ii. p. 49, edit. Montacut.) had gloried in the conversion of the Armenians—*λατρεύει σήμερον ὀρθοδόξως.*

industry; and the faith of Eutyches is preached in their recent congregations of Barbary and Poland.[143]

V. The Copts or Egyptians.

V. In the rest of the Roman empire, the despotism of the prince might eradicate or silence the sectaries of an obnoxious creed. But the stubborn temper of the Egyptians maintained their opposition to the synod of Chalcedon, and the policy of Justinian condescended to expect and to seize the opportunity of discord. The Monophysite church of Alexandria[144] was torn by the disputes of the *corruptibles* and *incorruptibles*, and on the death of the patriarch, the two factions upheld their respective candidates.[145] Gaian was the disciple of Julian, Theodosius had been the pupil of Severus: the claims of the former were supported by the consent of the monks and senators, the city and the province; the latter depended on the priority of his ordination, the favor of the empress Theodora, and the arms of the eunuch Narses, which might have been used in more honorable warfare. The exile of the popular candidate to Carthage and Sardinia, inflamed the ferment of Alexandria; and, after a schism of one hundred and seventy years, the *Gaianites* still revered the memory and doctrine of their founder. The strength of numbers and of discipline was tried in a desperate and bloody conflict; the streets were filled with the dead bodies of citizens and soldiers; the pious women, ascending the roofs of their houses, showered down every sharp or ponderous utensil on the heads of the enemy; and the final victory of Narses was owing to the flames, with which he wasted the third capital of the Roman world. But the lieutenant of Justinian

The patriarch Theodosius, A. D. 537-568.

[143] The traveling Armenians are in the way of every traveler, and their mother church is on the high road between Constantinople and Ispahan: for their present state, see Fabricius, (*Lux Evangelii*, &c., c. xxxviii. pp. 40-51,) *Olearius*, (l. iv. c. 40.) *Chardin*, (vol. ii. p. 232), *Tournefort*, (lettre xx), and, above all, *Tavernier*, (tom. i. pp. 28-37, 510-518), that rambling jeweler, who had read nothing, but had seen so much and so well.*

[144] The history of the Alexandrian patriarchs, from Dioscorus to Benjamin, is taken from Renaudot, (pp. 114-164), and the second tome of the Annals of Eutychius.†

[145] Liberat. *Brev.* c. 20, 23. Victor. *Chron.* pp. 329, 330. Procop. Anecdot. c. 26, 27.

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* For the superstition, ignorance, and attempted reform of the present Armenians, see Layard, Nineveh and Babylon, p. 47, 392, 405—7. In one of their churches a rude picture represents "a victorious St. George blowing out the brains of a "formidable dragon, with a bright brass blunderbuss."—ENG. CH.

† Clinton, in his chronology of these patriarchs, (*F. R.* ii. pp. 544-548), has critically corrected the dates and collated the narratives of John Malalas, Theophanes, Victor Tununensis, Nicephorus, Liberatus, and others; and he has attentively examined Pagi and Renaudot, and supplied some omissions.—E. C.

had not conquered in the cause of a heretic; Theodosius himself was speedily though gently removed; and Paul of Tanis, an orthodox monk, was raised to the throne of Athanasius. The powers of government were strained in his support; he might appoint or displace the dukes and tribunes of Egypt; the allowance of bread, which Diocletian had granted, was suppressed, the churches were shut, and a nation of schismatics was deprived at once of their spiritual and carnal food. In his turn, the tyrant was excommunicated by the zeal and revenge of the people; and none except his servile Melchites would salute him as a man, a Christian, or a bishop. Yet such is the blindness of ambition, that, when Paul was expelled on a charge of murder, he solicited, with a bribe of seven hundred pounds of gold, his restoration to the same station of hatred and ignominy. His successor Apollinaris entered the hostile city in military array, alike qualified for prayer or for battle. His troops, under arms, were distributed through the streets; the gates of the cathedral were guarded, and a chosen band was stationed in the choir, to defend the person of their chief. He stood erect on his throne, and throwing aside the upper garment of a warrior, suddenly appeared before the eyes of the multitude in the robes of patriarch of Alexandria. Astonishment held them mute; but no sooner had Apollinaris begun to read the tome of St. Leo, than a volley of curses, and invectives, and stones, assaulted the odious minister of the emperor and the synod. A charge was instantly sounded by the successor of the apostles; the soldiers waded to their knees in blood; and two hundred thousand Christians are said to have fallen by the sword: an incredible account, even if it be extended from the slaughter of a day to the eighteen years of the reign of Apollinaris. Two succeeding patriarchs, Eulogius[146] and John,[147] labored in the conversion of heretics, with arms and arguments more worthy of their evangelical profession.

Paul, A. D. 538.

Apollinaris, A. D. 551.

146 Eulogius, who had been a monk of Antioch, was more conspicuous for subtlety than eloquence. He proves that the enemies of the faith, the Gaianites and Theodosians, ought not to be reconciled; that the same proposition may be orthodox in the mouth of St. Cyril, heretical in that of Severus; that the opposite assertations of St. Leo are equally true, &c. His writings are no longer extant except in the *Extracts of Photius*, who had perused them with care asd satisfaction, cod. ccviii. ccxxv. ccxxvi. ccxxx. cclxxx.

147 See the *Life of John* the eleemosynary by his contemporary Leontius, bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, whose Greek text, either lost or hidden, is reflected in the Latin version of Baronius, (A. D. 610, No. 9, A. D. 620, No. 8). Pagi, (*Critica*, tom. ii. p. 763) and *Fabricius*, (l. v. c. 11, tom. vii. p. 454), have made some critical observations.

Eulogius, A. D. 580. The theological knowledge of Eulogius was displayed in many a volume, which magnified the errors of Eutyches and Severus, and attempted to reconcile the ambiguous language of St. Cyril with the orthodox creed of pope Leo and the fathers of Chalcedon. The bounteous alms of John the eleemosynary were dictated by superstition, or benevolence, or policy. Seven thousand five hundred poor were maintained at his expense; on his accession, he found eight thousand pounds of gold in the treasury of the church; he collected ten thousand from the liberality of the faithful; yet the primate could boast in his testament, that he left behind him no more than the third part of the smallest of the silver coins. The churches of Alexandria were delivered to the Catholics, the religion of the Monophysites was proscribed in Egypt, and a law was revived which excluded the natives from the honors and emoluments of the state.

John, A. D. 609.

Their separation and decay. A more important conquest still remained, of the patriarch, the oracle and leader of the Egyptain church. Theodosius had resisted the threats and promises of Justinian with the spirit of an apostle or an enthusiast. "Such," replied the patriarch, "were the offers "of the tempter when he showed the kingdoms of the earth. "But my soul is far dearer to me than life or dominion. "The churches are in the hands of a prince who can kill "the body; but my conscience is my own; and in exile, "poverty, or chains, I will steadfastly adhere to the faith of "my holy predecessors, Athanasius, Cyril, and Dioscorus. "Anathema to the tome of Leo and the synod of Chalcedon! "Anathema to all who embrace their creed! Anathema to "them now and for evermore! Naked came I out of my "mother's womb, naked shall I descend into the grave. "Let those who love God, follow me and seek their "salvation." After comforting his brethren, he embarked for Constantinople, and sustained, in six successive interviews, the almost irresistible weight of the royal presence. His opinions were favorably entertained in the palace and the city; the influence of Theodora assured him a safe conduct and honorable dismission; and he ended his days, though not on the throne, yet in the bosom, of his native country. On the news of his death, Apollinaris indecently feasted the nobles and the clergy; but his joy was checked by the intelligence of a new election; and while he enjoyed

the wealth of Alexandria, his rivals reigned in the monasteries of Thebais, and were maintained by the voluntary oblations of the people. A perpetual succession of patriarchs arose from the ashes of Theodosius; and the Monophysite churches of Syria and Egypt were united by the name of Jacobites and the communion of the faith. But the same faith, which has been confined to a narrow sect of the Syrians, was diffused over the mass of the Egyptian or Coptic nation; who, almost unanimously, rejected the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon. A thousand years were now elapsed since Egypt had ceased to be a kingdom, since the conquerors of Asia and Europe had trampled on the ready necks of a people, whose ancient wisdom and power ascend beyond the records of history. The conflict of zeal and persecution rekindled some sparks of their national spirit. They abjured, with a foreign heresy, the manners and language of the Greeks; every Melchite, in their eyes, was a stranger, every Jacobite a citizen; the alliance of marriage, the offices of humanity, were condemned as a deadly sin; the natives renounced all allegiance to the emperor; and his orders, at a distance from Alexandria, were obeyed only under the pressure of military force. A generous effort might have redeemed the religion and liberty of Egypt, and her six hundred monasteries might have poured forth their myriads of holy warriors, for whom death should have no terrors, since life had no comfort or delight. But experience has proved the distinction of active and passive courage; the fanatic who endures without a groan the torture of the rack or the stake, would tremble and fly before the face of an armed enemy. The pusillanimous temper of the Egyptians could only hope for a change of masters; the arms of Chosroes depopulated the land, yet under his reign the Jacobites enjoyed a short and precarious respite. The victory of Heraclius renewed and aggravated the persecution, and the patriarch again escaped from Alexandria to the desert. In his flight, Benjamin was encouraged by a voice, which bade him expect, at the end of ten years, the aid of a foreign nation, marked like the Egyptians themselves with the ancient right of circumcision. The character of these deliverers, and the nature of the deliverance, will be hereafter explained; and I shall step over the interval of eleven centuries to observe the present misery

Benjamin, the Jacobite patriarch, A. D. 625-661.

of the Jacobites of Egypt. The populous city of Cairo affords a residence, or rather a shelter, for their indigent patriarch, and a remnant of ten bishops; forty monasteries have survived the inroads of the Arabs; and the progress of servitude and apostasy has reduced the Coptic nation to the despicable number of twenty-five or thirty thousand families;[148] a race of illiterate beggars, whose only consolation is derived from the superior wretchedness of the Greek patriarch and his diminutive congregation.[149]

VI. The Abyssinians and Nubians.

VI. The Coptic patriarch, a rebel to the Cæsars, or a slave to the khalifs, still gloried in the filial obedience of the kings of Nubia and Æthiopia. He repaid their homage by magnifying their greatness; and it was boldly asserted that they could bring into the field a hundred thousand horse, with an equal number of camels;[150] that their hand could pour out or restrain the waters of the Nile;[151] and the peace and plenty of Egypt was obtained, even in this world, by the intercession of the patriarch. In exile at Constantinople, Theodosius recommended to his patroness the conversion of the black nations of Nubia, from the tropic of Cancer to the confines of Abyssinia.[152] Her design was suspected

148 This number is taken from the curious *Recherches sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois*, tom. ii. pp. 192, 193), and appears more probable than the 600,000 ancient, or 15,000 modern, Copts of Gemelli Carreri. Cyril Lucar, the Protestant patriarch of Constantinople, laments that those heretics were ten times more numerous than his orthodox Greeks, ingeniously applying the πολλαί κεν δεκάδες δευοίατο οἰνοχόοιο of Homer, (*Iliad*, ii. 128), the most perfect expression of contempt, (Fabric. *Lux Evangelii*, 740).

149 The history of the Copts, their religion, manners, &c., may be found in the Abbé Renaudot's motley work, neither a translation nor an original; the Chronicon Orientale of Peter, a Jacobite, in the two versions of Abraham Ecchellensis, Paris, 1651, and John Simon Asseman. Venet. 1729. These annals descend no lower than the thirteenth century. The more recent accounts must be searched for in the travelers into Egypt and the *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions du Levant*. In the last century, Joseph Abudacnus, a native of Cairo, published at Oxford, in thirty pages, a slight *Historia Jacobitarum*, 147, post. 150. *

150 About the year 737. See Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* pp. 221, 222. Elmacin, *Hist. Saracen.* p. 99.

151 Ludolph. *Hist. Æthiopic. et Comment.* l. i. c. 8. Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 480, &c. This opinion, introduced into Egypt and Europe by the artifice of the Copts, the pride of the Abyssinians, the fear and ignorance of the Turks and Arabs, has not even the semblance of truth. The rains of Æthiopia do not, in the increase of the Nile, consult the will of the monarch. If the river approaches at Napata within three days' journey of the Red Sea, (see D'Anville's Maps), a canal that should divert its course would demand, and most probably surpass, the power of the Cæsars. †

152 The Abyssinians, who still preserve the features and olive complexion of the Arabs, afford a proof that two thousand years are not sufficient to change the

* The letters of Dr. Lepsius from Egypt in 1844, furnish the most recent account of the Copts; and place them in a far more respectable position. See p. 268–278, edit. Bohn.—Eng. Ch.

† Lepsius, (p. 223), says, that the ancient Napata was situated near the present town of Merauí, which is far inland and separated from the Red Sea by ridges of porphyry and wide sandy deserts.—Eng. Ch.

and emulated by the more orthodox emperor. The rival missionaries, a Melchite and a Jacobite, embarked at the same time; but the empress, from a motive of love or fear, was more effectually obeyed; and the Catholic priest was detained by the president of Thebais, while the king of Nubia and his court were hastily baptized in the faith of Dioscorus. The tardy envoy of Justinian was received and dismissed with honor; but when he accused the heresy and treason of the Egyptians, the negro convert was instructed to reply that he would never abandon his brethren, the true believers, to the persecuting ministers of the synod of Chalcedon.[153] During several ages, the bishops of Nubia were named and consecrated by the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria: as late as the twelfth century, Christianity prevailed; and some rites, some ruins, are still visible in the savage towns of Sennaar and Dongola.[154] But the Nubians at length executed their threats of returning to the worship of idols; the climate required the indulgence of polygamy, and they have finally preferred the triumph of the Koran to the abasement of the Cross. A metaphysical religion may appear too refined for the capacity of the negro race: yet a black or a parrot might be taught to repeat the *words* of the Chalcedonian or Monophysite creed.‡

color of the human race. The Nubians, an African race, are pure negroes, as black as those of Senegal or Congo, with flat noses, thick lips, and woolly hair. (Buffon, *Hist. Naturelle*, tom. v. pp. 117. 143, 144, 166, 219, edit. in 12mo. Paris, 1769). The ancients beheld, without much attention, the extraordinary phenomenon which had exercised the philosophers and theologians of modern times.'

153 Asseman. *Bibliot. Orient.* tom i. p. 329.

154 The Christianity of the Nubians, (A. D. 1153), is attested by the sheriff al Edrisi, falsely described under the name of the Nubian geographer, (p. 18), who represents them as a nation of Jacobites. The rays of historical light that twinkle in the history of Renaudot, (pp. 178, 220–224, 281–286, 405, 434, 451, 464,) are all previous to this era. See the modern state in the Lettres Edifiantes, (*Recueil*, iv.) and Busching, (tom. ix. pp. 152–159. par Berenger). †

* The conversion of Abyssinia, by Frumentius, in the time of Athanasius, is related by Bruce, from the records of that country, (*Travels*, i. 508,) and by Neander, (3, 169,) from the ecclesiastical *History of Rufinus*, (l. 1, c. 9.) The two accounts do not materially differ till the latter cites the *Apologia Athanasii*, to show that the emperor Constantius "considered it necessary to persecute the "disciples of Athanasius, even in those remote regions." The traveler, on the contrary, states, that the conversion was as quietly conducted as, at an earlier period, had been that of the same people from Paganism to the Jewish religion: that there were "no fanatic preachers, no warm saints or madmen, and *no* "*persecution.*"—ENG. CH.

† For the present state of the Nubians, see the *Letters of Lepsius*, Nos. 15, 24, 26, 28, and the physical geography of their country, *Appendix*, p. 516. He says, (p. 21,) "the Nubians or Barabra, (plur. of Berberi,) are an intelligent and honest "race, peaceful, but of a disposition anything but slavish, with well-formed "bodies, and a skin of a light reddish brown color."—ENG. CH.

‡ The credulous and emotional nature of the African, seems to qualify him admirably for enjoying the Christian religion, and his intellect seems sufficiently developed to appreciate the Gospel narrative. His mind it not honey-combed

Church of Abyssinia, A. D. 530, &c.

Christianity was more deeply rooted in the Abyssinian empire; and, although the correspondence has been sometimes interrupted above seventy or a hundred years, the mother-church of Alexandria retains her colony in a state of perpetual pupilage. Seven bishops once composed the Æthiopic synod; had their number amounted to ten, they might have elected an independent primate; and one of their kings was ambitious of promoting his brother to the ecclesiastical throne. But the event was foreseen, the increase was denied; the episcopal office has been gradually confined to the *abuna*,[155] the head and author of the Abyssinian priesthood; the patriarch supplies each vacancy with an Egyptian monk; and the character of a stranger appears more venerable in the eyes of the people, less dangerous in those of the monarch. In the sixth century, when the schism of Egypt was confirmed,

155 The abuna is improperly dignified by the Latins with the title of patriarch. The Abyssinians acknowledge only the four patriarchs, and their chief is no more than a metropolitan, or national primate, (Ludolph. *Hist. Æthiopic. et Comment.* l. iii. c. 7.) The seven bishops of Renaudot. (p. 511), who existed A. D. 1131, are unknown to the historian. *

by scientific disbelief, and his implicit faith is unvexed by modern doubt. Like the poor Indian,

"His untutored mind
"Sees God in clouds and hears him in the wind,"

and he accepts in its entire fullness, without mental reservation, every word contained in the *Old* and *New Testament*. All the prominent sects in the United States may boast of Negro converts, and, in the principal cities, African churches are numerous. The Rev. Highland Garnet, who was, at the time of his death, U. S. Minister to Liberia, was a colored preacher of unquestioned ability. The Rev. Mr. Freeman, pastor of Siloam church, has presided with dignity as Moderator of the Presbytery of Brooklyn, and is a colored gentleman of scholarly attainments. The Rev. Mr. Jasper of Richmond, Va., also a colored preacher, has commanded the attention of the civilized world by his brilliant defence of the old orthodox system of the universe. He has ably seconded the argument of the Christian navigator Indicopleustes, (see note, p. 694), who labored to confute "the im-"pious heresy of those who maintained that the earth is a globe, and not a flat "oblong table, as it is represented in the scriptures." Indeed, to the Rev. Mr. Jasper belongs the honor of being the only Christian minister in this Christian land, who defends the astronomical belief of Joshua, founded on the infallible authority of the scriptures, "which are the same yesterday, to-day, and forever;" and although Jasper's Caucasian brethren may doubt, they have not yet ventured to openly combat his famous declaration, which bears the impress of honest sincerity, and which atones in its wealth of confiding Christian faith for what it lacks in mere worldly wisdom. Let not those, therefore, who believe in the dramatic and sensational command of the inspired warrior, Joshua: "Sun, stand thou still upon "Gibeon; and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon;" scoff at the humble African, when, confiding in the evidence of his own senses, disregarding the sneers of an unbelieving world, and relying on the truth of the scriptures, he modestly but firmly postulates his simple creed: "The Sun do move."—E.

* *Abuna*, from the Arabian *Abu* (father), was used by the Abyssinians to designate their chief priest. Their form of church government was very simple; and having no rich bishoprics, they had no sects, heresies, councils, factions, or massacres. This tranquillity remained undisturbed more than a thousand years. They had a convent, or rather a lodging-house for pilgrims and travelers, at Jerusalem. This connection with the church was the cause of their king, Zara Jacob, who reigned from 1434 to 1468, sending his representatives to the council of Florence On their return, they were accompanied by some Frangi or Franks, who introduced the first religious disputes in Abyssinia. (*Bruce's Travels*, ii. p. 68.)—ENG. CH.

the rival chiefs, with their patrons, Justinian and Theodora, strove to outstrip each other in the conquest of a remote and independent province. The industry of the empress was again victorious, and the pious Theodora* has established in that sequestered church the faith and discipline of the Jacobites.[156] Encompassed on all sides by the enemies of their religion, the Æthiopians slept near a thousand years, forgetful of the world, by whom they were forgotten. They were awakened by the Portuguese, who, turning the southern promontory of Africa, appeared in India and the Red sea, as if they had descended through the air from a distant planet. In the first moments of their interview, the subjects of Rome and Alexandria observed the resemblance, rather than the difference, of their faith; and each nation expected the most important benefits from an alliance with their Christian brethren. In their lonely situation, the Æthiopians had almost relapsed into the savage life Their vessels, which had traded to Ceylon, scarcely presumed to navigate the rivers of Africa; the ruins of Axume were deserted, the nation was scattered in villages, and the emperor, a pompous name, was content, both in peace and war, with the movable residence of a camp. Conscious of their own indigence, the Abyssinians had formed the rational project of importing the arts and ingenuity of Europe;[157] and their ambassadors at Rome and Lisbon were instructed to solicit a colony of smiths, carpenters, tilers, masons, printers, surgeons, and physicians, for the use of their country. But the public danger soon called for the instant and effectual aid of arms and soldiers to defend an unwarlike people from the barbarians who ravaged the inland country,

The Portuguese in Abyssinia, A. D. 1525-1553, &c.

[156] I know not why Assemannus, (*Bibliot. Orient.* tom. ii. p. 384), should call in question these probable missions of Theodora into Nubia and Æthiopia. The slight notices of Abyssinia till the year 1500 are supplied by Renaudot, (pp. 336, 341, 381, 382, 405, 443, &c., 452, 456, 463, 475, 480, 511, 525, 559-564, from the Coptic writers. The mind of Ludolphus was a perfect blank.

[157] Ludolph. *Hist. Æthiop.* l. iv. c. 5. The most necessary arts are now exercised by the Jews, and the foreign trade is in the hands of the Armenians. What Gregory principally admired and envied was the industry of Europe—artes et opificia.

* Theodora, the beautiful daughter of Acacius, the bear-keeper, after a successful theatrical career, married, however, by the grossest licentiousness, captured Justinian, and became empress of the East. She is celebrated for her prudence, courage, tyranny, cruelty and piety. Her labors in the cause of Christianity only ended with her life; and one of her last religious acts was the establishment of this Jacobite church in Abyssinia. Clergymen, when denouncing the stage, should remember with gratitude the services of the actress Theodora, who commenced life as a beggar, was successful as a pantomimist, a courtezan, a Christian and an empress; and who, after exerting a paramount influence in establishing Christian creeds and inventing Christian dogmas during her life, was celebrated and honored as a Christian saint after her death.—E.

and the Turks and Arabs who advanced from the sea-coast in more formidable array. Æthiopia was saved by four hundred and fifty Portuguese, who displayed in the field the native valor of Europeans, and the artificial powers of the musket and cannon. In a moment of terror, the emperor had promised to reconcile himself and his subjects to the Catholic faith; a Latin patriarch represented the supremacy of the pope;[158] the empire, enlarged in a tenfold proportion, was supposed to contain more gold than the mines of America; and the wildest hopes of avarice and zeal were built on the willing submission of the Christians of Africa.

Mission of the Jesuits, A. D. 1557.

But the vows which pain had extorted, were forsworn on the return of health. The Abyssinians still adhered with unshaken constancy to the Monophysite faith; their languid belief was inflamed by the exercise of dispute; they branded the Latins with the names of Arians and Nestorians, and imputed the adoration of *four* gods, to those who separated the two natures of Christ. Fremona, a place of worship, or rather of exile, was assigned to the Jesuit missionaries. Their skill in the liberal and mechanic arts, their theological learning, and the decency of their manners, inspired a barren esteem; but they were not endowed with the gift of miracles,[159] and they vainly solicited a reinforcement of European troops. The patience and dexterity of forty years at length obtained a more favorable audience, and two emperors of Abyssinia were persuaded that Rome could ensure the temporal and everlasting happiness of her votaries. The first of these royal converts lost his crown and his life; and the rebel army was sanctified by the *abuna*, who hurled an anathema at the apostate, and absolved his subjects from their oath of fidelity. The fate of Zadenghel was revenged by the courage and fortune of Susneus, who ascended the throne under the name of Segued, and more vigorously prosecuted the pious enterprise of his kinsman. After the amusement of some unequal combats between the Jesuits and his illiterate priests, the emperor declared himself a proselyte to the synod of Chalcedon, presuming that his clergy and

[158] John Bermudez, whose relation, printed at Lisbon, 1569, was translated into English by Purchas, (*Pilgrims*, l. vii. c. 7, p. 1149, &c.), and from thence into French by La Croze, (*Christianisme d'Æthiopie*, pp. 92–265). The piece is curious; but the author may be suspected of deceiving Abyssinia, Rome, and Portugal. His title to the rank of patriarch is dark and doubtful, (*Lud. Com.* No. 101, p. 473).

[159] Religio Romana * * * nec precibus patrum nec miraculis ab ipsis editis suffulciebatur, is the uncontradicted assurance of the devout emperor Susneus to his patriarch Mendez, (Ludolph. *Comment.* No. 126, p. 529); and such assurances should be preciously kept, as an antidote against any marvelous legends.

people would embrace without delay the religion of their prince. The liberty of choice was succeeded by a law, which imposed, under pain of death, the belief of the two natures of Christ: the Abyssinians were enjoined to work and to play on the sabbath; and Segued, in the face of Europe and Africa, renounced his connexion with the Alexandrian church. A Jesuit, Alphonso Mendez, the Catholic patriarch of Æthiopia, accepted in the name of Urban VIII. the homage and abjuration of his penitent. "I confess," said the emperor on his knees, "I confess that the pope is the vicar of Christ, "the successor of St. Peter, and the sovereign of the world. "To him I swear true obedience, and at his feet I offer my "person and kingdom." A similar oath was repeated by his son, his brother, the clergy, the nobles, and even the ladies of the court: the Latin patriarch was invested with honors and wealth; and his missionaries erected their churches or citadels in the most convenient stations of the empire. The Jesuits themselves deplore the fatal indiscretion of their chief, who forgot the mildness of the gospel and the policy of his order, to introduce with hasty violence the liturgy of Rome and the Inquisition of Portugal. He condemned the ancient practice of circumcision, which health rather than superstition had first invented in the climate of Æthiopia.[160] A new baptism, a new ordination,

Conversion of the emperor, A. D. 1626.

[160] I am aware how tender is the question of circumcision. Yet I will affirm, 1. That the Æthiopians have a physical reason for the circumcision of males, and even of females,* (*Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains*, tom. ii.) 2. That it was practiced in Æthiopia long before the introduction of Judaism or Christianity. (*Herodot.* l. ii. c. 104. Marsham, *Canon. Chron.* pp. 72, 73.) "Infantes circumcidunt ob consuetudinem, non ob Judaismum," says Gregory the Abyssinian priest, (apud Fabric. *Lux Christiana*, p. 720.) Yet in the heat of dispute, the Portuguese were sometimes branded with the name of *uncircumcised*. (La Croze, p. 80. Ludolph. *Hist. and Comment.* l. iii. c. 1.)

* The Semitic race also practiced circumcision, which rite was regarded by them with religious solemnity; and the Hebrew branch of that remarkable people, believed that the Creator of the universe was particularly interested in their observance of this curious custom. Acting on this knowledge, the founder of their family, entered into an "everlasting covenant" with his Creator; and, at ninety and nine years of age, cheerfully submitted to the painful mutilation this legal contract demanded, and which, fortunately, he had still sufficient physical endurance to undergo. That his mental powers were unimpaired by age, is shown by the successful bargain he made: for, by this simple mercantile transaction, he acquired title to real property of almost fabulous value. The shrewdest of his descendants have envied, but never equaled their ancestor's skill in trade, and, indeed, they may never hope to receive property of such enormous value by parting with so little.

This extraordinary covenant is still in existence and reads strangely to modern Real Estate Agents. By it, the party of the first part, agrees to give to the party of the second part, and his lawful heirs and descendants, all that certain plot, piece, or parcel of land, known and described as the Land of Canaan, ON CONDITION, that the said party of the second part and his male descendants forever continue the practice of the sacred rite of circumcision. "Every man "child among you shall be circumcised," is the language recorded in the bond. (*Gen.* xvii. 7-13.)—E.

was inflicted on the natives; and they trembled with horror when the most holy of the dead were torn from their graves, when the most illustrious of the living were excommunicated by a foreign priest. In the defence of their religion and liberty, the Abyssinians rose in arms, with desperate but unsuccessful zeal. Five rebellions were extinguished in the blood of the insurgents: two abunas were slain in battle, whole legions were slaughtered in the field, or suffocated in their caverns; and neither merit, nor rank, nor sex, could save from an ignominious death the enemies of Rome. But the victorious monarch was finally subdued by the constancy of the nation, of his mother, of his son, and of his most faithful friends. Segued listened to the voice of pity, of reason, perhaps of fear; and his edict of liberty of conscience instantly revealed the tyranny and weakness of the Jesuits. On the death of his father, Basilides expelled the Latin patriarch, and restored to the wishes of the nation the faith and discipline of Egypt. The Monophysite churches resounded with a song of triumph, "that the sheep of Æthiopia were now delivered "from the hyænas of the West;" and the gates of that solitary realm were for ever shut against the arts, the science, and the fanaticism of Europe.[161]

Final expulsion of the Jesuits, A. D. 1632, &c.

161 The three Protestant historians, Ludolphus, (*Hist. Æthiopica Francofurt.* 1681; *Commentarius*, 1691; Relatio Nova, &c. 1693, in folio); Geddes, (*Church History of Æthiopia*, London, 1696, in octavo), and La Croze, (*Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie et d'Armenie*, La Haye, 1739, in duodecimo), have drawn their principal materials from the Jesuits, especially from the *General History* of Tellez, published in Portuguese at Conimbra, 1660. We might be surprised at their frankness; but their most flagitious vice, the spirit of persecution, was, in their eyes, the most meritorious virtue. Ludolphus possessed some, though a slight, advantage from the Æthiopic language, and the personal conversation of Gregory, a free-spirited Abyssinian priest, whom he invited from Rome to the court of Saxe-Gotha. See *Theo. Æthi.* of Greg., in Fabricius, *Lux Evan.* p. 716, 734.*

* The travels of Bruce, illustrated by those of Mr. Salt, and the narrative of Nathaniel Pearce, have brought us again acquainted with this remote region. Whatever may be their speculative opinions, the barbarous manners of the Ethiopians seem to be gaining more and more the ascendancy over the practice of Christianity.—MILMAN.

"—— Him the Almighty Power
"Hurled headlong from the ethereal sky
"To bottomless Perdition."—*Milton.*

HOMER—MILTON—MEPHISTOPHELES.

THE council of the gods on Mount Olympus, so dramatically described by Homer, inspired Milton with emulation, and he has given us the council of the fallen angels in Hades, which his admirers consider both grand and sublime.

After describing the revolt of Lucifer and his rebellious crew, and the terrible battle that was fought in heaven before Satan was finally expelled, when

> " Hills amid the air encountered hills,
> " Hurled to and fro with jaculation dire,"

we find the arch enemy of mankind, ("old Clootie," as Burns calls him), making himself comfortable in the bottomless pit.

> " High on a throne of royal state—which far
> " Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind;
> " Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
> " Showers on her kings Barbaric pearl and gold—
> " Satan exalted sat;"

and taught, among other truths, to the assembled demons, this charming gem of divine philosophy, which would have done honor to the brightest seraphim in all the heavenly host:

> " The mind is its own place, and in itself
> " Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven."

This reasoning was received with great applause by the assembled hosts of fallen spirits, and Milton really deserves censure for putting such an eloquent truth in the mouth of Beelzebub. Satan next spoke of the earth and its newly formed inhabitants, our first parents, over whose grave Mark Twain shed filial tears.

Defacing the scenery of heaven by tearing up the hills and rocks and rivers, and hurling them "to and fro with jaculation dire," as Milton describes, seems to have been dictated by insane passion, rather than by the exercise of military strategy or genius. Etherial beings cannot be affected by material objects, and immortal spirits cannot be exterminated. The robust exercise of the angelic warriors was, therefore, like the Pope's edict against the comet, barren of results.

We learn from Homer that the gods on Mount Olympus, and from Milton that the devils in Pandemonium, frequently and earnestly discussed the affairs of humanity. Indeed, man never yet invented nor created a god or demon who was not instantly and continuously engrossed in the welfare of his maker. The inferior spirits, says Milton:

> " ——Apart sat on a hill retired,
> " In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high
> " Of providence, foreknowledge, will and fate:
> " Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute;
> " And found no end, in wandering mazes lost."

This discourse sounds familiar to human ears, as it is often heard in our churches, but of what interest could it possibly have been to the evil spirits in Hades? A reporter for the press, visiting this spot in search of an item of news, would never have mistrusted from the discourse of these infernals, that he was in Tophet, listening to the arguments of fallen angels. On the contrary, he would have supposed, from the theological tone of the conversation, that he was attending a Presbyterian Convention, a Methodist Conventicle, or a Dutch Reformed Synod.

We are assured by the witty Butler, in *Hudibras*, that this coincidence between the thoughts of the ministers of evil, and the ministers of grace, is not prejudicial to the latter:

> " For saints may do the same things by
> " The spirit, in sincerity,
> " Which other men are tempted to,
> " And at the devil's instance do;
> " And yet the actions be contrary,
> " Just as the saints and wicked vary."—E.

Mithras.*

XIV.†

INTRODUCTION, WORSHIP, AND PERSECUTION, OF IMAGES. —REVOLT OF ITALY AND ROME.—TEMPORAL DOMINION OF THE POPES.—ESTABLISHMENT OF IMAGES.

Introduction of images into the Christian church.

IN the connection of the church and state, I have considered the former as subservient only, and relative, to the latter; a salutary maxim, if in fact, as well as in narrative, it had ever been held sacred. The Oriental philosophy of the Gnostics, the dark abyss of predestination and grace, and the strange transformation of the eucharist from the sign to

* The Zendavesta, the bible of the ancient fire-worshipers, teaches that fire is the agent of the divine energy; and the sun—the divinity of fire—the genius of light—of intellectual and divine light—was adored by the Persians in the worship and under the name of Mithras; who was a *mediator* between the good god Ormuzd, the author of every blessing, and the evil god, Ahriman, the author of every misfortune; in the same manner that Vishnu, the preserver, interposed between Brahma the creator, and Siva the destroyer, in the Hindoo trinity of gods.

The priests of Mithras were termed Magi, and the most eminent member of this sect was the world-renowned Zoroaster. The mysterious worship of Mithras was celebrated in gloomy caverns, and only the initiated, who had withstood the test of the most severe ordeals, were admitted to the presence of the god.

Mithras is represented on monuments as a beautiful youth, clad in a flowing robe, wearing a Phrygian cap, and sacrificing a bull, at the entrance of a cavern, as in the above engraving. One of the attending Magi holds a lighted torch, the other an inverted one, representing light and darkness, or day and night. The serpent, the emblem of wisdom, who beguiled Eve, and thwarted, at the creation, the plans of Omnipotence, has not been forgotten in this religion. The dog lapping the blood of the sacrificial victim, corresponds with the wolf which appeared at the foundation of Rome and with Sirius, the dog-star, of the Egyptians. The divine Mithras kneels upon the devoted beast; with his left hand he closes its nostrils, and with his right he plunges a dagger into its heart.

An astronomical explanation has been given as the concealed or real meaning of this sacrificial worship.—E.

† From Chap. XLIX. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

the substance of Christ's body.[1] I have purposely abandoned to the curiosity of speculative divines. But I have reviewed, with diligence and pleasure, the objects of ecclesiastical history, by which the decline and fall of the Roman empire were materially affected, the propagation of Christianity, the constitution of the Catholic church, the ruin of Paganism, and the sects that arose from the mysterious controversies concerning the Trinity and incarnation. At the head of this class, we may justly rank the worship of images, so fiercely disputed in the eighth and ninth centuries; since a question of popular superstition produced the revolt of Italy, the temporal power of the popes, and the restoration of the Roman empire in the West.

The primitive Christians were possessed with an unconquerable repugnance to the use and abuse of images; and this aversion may be ascribed to their descent from the Jews, and their enmity to the Greeks. The Mosaic law had severely proscribed all representations of the Deity; and that precept was firmly established in the principles and practice of the chosen people. The wit of the Christian apologists was pointed against the foolish idolaters, who bowed before the workmanship of their own hands; the images of brass and marble, which, had *they* been endowed with sense and motion, should have started rather from the pedestal to adore the creative powers of the artist.[2] Perhaps some recent and imperfect converts of the Gnostic tribe, might crown the statues of Christ and St. Paul with the profane honors which they paid to those of Aristotle and Pythagoras;[3] but the public religion of the Catholics was uniformly simple and spiritual; and the first notice of the use of pictures is in the censure of the council of Illiberis,

[1] The learned Selden has given the history of transubstantiation in a comprehensive and pithy sentence: "This opinion is only rhetoric turned into logic." (His Works, vol. iii. p. 2073, in his *Table-Talk*.)

[2] Nec intelligunt homines ineptissimi, quod si sentire simulacra et moveri possent, adoratura hominem fuissent à quo sunt expolita. (*Divin. Institut.* l. ii. c. 2.) Lactantius is the last, as well as the most eloquent, of the Latin apologists. Their raillery of idols attacks not only the object, but the form and matter. *

[3] See Irenæus, Epiphanius, and Augustin, (Basnage, *Hist. des Eglises Réformées*, tom. ii. p. 1313.) This Gnostic practice has a singular affinity with the private worship of Alexander Severus, (Lampridius, c. 29. Lardner, *Heathen Testimonies*, vol. iii. p. 34).

* Who were "the primitive Christians" here referred to? Even in the time of the apostles, the Greek converts far outnumbered those of Jewish descent. They accepted the *Hebrew Scriptures*, even before they had their own; and from them, as well as from philosophy, they conceived a repugnance to idolatry and a distaste for images, as the representatives of fable and folly. They had no "enmity" to their countrymen. No traces can be found of such a feeling: but, on the contrary, a cordial goodwill is shown, to recommend their new religion. The first symptoms of hostility were between them and Jews.—ENG. CH.

three hundred years after the Christian æra. Under the successors of Constantine, in the peace and luxury of the triumphant church, the more prudent bishops condescended to indulge a visible superstition, for the benefit of the multitude: and, after the ruin of Paganism, they were no longer restrained by the apprehension of an odious parallel. The first introduction of a symbolic worship was in the veneration of the cross, and of relics. The saints and martyrs, whose intercession was implored, were seated on the right hand of God; but the gracious and often supernatural favors, which, in the popular belief, were showered round their tomb, conveyed an unquestionable sanction of the devout pilgrims, who visited, and touched, and kissed, these lifeless remains, the memorials of their merits and sufferings.[4] But a memorial, more interesting than the skull or the sandals of a departed worthy, is the faithful copy of his person and features, delineated by the arts of painting or sculpture. In every age, such copies, so congenial to human feelings, have been cherished by the zeal of private friendship, or public esteem: the images of the Roman emperors were adored with civil, and almost religious, honors; a reverence less ostentatious, but more sincere, was applied to the statues of sages and patriots; and these profane virtues, these splendid sins, disappeared in the presence of the holy men, who had died for their celestial and everlasting country. At first, the experiment was made with caution and scruple; and the venerable pictures were discreetly allowed to instruct the ignorant, to awaken the cold, and to gratify the prejudices of the heathen proselytes. By a slow though inevitable progression, the honors of the original were transferred to the copy; the devout Christian prayed before the image of a saint; and the Pagan rites of genuflection, luminaries, and incense, again stole into the Catholic church.* The scruples of reason, or piety, were silenced

Their worship.

[4] See this History, pp. 307, 451, 555–560.

* The Pagan worship of images, as visible representatives of the gods, had scarcely been suppressed, when the practice was again revived, but not improved, by the early Christian sects, who had already introduced religious persecution as an efficient means for propagating their faith.

"Should any one inquire," says the Christian historian Mosheim, (*Hist. of Christianity*, vol. i. cent. ii. sect. 36, p. 392), "what causes could possibly have "led the Christian teachers to adopt the rites of Paganism, I answer, that in all "probability, their only motive was an anxious desire to enlarge the bounds of "the church. The rites, themselves, certainly possessed no very particular "recommendation in point of grandeur or dignity; but a hope might very "naturally be entertained, that the heathen worshipers, upon finding somewhat "of an accordance to subsist between the religion in which they had been bred

by the strong evidence of visions and miracles; and the pictures which speak, and move, and bleed, must be endowed with a divine energy, and may be considered as the proper objects of religious adoration. The most audacious pencil might tremble in the rash attempt of defining, by forms and colors, the infinite Spirit, the eternal

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" up, and Christianity, as to externals, might the more readily be prevailed on " to dismiss their prejudices and embrace the latter." * * * " The oriental Chris- " tians of this age, were accustomed to compare baptism with that lustration with " which it was the practice to consecrate, in a certain degree, those who were " about to be initiated in the mysteries, and the profession of faith, delivered at " the font, with the watch-word, or sign, communicated to the candidates for ad- " mission to the secret rites of heathenism: on which account it was usual for " this profession of faith to be solemnly delivered in the very act of baptism to " every one admitted into the church. Indeed, in its operation the profession of " faith, to which we allude, was by no means dissimilar to the sign of mystical " initiation amongst the heathen."

The Pagans reposed implicit confidence in the wisdom and discretion of Zeus and his celestial attendants. Without persecuting other religions, or rival sects, they cheerfully performed their own religious rites, and piously made their offerings and oblations to the gods. They never doubted or questioned the omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence, of the divine hierarchy of Olympus.

The Christians were also sincere in their belief; but their images and saints were austere and forbidding, and could not compensate intelligent Pagan worshipers for the loss of the all-powerful, benign, and immortal gods, whose consecrated temples had enriched the world with monuments of beauty, and whose statues had ennobled the arts, and lent inspiration to music and poetry.

The religion of the Romans, not only imparted to its professors happiness in this earthly life, but it gave a hope of immortality beyond the grave; while the Christian theology inculcated the merit of penance and misery on earth, joined with Plato's Pagan belief of a blessed immortality in heaven.

But while the Pagans were content to allow the immortal gods to govern the world unprompted by finite wisdom, and unaided by human skill, the Christians secretly doubted the sagacity and discretion of Jehovah, unless his arm was strengthened with mortal aid, and his wisdom was enlightened with Christian counsel. In their eloquent and impressive harangues, they, therefore, instructed their Deity in the proper course for him to pursue, and in their earnest and fervid prayers, they plainly intimated their wishes and desires. They felt themselves entitled to participate in the government of the universe, fully believing their sword could reinforce the power of Omnipotence, and their chains, and tortures, and dungeons, could appall and convince the most obdurate heretic. Hence, they became intolerant bigots, and to enforce their religion, they deluged the earth in blood. Like the old Roman idolaters, they built temples for worship, and erected images for adoration. Deserted Pagan shrines were purified and now became holy Christian altars. Vestal Virgins, condemned to a life of celibacy by the old superstition, were now flattered with "spiritual vows," and received the majestic, if not sacrilegious, title of "*the chosen spouses of Christ.*" The heroes and demi-gods of Olympus were displaced by the "Blessed Virgin," and the holy calendar of Saints. The Pagan rite of burning incense to the gods, was retained; and "holy water," thrice blessed by holy priests, was substituted for idolatrous libations of wine. Instead of the ancient Pagan mysteries of Eleusis, the new Christian mystery of Transubstantiation was invented; and the sacred words of priestly incantation, now changed bread into flesh, and wine into blood, to be eaten and drank in ecstatic delirium by awe-stricken and trembling neophytes, and with calm and placid indifference by experienced and initiated believers. Divinations by Pagan Haruspices, and Augurs, were forbidden, but Christian priests, who were permitted to cast out devils and exorcise demons, were encouraged to foretell future events by the art of prophesying: "For greater is he that prophesieth, than he that speaketh " with tongues." The priestly dignity of *Pontifex Maximus* was forever abolished, and the *Holy Pontiff of Rome* now ruled supreme. The idolatrous sacrifice of animals was happily suppressed — bulls, and sheep, and goats, were no longer slaughtered and eaten by Pagan priests at the altars of Jupiter, but an occasional heretic was roasted by the *professed* followers of Jesus, to demonstrate the truth of the orthodox dogmas, and to illustrate the humanity and loving kindness of the Christian creed.—E

Father, who pervades and sustains the universe.[5] But the superstitious mind was more easily reconciled to paint and to worship the angels, and, above all, the Son of God, under the human shape, which, on earth, they have condescended to assume. The second person of the Trinity had been clothed with a real and mortal body; but that body had ascended into heaven; and, had not some similitude been presented to the eyes of his disciples, the spiritual worship of Christ might have been obliterated by the visible relics and representations of the saints. A similar indulgence was requisite, and propitious, for the Virgin Mary: the place of her burial was unknown; and the assumption of her soul and body into heaven was adopted by the credulity of the Greeks and Latins. The use, and even the worship, of images, was firmly established before the end of the sixth century: they were fondly cherished by the warm imagination of the Greeks and Asiatics: the Pantheon and Vatican were adorned with the emblems of a new superstition; but this semblance of idolatry was more coldly entertained by the rude barbarians and the Arian clergy of the West. The bolder forms of sculpture, in brass or marble, which peopled the temples of antiquity, were offensive to the fancy or conscience of the Christian Greeks; and a smooth surface of colors has ever been esteemed a more decent and harmless mode of imitation.[6]

The merit and effect of a copy depends on its resemblance with the original; but the primitive Christians were ignorant of the genuine features of the Son of God, his mother, and his apostles: the statue of Christ at Paneas in Palestine[7] was more probably that of some

The image of Edessa.

[5] Οὐ γὰρ τὸ Θεῖον απλοῦν ὕπαρχον καὶ ἄληστον μορφαῖς τισι και σχήμασιν ἀπεικάζομεν, ὄυτε κηρῷ καὶ ξύλοις τὴν ὑπερούσιον καὶ προάναρχου οὐσίαν τιμᾶν ἡμεις διεγνώκαμεν. (Concilium Nicenum, ii. in Collect, Labb. tom. viii. p. 1025, edit. Venet.) Il seroit peut-etre à-propos de ne point souffrir d'images de la Trinité ou de la Divinité; les defenseurs les plus zelés des images ayant condamné celles-ci, et leconcile de Trente ne parlant que des images de Jesus Christ et des Saints. (Dupin, *Bibliot. Eccles.* tom. vi. p. 154.)

[6] This general history of images is drawn from the twenty-second book of the *Hist. des Eglises Reformées* of Basnage, tom. ii. pp. 1310–1337. He was a Protestant, but of a manly spirit; and on this head, the Protestants are so notoriously in the right, that they can venture to be impartial. See the perplexity of poor Friar Pagi, *Critica*, tom. i. p. 42.

[7] After removing some rubbish of miracle and inconsistency, it may be allowed, that as late as the year 300, Paneas in Palestine was decorated with a bronze statue, representing a grave personage wrapped in a cloak, with a grateful or suppliant female kneeling before him, and that an inscription—τῷ Σωτηρι, τῳ ευεργετη—was perhaps inscribed on the pedestal. By the Christians, this group was foolishly explained of their founder and the *poor* woman whom he had cured of the

temporal savior; the Gnostics and their profane monuments were reprobated; and the fancy of the Christian artists could only be guided by the clandestine imitation of some heathen model. In this distress, a bold and dexterous invention assured at once the likeness of the image and the innocence of the worship. A new superstructure of fable was raised on the popular basis of a Syrian legend, on the correspondence of Christ and Abgarus, so famous in the days of Eusebius, so reluctantly deserted by our modern advocates.* The bishop of Cæsarea[8] records the epistle,[9] but he most strangely forgets the picture, of Christ;[10] the perfect impression of his face on a linen, with which he

bloody flux, (*Euseb.* vii. 18; *Philostorg.* vii. 3, &c.) M. de Beausobre more reasonably conjectures the philosopher Apollonius, or the emperor Vespasian; in the latter supposition, the female is a city, a province, or perhaps the queen Berenice, (*Bibliothèque Germanique*, tom. xiii. pp. 1–92.)

8 Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* l. i. c. 13. The learned Assemannus has brought up the collateral aid of three Syrians, St. Ephrem, Josua Stylites, and James, bishop of Sarug; but I do not find any notice of the Syriac original, or the archives of Edessa, (*Bibliot. Orient.* tom. i. pp. 318, 420, 554); their vague belief is probably derived from the Greeks.

9 The evidence for these epistles is stated and rejected by the candid Lardner, (*Heathen Testimonies*, vol. i. pp. 297-309.) Among the herd of bigots who are forcibly driven from this convenient, but untenable, post, I am ashamed, with the Grabes, Caves, Tillemont, &c., to discover Mr. Addison, an English gentleman, (his Works, vol. i. p. 528, Baskerville's edition); but his superficial tract on the Christian religion owes its credit to his name, his style, and the interested applause of our clergy.

10 From the silence of James of Sarug, (Asseman. *Bibliot. Orient.* pp. 289, 318), and the testimony of Evagrius, (*Hist. Eccles.* l. iv. c. 27), I conclude that this fable was invented between the years 521 and 594, most probably after the siege of Edessa in 540, (Asseman. tom. i. p. 416. Procopius de Bell. Persic. l. ii). It is the sword and buckler of Gregory II. (in Epist. i. ad Leon. Isaur. Concil. tom. viii. pp.656, 657), of John Damascenus, (*Opera*, tom. i. p. 281, edit. Lequien), and of the second Nicene Council, (*Actio*, v. p. 1030). The most perfect edition may be found in Cedrenus, (*Compend.* pp. 175–178).

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* The Veronica Handkerchief," says Taylor, (*Diegesis*, p. 380–381,) "would not "deserve a consideration among the external evidences of Christianity, had it "not been consecrated by the serious belief and earnest devotion of the largest "body and most ancient sect of professed Christians. I make no remark on the "story, but copy it as I find it, in a note of the editor on the text of Eusebius, "where he relates the story of the correspondence of Christ and Abgarus, (Euseb. "*Eccles. Hist.* lib. 1, c. 14.) 'How that Abgarus, governor of Edessa, sent his "'letter unto Jesus, and withal a certain painter, who might view him well, and "'bring unto him back again the lively picture of Jesus. But the painter not "'being able, for the glorious brightness of his gracious countenance, to look at "'him so steadily as to catch his likeness, our Savior himself took an handker-"'chief, and laid it on his divine and lovely face, and by wiping of his face, his "'picture became impressed on the handkerchief, the which he sent to Abgarus.'

"This story the translator gives with severe censure from the historian Nice-"phorus, and perhaps it might deserve no less; but that the impartial principle "of this *Diegesis*, forbids our treating any subject with levity or indifference, "that has had power to engage the impassioned affections and earnest devotions "of so numerous and respectable a portion of the Christian community.

"I copy from Blount's *Philostratus*, the annexed prayer, extracted from a "Roman Catholic Liturgy, or Manual of true piety: *The Prayer to Veronica*, "'Hail Holy Face impressed on cloth! Purge from us every spot of vice, and "'join us to the society of the blessed; O blessed Figure!' (The name *Veronica*, "occurs in the Gospel of Nicodemus, as that of the lady who came behind "Jesus, and touched the hem of his garment.")—E.

gratified the faith of the royal stranger, who had invoked his healing power, and offered the strong city of Edessa to protect him against the malice of the Jews. The ignorance of the primitive church is explained by the long imprisonment of the image in a niche of the wall, from whence, after an oblivion of five hundred years, it was released by some prudent bishop, and seasonably presented to the devotion of the times. Its first and most glorious exploit was the deliverance of the city from the arms of Chosroes Nushirvan; and it was soon revered as a pledge of the divine promise, that Edessa should never be taken by a foreign enemy. It is true, indeed, that the text of Procopius ascribes the double deliverance of Edessa to the wealth and valor of her citizens, who purchased the absence and repelled the assaults of the Persian monarch. He was ignorant, the profane historian, of the testimony which he is compelled to deliver in the ecclesiastical page of Evagrius, that the Palladium was exposed on the rampart, and that the water which had been sprinkled on the holy face, instead of quenching, added new fuel to the flames of the besieged. After this important service, the image of Edessa was preserved with respect and gratitude; and if the Armenians rejected the legend, the more credulous Greeks adored the similitude, which was not the work of any mortal pencil, but the immediate creation of the divine original. The style and sentiments of a Byzantine hymn will declare how far their worship was removed from the grossest idolatry. "How can we with mortal eyes contemplate this image, whose celestial splendor the host of heaven presumes not to behold? HE who dwells in heaven condescends this day to visit us by his venerable image: He who is seated on the cherubim, visits us this day by a picture, which the Father has delineated with his immaculate hand, which he has formed in an ineffable manner, and which we sanctify by adoring it with fear and love." Before the end of the sixth century, these images, *made without hands*, (in Greek it is a single word,[11]) were propagated in the camps and cities of the Eastern

[11] Ἀχειροποίητος. See Ducange, in *Gloss. Græc. et Lat.* The subject is treated with equal learning and bigotry by the Jesuit Gretser, (*Syntagma de imaginibus non Manu factis, ad calcem Codini de Officiis*, pp. 289-330), the ass, or rather the fox, of Ingoldstadt, (see the *Scaligerana*); with equal reason and wit by the Protestant Beausobre in the ironical controversy which he has spread through many volumes of the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, (tom. xviii. pp. 1-50, xx. pp. 27-68, xxv. pp. 1-36, xxvii. pp. 85-113, xxviii. pp. 1-33, xxxi. pp. 111-148, xxxii. pp. 75-107, xxxiv. pp. 67-96.

empire:[12] they were the objects of worship, and the instruments of miracles; and, in the hour of danger or tumult, their venerable presence could revive the hope, rekindle the courage, or repress the fury, of the Roman legions. Of these pictures, the far greater part, the transcripts of a human pencil, could only pretend to a secondary likeness and improper title: but there were some of higher descent, who derived their resemblance from an immediate contact with the original, endowed, for that purpose, with a miraculous and prolific virtue. The most ambitious aspired from a filial to a fraternal relation with the image of Edessa; and such is the *veronica* of Rome, or Spain, or Jerusalem, which Christ in his agony and bloody sweat applied to his face, and delivered to a holy matron. * The fruitful precedent was speedily transferred to the Virgin Mary, and the saints and martyrs. In the church of Diospolis, in Palestine, the features of the mother of God[13] were deeply inscribed in a marble column: the East and West have been decorated by the pencil of St. Luke; and the evangelist, who was perhaps a physician, has been forced to exercise the occupation of a painter, so

Its copies.

12 Theophylact Simocatta, (l. ii. c. 3, p. 34; l. iii. c. 1, p. 63,) celebrates the θεάνδρικον εἴκασμα, which he styles ἀχειροποίητον; yet it was no more than a copy, since he adds ἀρχέτυπον το ἐκεινον οἳ Ῥώμαιοι (of Edessa) Ϭρησκεύουσί τι ἄρρητον. See *Pagi*, tom. ii. A. D. 586, No. 11.

13 See, in the genuine or supposed works of John Damascenus, two passages on the Virgin and St. Luke, which have not been noticed by Gretser, nor consequently by Beausobre, (*Opera Joh. Damascen.* tom. i. pp. 618, 631).

* "The Council of Nice adduced amongst other grounds for the religious use "of images," says Feuerbach, "the authority of Gregory of Nyssa, who said "that he could never look at an image which represented the sacrifice of Isaac "without being moved to tears, because it so vividly brought before him that "event in sacred history."

A similar example of the remarkable influence exerted by the works of great artists on the minds of those capable of understanding or realizing the conceptions of genius, is recorded by Col. Ingersoll, in his *Interviews on Talmage*, p. 170, where the pathetic statement of the eminent Presbyterian divine is referred to as follows: "Mr. Talmage describes a picture of the scourging of Christ, painted by Rubens, "and he tells us that he was so appalled by this picture—by the sight of the naked "back, swollen and bleeding—that he could not have lived had he continued to "look; yet this same man, who could not bear to gaze upon a painted pain, ex-"pects to be perfectly happy in heaven, while countless billions of actual—not "painted—men, women, and children writhe—not in a pictured flame, but in the "real and quenchless fires of hell."

This belief of Dr. Talmage is an orthodox expression of true Christian faith, because, says Feuerbach, "faith is the opposite of love. Hence love is recon-"cilable with reason alone, not with faith. It was faith, not love, not reason, "which invented Hell. To love, Hell is a horror; to reason, an absurdity. Faith "postulates a future, where faith has no longer an opposite, or where this opposite "exists only to enhance the self complacency of triumphant faith." Therefore, "Hell sweetens the joys of happy believers." "The elect will come forth," says Peter Lombard, (*Petrus L.* l. iv. dist. 50, c. 4), "to behold the torments of the un-"godly, and at this spectacle they will not be smitten with sorrow; on the con-"trary, while they see the unspeakable sufferings of the ungodly, they, intoxicated "with joy, will thank God for their own salvation."—E.

profane and odious in the eyes of the primitive Christians. The Olympian Jove, created by the muse of Homer and the chisel of Phidias, might inspire a philosophic mind with momentary devotion; but these Catholic images were faintly and flatly delineated by monkish artists, in the last degeneracy of taste and genius.[14]

Opposition to image worship.

The worship of images had stolen into the church by insensible degrees, and each petty step was pleasing to the superstitious mind, as productive of comfort, and innocent of sin. But in the beginning of the eighth century, in the full magnitude of the abuse, the more timorous Greeks were awakened by an apprehension, that, under the mask of Christianity, they had restored the religion of their fathers: they heard, with grief and impatience, the name of idolaters: the incessant charge of the Jews and Mahometans,[15] who derived from the Law and the Koran an immortal hatred to graven images and all relative worship. The servitude of the Jews might curb their zeal, and depreciate their authority; but the triumphant Mussulmans, who reigned at Damascus, and threatened Constantinople, cast into the scale of reproach the accumulated weight of truth and victory. The cities of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, had been fortified with the images of Christ, his mother, and his saints; and each city presumed on the hope or promise of miraculous defence. In a rapid conquest of ten years, the Arabs subdued those cities and these images; and, in their opinion, the Lord of Hosts pronounced a decisive judgment between the adoration and contempt of these mute and inanimate idols. For a while Edessa had braved the

14 "Your scandalous figures stand quite out from the canvas: they are as bad as a group of statues!" It was thus that the ignorance and bigotry of a Greek priest applauded the pictures of Titian, which he had ordered, and refused to accept.

15 By Cedrenus, Zonaras, Glycas, and Manasses, the origin of the Iconoclasts is imputed to the caliph Yezid and two Jews, who promised the empire to Leo; and the reproaches of these hostile sectaries are turned into an absurd conspiracy for restoring the purity of the Christian worship. (See Spanheim, *Hist. Imag.* c. 2.)*

* Yezid was the ninth caliph of the race of the Ommiades. About the year 719, he ordered all images in Syria to be destroyed. The orthodox availed themselves of this, to upbraid the Iconoclasts for following the examples of Saracens and Jews. Fragm. Mon. Johan. Jerosolymit. Script. Byz. tom. xvi. p. 235. Sismondi, *Repub.* tom. i. 126.—GUIZOT.

Neander, (*Hist. of Chris.* iii. 400,—418), has learnedly and carefully traced the introduction of image-worship. It began, not by setting up the cross in churches, but by wearing the sign of it on the person, especially *on the forehead.* "Portare "crucem in fronte," ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τὸν σταυρὸν περιφέρειν, was an early custom among Christians. This was, no doubt, derived from the Tephillin, or prayer-signs, of the Jews, so incorrectly rendered in the Greek *phylacteria*, which they wore on the forehead and the arm. Hence followed, by degrees, the embroidery of garments, the embellishment of houses and the decoration of churches.—ENG. CH.

Persian assaults; but the chosen city, the spouse of Christ, was involved in the common ruin; and his divine resemblance became the slave and trophy of the infidels. After a servitude of three hundred years, the Palladium was yielded to the devotion of Constantinople, for a ransom of twelve thousand pounds of silver, the redemption of two hundred Mussulmans, and a perpetual truce for the territory of Edessa.[16] In this season of distress and dismay, the eloquence of the monks was exercised in the defence of images; and they attempted to prove, that the sin and schism of the greatest part of the Orientals had forfeited the favor, and annihilated the virtue, of these precious symbols. But they were now opposed by the murmurs of many simple or rational Christians, who appealed to the evidence of texts, of facts, and of the primitive times, and secretly desired the reformation of the church. As the worship of images had never been established by any general or positive law, its progress in the Eastern empire had been retarded, or accelerated, by the differences of men and manners, the local degrees of refinement, and the personal characters of the bishops. The splendid devotion was fondly cherishd by the levity of the capital, and the inventive genius of the Byzantine clergy; while the rude and remote districts of Asia were strangers to this innovation of sacred luxury. Many large congregations of Gnostics and Arians maintained, after their conversion, the simple worship which had preceded their separation; and the Armenians, the most warlike subjects of Rome, were not reconciled, in the twelfth century, to the sight of images.[17] These various denominations of men afforded a fund of prejudice and aversion, of small account in the villages of Anatolia or Thrace, but which, in the fortune of a soldier, a prelate, or a eunuch, might be often connected with the powers of the church and state.

Leo, the Iconoclast, and his successors, A. D. 726-840.

Of such adventurers, the most fortunate was the emperor Leo the third, who, from the mountains of Isauria, ascended the throne of

[16] See Elmacin, (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 267), Abulpharagius, (*Dynast.* p. 201), and Abulfeda, (*Annal. Moslem.* p. 264), and the criticisms of Pagi, tom. iii. A. D. 944). The prudent Franciscan refuses to determine whether the image of Edessa now reposes at Rome or Genoa; but its repose is inglorious, and this ancient object of worship is no longer famous or fashionable.

[17] Ἀρμενίοις καὶ Ἀλαμανοῖς ἐπίσης ἡ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκτνων προσκύνησις ἀπηγόρεσται. (*Nicetas*, l. ii. p. 258.) The Armenian churches are still content with the cross, (*Missions du Levant.* tom. iii. p. 148), but surely the superstitious Greek is unjust to the superstition of the Germans of the twelfth century.

the East.[18] He was ignorant of sacred and profane letters; but his education, his reason, perhaps his intercourse with the Jews and Arabs, had inspired the martial peasant with a hatred of images; and it was held to be the duty of a prince, to impose on his subjects the dictates of his own conscience. But in the outset of an unsettled reign, during ten years of toil and danger, Leo submitted to the meanness of hypocrisy, bowed before the idols which he despised, and satisfied the Roman pontiff with the annual professions of his orthodoxy and zeal. In the reformation of religion, his first steps were moderate and cautious; he assembled a great council of senators and bishops, and enacted, with their consent, that all the images should be removed from the sanctuary and altar to a proper height in the churches, where they might be visible to the eyes, and inaccessible to the superstition, of the people. But it was impossible on either side to check the rapid though adverse impulse of veneration and abhorrence: in their lofty position, the sacred images still edified their votaries, and reproached the tyrant. He was himself provoked by resistance and invective; and his own party accused him of an imperfect discharge of his duty, and urged for his imitation the example of the Jewish king, who had broken without scruple the brazen serpent of the temple. By a second edict, he proscribed the existence as well as the use of religious pictures; the churches of Constantinople and the provinces were cleansed from idolatry; the images of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, were demolished, or a smooth surface of plaster was spread over the walls of the edifice. The sect of the Iconoclasts was supported by the zeal and despotism of six emperors, and the East and West were involved in a noisy conflict of one hundred and twenty years. It was the design of Leo the Isaurian to pronounce the condemnation of images, as an article of faith, and by the authority of a general council:

[18] Our original, but not impartial, monuments of the Iconoclasts must be drawn from the *Acts of the Councils*, tom. viii. and ix. Collect. Labbé, edit. Venet. and the historical writings of Theophanes, Nicephorus, Manasses, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c. Of the modern Catholics, Baronius, Pagi, Natalis Alexander, (*Hist. Eccles. Seculum*, viii. and ix.), and Maimbourg, (*Hist. des Iconoclastes*), have treated the subject with learning, passion, and credulity. The Protestant labors of Frederick Spanheim, (*Historia Imaginum restituta.*) and James Basnage, (*Hist. des Eglises Reformées*, tom. ii. l. xxiii. pp. 1339-1385), are cast into the Iconoclast scale. With this mutual aid, and opposite tendency, it is easy for *us* to poise the balance with philosophic indifference.*

* Compare Schlosser, *Geschichte der Bilder-stürmender Kaiser*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1812; a book of research and impartiality.— MILMAN.

but the convocation of such an assembly was reserved for his son Constantine;[19] and though it is stigmatized by triumphant bigotry as a meeting of fools and atheists, their own partial and mutilated acts betray many symptoms of reason and piety. The debates and decrees of many provincial synods introduced the summons of the general council which met in the suburbs of Constantinople, and was composed of the respectable number of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops of Europe and Anatolia; for the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria were the slaves of the caliph, and the Roman pontiff had withdrawn the churches of Italy and the West from the communion of the Greeks. This Byzantine synod assumed the rank and powers of the seventh general council; yet even this title was a recognition of the six preceding assemblies, which had laboriously built the structure of the Catholic faith. After a serious deliberation of six months, the three hundred and thirty-eight bishops pronounced and subscribed a unanimous decree, that all visible symbols of Christ, except in the eucharist, were either blasphemous or heretical; that image-worship was a corruption of Christianity and a renewal of Paganism; that all such monuments of idolatry should be broken or erased; and that those who should refuse to deliver the objects of their private superstition, were guilty of disobedience to the authority of the church and of the emperor. In their loud and loyal acclamations, they celebrated the merits of their temporal redeemer; and to his zeal and justice they intrusted the execution of their spiritual censures. At Constantinople, as in the former councils, the will of the prince was the rule of episcopal faith; but, on this occasion, I am inclined to suspect that a large majority of the prelates sacrificed their secret conscience to the temptations of hope and fear. In the long night of superstition, the Christians had wandered far away from the simplicity of the gospel: nor was it easy for them to discern the clue, and tread back the mazes, of the labyrinth. The worship of images was

Their synod of Constantinople, A. D. 754.

Their creed.

[19] Some flowers of rhetoric are Σύνοδον παράνομον, καὶ ἄθεον and the bishops τοῖς ματαιόφροσιν. By Damascenus it is styled ἄκυρος καὶ ἄδεκτος, (*Opera*, tom. i. p. 623). Spanheim's *Apology for the Synod of Constantinople*, (p. 171, &c.) is worked up with truth and ingenuity, from such materials as he could find in the *Nicene Acts*, (p. 1046, &c.) The witty John of Damascus converts ἐπισκόπους into ἐπιοκότους; makes them κοιλιοδούλους, slaves of their belly, &c. *Opera*, tom. i. p. 306.

inseparably blended, at least to a pious fancy, with the cross, the Virgin, the saints and their relics: the holy ground was involved in a cloud of miracles and visions; and the nerves of the mind, curiosity and skepticism, were benumbed by the habits of obedience and belief. Constantine himself is accused of indulging a royal license to doubt, to deny, or deride the mysteries of the Catholics,[20] but they were deeply inscribed in the public and private creed of his bishops; and the boldest Iconoclast might assault with a secret horror the monuments of popular devotion, which were consecrated to the honor of his celestial patrons. In the reformation of the sixteenth century, freedom and knowledge had expanded all the faculties of man: the thirst of innovation superseded the reverence of antiquity; and the vigor of Europe could disdain those phantoms which terrified the sickly and servile weakness of the Greeks.

Their persecution of the images and monks, A. D. 726–775.

The scandal of an abstract heresy can be only proclaimed to the people by the blast of the ecclesiastical trumpet; but the most ignorant can perceive, the most torpid must feel, the profanation and downfall of their visible deities. The first hostilities of Leo were directed against a lofty Christ on the vestibule, and above the gate, of the palace. A ladder had been planted for the assault, but it was furiously shaken by a crowd of zealots and women: they beheld, with pious transport, the ministers of sacrilege tumbling from on high, and dashed against the pavement; and the honors of the ancient martyrs were prostituted to these criminals, who justly suffered for murder and rebellion.[21] The execution of the imperial edicts was resisted by frequent tumults in Constantinople and the provinces: the person of Leo was endangered, his officers were massacred, and the popular enthusiasm was quelled by the strongest efforts of the civil and military power. Of the Archipelago, or Holy sea, the numerous islands were filled with images and monks: their votaries abjured, without scruple, the enemy of Christ, his mother, and the saints: they armed a fleet of boats and

[20] He is accused of proscribing the title of saint; styling the Virgin, Mother of *Christ*; comparing her after her delivery to an empty purse; of Arianism, Nestorianism, &c. In his defence, Spanheim, (c. iv. p. 207), is somewhat embarrassed between the interest of a Protestant and the duty of an orthodox divine.

[21] The holy confessor Theophanes approves the principle of their rebellion, *θείῳ κινούμενοι ζήλῳ*, (p. 339). Gregory II. (in Epist. i. ad Imp. Leon. Concil. tom. viii, pp. 661, 664), applauds the zeal of the Byzantine women who killed the imperial officers.

galleys, displayed their consecrated banners, and boldly steered for the harbor of Constantinople, to place on the throne a new favorite of God and the people. They depended on the succor of a miracle; but their miracles were inefficient against the *Greek fire;* and, after the defeat and conflagration of their fleet, the naked islands were abandoned to the clemency or justice of the conqueror. The son of Leo, in the first year of his reign, had undertaken an expedition against the Saracens: during his absence, the capital, the palace, and the purple, were occupied by his kinsman, Artavasdes, the ambitious champion of the orthodox faith. The worship of images was triumphantly restored: the patriarch renounced his dissimulation, or dissembled his sentiments; and the righteous claim of the usurper was acknowledged, both in the new and in ancient Rome. Constantine flew for refuge to his paternal mountains; but he descended at the head of the bold and affectionate Isaurians; and his final victory confounded the arms and predictions of the fanatics. His long reign was distracted with clamor, sedition, conspiracy, mutual hatred, and sanguinary revenge: the persecution of images was the motive, or pretence, of his adversaries; and, if they missed a temporal diadem, they were rewarded by the Greeks with the crown of martyrdom. In every act of open and clandestine treason, the emperor felt the unforgiving enmity of the monks, the faithful slaves of the superstition to which they owed their riches and influence. They prayed, they preached, they absolved, they inflamed, they conspired: the solitude of Palestine poured forth a torrent of invective; and the pen of St. John Damascenus,[22] the last of the Greek fathers, devoted the tyrant's head, both in this world and the next.[23]* I am not at leisure to

[22] John, or Mansur, was a noble Christian of Damascus, who held a considerable office in the service of the caliph. His zeal in the cause of images exposed him to the resentment and treachery of the Greek emperor; and on the suspicion of a treasonable correspondence, he was deprived of his right hand, which was miraculously restored by the Virgin. After this deliverance, he resigned his office, distributed his wealth, and buried himself in the monastery of St. Sabas, between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. The legend is famous: but his learned editor, father Lequien, has unluckily proved that St. John Damascenus was already a monk before the Iconoclast dispute, (*Opera*, tom. i. Vit. St. Joan. Damascen. pp. 10–13, et Notas ad loc.)

[23] After sending Leo to the devil, he introduces his heir—*τὸ μιαρὸν αὐτοῦ γέννημα, καὶ τῆς κακίας αὐτοῦ κληροντιος ἐν διπλῷ γενύμενος*, (*Opera*, Damascen. tom. i. p. 625). If the authenticity of this piece be suspicious, we are sure that in other works, no longer extant, Damascenus bestowed on Constantine the titles of *νέον Μωαμὲθ, Χριστομαχον, μισάγιον*, (tom. i. p. 306).

* The patriarch Anastasius, an Iconoclast under Leo, an image worshiper under Artavasdes, was scourged, led through the streets on an ass, with his face to the tail; and, reinvested in his dignity, became again the obsequious minister of Constantine in his Iconoclastic persecutions. See Schlosser, p. 211.—MILMAN.

examine how far the monks provoked, nor how much they have exaggerated, their real and pretended sufferings, nor how many lost their lives or limbs, their eyes or their beards, by the cruelty of the emperor.* From the chastisement of individuals, he proceeded to the abolition of the order; and, as it was wealthy and useless, his resentment might be stimulated by avarice, and justified by patriotism. The formidable name and mission of the *Dragon*,[24] his visitor-general, excited the terror and abhorrence of the *black* nation; the religious communities were dissolved, the buildings were converted into magazines, or barracks; the lands, movables, and cattle, were confiscated; and our modern precedents will support the charge, that much wanton or malicious havoc was exercised against the relics, and even the books, of the monasteries. With the habit and profession of monks, the public and private worship of images was rigorously proscribed; and it should seem, that a solemn abjuration of idolatry was exacted from the subjects, or at least from the clergy, of the Eastern empire.[25]

State of Italy.

The patient East abjured, with reluctance, her sacred images; they were fondly cherished, and vigorously defended, by the independent zeal of the Italians. In ecclesiastical rank and jurisdiction, the patriarch of Constantinople and the pope of Rome were nearly equal. But the Greek prelate was a domestic slave under the eye of his master, at whose nod he alternately passed from the convent to the throne, and from the throne to the convent. A distant and dangerous station, amidst the barbarians of the West, excited the spirit and freedom of the Latin bishops. Their popular election endeared them to the Romans; the public and private indigence was relieved by their ample revenue: and the weakness or neglect of the emperors compelled them to consult, both in peace and war, the temporal safety of the city. In the school of adversity the priest insensibly imbibed the virtues and the ambition of a prince; the same character was assumed, the same policy was adopted, by the Italian, the Greek, or the Syrian, who ascended the chair of St. Peter; and, after the loss of her legions and provinces, the genius and fortune

[24] In the narrative of this persecution from Theophanes and Cedrenus, Spanheim, (pp. 235-238), is happy to compare the *Draco* of Leo with the dragoons (*Dracones*) of Louis XIV.: and highly solaces himself with this controversial pun.

[25] Ἱρόγραμμα γὰρ ἐξεπέμψε κατὰ πασαν ἐξαρχίαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, πάντας ὑπογράψαι καὶ ὀμνύναι τοῦ ἀθετῆσαι τὴν προσκύνησιν τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων, (Damascen. *Op.* tom. i. p. 625). This oath and subscription I do not remember to have seen in any modern compilation.

* Compare Schlosser, pp. 228-234.—MILMAN.

of the popes again restored the supremacy of Rome. It is agreed, that in the eighth century, their dominion was founded on rebellion, and that the rebellion was produced and justified, by the heresy of the Iconoclasts; but the conduct of the second and third Gregory, in this memorable contest, is variously interpreted by the wishes of their friends and enemies. The Byzantine writers unanimously declare, that, after a fruitless admonition, they pronounced the separation of the East and West, and deprived the sacrilegious tyrant of the revenue and sovereignty of Italy. Their excommunication is still more clearly expressed by the Greeks, who beheld the accomplishment of the papal triumphs; and as they are more strongly attached to their religion than to their country, they praise, instead of blaming, the zeal and orthodoxy of these apostolical men.[26] The modern champions of Rome are eager to accept the praise and the precedent: this great and glorious example of the deposition of royal heretics is celebrated by the cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine;[27] and if they are asked, why the same thunders were not hurled against the Neros and Julians of antiquity? they reply, that the weakness of the primitive church was the sole cause of her patient loyalty.[28] On this occasion, the effects of love and hatred are the same; and the zealous Protestants, who seek to kindle the indignation, and to alarm the fears, of princes and magistrates, expatiate on the insolence and treason of the two Gregories against their lawful sovereign.[29] They are defended only by the moderate Catholics, for the most part, of the Gallican church,[30] who respect the saint, with-

[26] Καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὖν πᾶσαν Ἰταλίᾳ τῆς βασιλειας αὐτ ὗ ἀπέστήσε says Theophanes, (*Chronograph.* p. 343.) For this, Gregory is styled by Cedrenus ἀνὴρ ἀποστολικος (p. 450). Zonaras specifies the thunder ἀναθήματι συνοδικῷ, (tom. ii. l xv. pp. 104, 105). It may be observed, that the Greeks are apt to confound the times and actions of two Gregories.

[27] See Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 730, No. 4, 5; dignum exemplum! Bellarmin. de Romano Pontifice, l. v. c. 8; mulctavit eum parte imperii. Sigonius, de Regno Italæ, l. iii. *Opera*, tom. ii. p. 169. Yet such is the change of Italy, that Sigonius is corrected by the editor of Milan, Philippus Argelatus, a Bolognese, and subject of the pope.

[28] Quod si Christiani olim non deposuerunt Neronem aut Julianum, id fuit quia deerant vires temporales Christianis. (Honest Bellarmine! de Rom. Pont. l. v. c. 7.) Cardinal Perron adds a distinction more honorable to the first Christians, but not more satisfactory to modern princes—the *treason* of heretics and apostates, who break their oath, belie their coin, and renounce their allegiance, to Christ and his vicar. (*Perroniana*, p. 89.)

[29] Take, as a specimen, the cautious Basnage, (*Hist. d'Eglise*, pp. 1350, 1351), and the vehement Spanheim, (*Hist. Imaginum*), who, with a hundred more, tread in the footsteps of the centuriators of Magdeburgh.

[30] See Launoy, (*Opera*, tom. v. pars. ii. epist. vii. 7, pp. 456–474), Natalis Alexander (*Hist. Nov. Testamenti*, secul. viii. dissert. i. pp. 92–96), Pagi, (*Critica*, tom. iii. pp. 215, 216), and Giannone, (*Istoria Civile di Napoli*, tom. i. pp. 317–320), a disciple of the Gallican school. In the field of controversy I always pity the moderate party, who stand on the open middle ground, exposed to the fire of both sides.

out approving the sin. These common advocates of the crown and the mitre circumscribe the truth of facts by the rule of equity, Scripture, and tradition; and appeal to the evidence of the Latins,[31] and the lives[32] and epistles of the popes themselves.

Epistles of Gregory II. to the emperor, A. D. 727.

Two original epistles, from Gregory the second to the emperor Leo, are still extant;[33] and if they cannot be praised as the most perfect models of eloquence and logic, they exhibit the portrait, or at least the mask, of the founder of the Papal monarchy. "During ten pure and fortunate years," says Gregory to the emperor, "we have tasted the annual "comfort of your royal letters, subscribed in purple ink, "with your own hand, the sacred pledges of your attach- "ment to the orthodox creed of our fathers. How deplorable "is the change! how tremendous the scandal! You now "accuse the Catholics of idolatry; and, by the accusation, "you betray your own impiety and ignorance. To this "ignorance we are compelled to adapt the grossness of our "style and arguments: the first elements of holy letters "are sufficient for your confusion; and were you to enter "a grammar-school, and avow yourself the enemy of our "worship, the simple and pious children would be provoked "to cast their horn books at your head." After this decent salutation, the pope attempts the usual distinction between the idols of antiquity and the Christian images. The former were the fanciful representations of phantoms or dæmons, at a time when the true God had not manifested his person in any visible likeness. The latter are the genuine forms of Christ, his mother, and his saints, who had approved, by a

31 They appeal to Paul Warnefrid, or Diaconus, (*de Gestis Langobard.* l. vi. c. 49, pp. 506, 507, in *Script. Ital. Muratori.* tom. i. pars i.), and the nominal Anastasius, (*de Vit. Pont. in Muratori*, tom. iii. pars. i. Gregorius II. p. 154. Gregorius III. p. 158. Zacharias, p. 161. Stephanus, III. p. 165 Paulus, p. 172. Stephanus IV. p. 174. Hadrianus, p. 179. Leo III. p. 195.) Yet I may remark, that the true Anastasius, (*Hist. Eccles.* p. 134, edit. Reg.) and the *Historia Miscella*, (l. xxi. p. 151, in tom. i. Script. Ital.), both of the ninth century, translate and approve the Greek text of Theophanes.

32 With some minute difference, the most learned critics, Lucas Holstenius, Schelestrate, Ciampini, Bianchini, Muratori, (*Prolegomena* ad tom. iii. pars i.), are agreed that the *Liber Pontificalis* was composed and continued by the apostolical librarians and notaries of the eighth and ninth centuries; and that the last and smallest part is the work of Anastasius, whose name it bears. The style is barbarous, the narrative partial, the details are trifling—yet it must be read as a curious and authentic record of the times. The epistles of the popes are dispersed in the volumes of Councils.

33 The two epistles of Gregory II. have been preserved in the *Acts of the Nicene Council*, (tom. viii. pp. 651–674). They are without a date, which is variously fixed, by Baronius in the year 726, by Muratori, (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 120) in 729, and by Pagi in 730. Such is the force of prejudice, that some *papists* have praised the good sense and moderation of these letters.

crowd of miracles, the innocence and merit of this relative worship. He must indeed have trusted to the ignorance of Leo, since he could assert the perpetual use of images, from the apostolic age, and their venerable presence in the six synods of the Catholic church. A more specious argument is drawn from present possession and recent practice: the harmony of the Christian world supercedes the demand of a general council; and Gregory frankly confesses, that such assemblies can only be useful under the reign of an orthodox prince. To the impudent and inhuman Leo, more guilty than a heretic, he recommends peace, silence, and implicit obedience to his spiritual guides of Constantinople and Rome. The limits of civil and ecclesiastical powers are defined by the pontiff. To the former he appropriates the body; to the latter, the soul: the sword of justice is in the hands of the magistrate: the more formidable weapon of excommunication is intrusted to the clergy; and in the exercise of their divine commission, a zealous son will not spare his offending father: the successor of St. Peter may lawfully chastise the kings of the earth. "You assault us, O tyrant! with a carnal and "military hand: unarmed and naked, we can only implore "the Christ, the prince of the heavenly host, that he will "send unto you a devil, for the destruction of your body "and the salvation of your soul. You declare, with foolish "arrogance, I will despatch my orders to Rome; I will "break in pieces the image of St. Peter; and Gregory, like "his predecessor Martin, shall be transported in chains, "and in exile, to the foot of the imperial throne. Would to "God, that I might be permitted to tread in the footsteps "of the holy Martin; but may the fate of Constans serve "as a warning to the persecutors of the church! After his "just condemnation by the bishops of Sicily, the tyrant "was cut off, in the fullness of his sins, by a domestic "servant: the saint is still adored by the nations of Scythia, "among whom he ended his banishment and his life. But "it is our duty to live for the edification and support of "the faithful people; nor are we reduced to risk our safety "on the event of a combat. Incapable as you are of "defending your Roman subjects, the maritime situation "of the city may perhaps expose it to your depredation; "but we can remove to the distance of four-and-twenty "*stadia*,[34] to the first fortress of the Lombards, and then

[34] Εἴκοσι τέσσαρα στάδια ὑποχωρήσει ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν χώραν Καμπανίας, καὶ ὕπαγε δίωξον τοὺς ἀνέμους, (*Epist.* i. p. 664). This proximity

" ——you may pursue the winds. Are you ignorant that " the popes are the bond of union, the mediators of peace, " between the East and West? The eyes of the nations are " fixed on our humility; and they revere, as a God upon " earth, the apostle St. Peter, whose image you threaten to " destroy.[35] The remote and interior kingdoms of the " West present their homage to Christ and his vicegerent; " and we now prepare to visit one of their most powerful " monarchs, who desires to receive from our hands the " sacrament of baptism.[36] The barbarians have submitted " to the yoke of the gospel, while you alone are deaf to the " voice of the Shepherd. These pious barbarians are " kindled into rage: they thirst to avenge the persecution " of the East. Abandon your rash and fatal enterprise; " reflect, tremble, and repent. If you persist, we are innocent " of the blood that will be spilt in the contest; may it fall " on your own head."

Revolt of Italy, A. D. 728, &c.

The first assault of Leo against the images of Constantinople had been witnessed by a crowd of strangers from Italy and the West, who related with grief and indignation the sacrilege of the emperor. But on the reception of his proscriptive edict, they trembled for their domestic deities; the images of Christ and the Virgin, of the angels, martyrs, and saints, were abolished in all the churches of Italy; and a strong alternative was proposed to the Roman pontiff, the royal

of the Lombards is hard of digestion. Camillo Pellegrini, (*Dissert.* iv. *de Decatu Beneventi*, in the *Script Ital.* tom. v. pp. 172, 173), forcibly reckons the twenty-fourth stadia, not from Rome, but from the limits of the Roman duchy, to the first fortress, perhaps Sora, of the Lombards. I rather believe that Gregory, with the pedantry of the age, employs, *stadia* for miles, without much inquiry into the genuine measure.

[35] Ὃν αἱ πᾶσαι βασιλεῖαι τῆς δύσεως ὡς Θεὸν ἐπίγειον ἔχουσι.

[36] Ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσωτέρου δύσεως τοῦ λεγομένου Σεπτετοῦ, (p. 665) The pope appears to have imposed on the ignorance of the Greeks: he lived and died in the Lateran; and in his time all the kingdoms of the West had embraced Christianity. May not this unknown *Septetus* have some reference to the chief of the Saxon *Heptarchy*, to Ina, king of Wessex, who, in the pontificate of Gregory the Second, visited Rome for the purpose, not of baptism, but of pilgrimage? (Pagi, A. D. 689, No. 2. A. D. 726, No. 15). *

* Many of our early Anglo-Saxon kings, abdicated and retired to Rome, where they ended their days in monastic seclusion. (*Bede. Ecc. Hist.* v. 19, p. 268, edit. Bohn.) Ina's journey, for that purpose, is fixed by the Saxon Chronicle in the year 728. This date, though questioned by some, appears to accord with that of Gregory's above-quoted letter, which Muratori, (*Annali d'Italia.* x. 33), alters from 726 to 729. For the school, said to have been founded by Ina at Rome, see Turner's Anglo-Saxons, (i. 399.) But the credibility of Matthew of Westminster, on whose authority this rests, is questioned by Lappenberg, (*History of England under Anglo-Saxon Kings*, by Thorpe, vol. i. p. 205,) who attributes to Offa, king of Mercia, (*Ib.* 236,) the "Romescote," or payment of a penny imposed on every family, for the support of this school, a tax, which afterwards became the national grievance of "Peter's Pence."—ENG. CH.

favor as the price of his compliance, degradation and exile as the penalty of his disobedience. Neither zeal nor policy allowed him to hesitate; and the haughty strain in which Gregory addressed the emperor displays his confidence in the truth of his doctrine or the powers of resistance. Without depending on prayers or miracles, he boldly armed against the public enemy, and his pastoral letters admonished the Italians of their danger and their duty.[37] At this signal, Ravenna, Venice, and the cities of the exarchate and Pentapolis, adhered to the cause of religion; their military force by sea and land consisted, for the most part, of the natives; and the spirit of patriotism and zeal was transfused into the mercenary strangers. The Italians swore to live and die in the defence of the pope and the holy images; the Roman people were devoted to their father, and even the Lombards were ambitious to share the merit and advantage of this holy war. The most treasonable act, but the most obvious revenge, was the destruction of the statues of Leo himself: the most effectual and pleasing measure of rebellion, was the withholding the tribute of Italy, and depriving him of a power which he had recently abused by the imposition of a new capitation.[38] A form of administration was preserved by the election of magistrates and governors; and so high was the public indignation, that the Italians were prepared to create an orthodox emperor, and to conduct him with a fleet and army to the palace of Constantinople. In that palace, the Roman bishops, the second and third Gregory, were condemned as the authors of the revolt, and every attempt was made, either by fraud or force, to seize their persons, and to strike at their lives. The city was repeatedly visited or assaulted by captains of the guards, and dukes and exarchs of high dignity or secret trust; they landed with foreign troops, they obtained some domestic aid, and the superstition of Naples may blush that her fathers were attached to the cause of heresy. But

[37] I shall transcribe the important and decisive passage of the *Liber Pontificalis*: Respiciens ergo pius vir profanam principis jussionem, jam contra Imperatorem quasi contra *hostem* se armavit, renuens hæresim ejus, scribens ubique se cavere Christianos, eo quod orta fuisset impietas talis. *Igitur* permoti omnes Pentapolenses, atque Venetiarum exercitus contra Imperatoris jussionem restiterunt; discentes se nunquam in ejusdem pontificis condescendere necem, sed pro cujus magis defensensione viriliter decertare. (p. 156.)

[38] A *census*, or capitation, says Anastasius, (p. 156); a most cruel tax, unknown to the Saracens themselves, exclaims the zealous Maimbourg, (*Hist. des Iconoclastes*. l. i.), and Theophanes, (p. 344.), who talks of Pharaoh's numbering the male children of Israel. This mode of taxation was familiar to the Saracens; and, most unluckily for the historian, it was imposed a few years afterwards in France by his patron Louis XIV.

these clandestine or open attacks were repelled by the courage and vigilance of the Romans; the Greeks were overthrown and massacred, their leaders suffered an ignominious death, and the popes, however inclined to mercy, refused to intercede for these guilty victims. At Ravenna,[39] the several quarters of the city had long exercised a bloody and hereditary feud; in religious controversy they found a new aliment of faction: but the votaries of images were superior in numbers or spirit, and the exarch, who attempted to stem the torrent, lost his life in a popular sedition. To punish this flagitious deed, and restore his dominion in Italy, the emperor sent a fleet and army into the Adriatic gulf. After suffering from the winds and waves much loss and delay, the Greeks made their descent in the neighborhood of Ravenna: they threatened to depopulate the guilty capital, and to imitate, perhaps to surpass, the example of Justinian the second, who had chastised a former rebellion by the choice and execution of fifty of the principal inhabitants. The women and clergy, in sackcloth and ashes, lay prostrate in prayer; the men were in arms for the defence of their country; the common danger had united the factions, and the event of a battle was preferred to the slow miseries of a siege. In a hard-fought day, as the two armies alternately yielded and advanced, a phantom was seen, a voice was heard, and Ravenna was victorious by the assurance of victory. The strangers retreated to their ships, but the populous sea-coast poured forth a multitude of boats; the waters of the Po were so deeply infected with blood, that during six years, the public prejudice abstained from the fish of the river; and the institution of an annual feast perpetuated the worship of images, and the abhorrence of the Greek tyrant. Amidst the triumph of the Catholic arms, the Roman pontiff convened a synod of ninety-three bishops against the heresy of the Iconoclasts. With their consent, he pronounced a general excommunication against all who by word or deed should attack the tradition of the fathers and the images of the saints; in this sentence the emperor was tacitly involved,[40] but the vote of a last and hopeless

[39] See the *Liber Pontificalis* of Agnellus (in the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum* of Muratori, tom. ii. pars i.), whose deeper shade of barbarism marks the difference between Rome and Ravenna. Yet we are indebted to him for some curious and domestic facts—the quarters and factions of Ravenna, (p. 154), the revenge of Justinian II. (pp. 160, 161), the defeat of the Greeks, pp. 170, 171), &c.

[40] Yet Leo was undoubtedly comprised in the si quis * * * imaginum sacrarum * * * destructor * * * extiterit, sit extorris a corpore de D. N. Jesu Christi

remonstrance may seem to imply that the anathema was yet suspended over his guilty head. No sooner had they confirmed their own safety, the worship of images, and the freedom of Rome and Italy, than the popes appear to have relaxed of their severity, and to have spared the relics of the Byzantine dominion. Their moderate counsels delayed and prevented the election of a new emperor, and they exhorted the Italians not to separate from the body of the Roman monarchy. The exarch was permitted to reside within the walls of Ravenna, a captive rather than a master; and till the imperial coronation of Charlemagne, the government of Rome and Italy was exercised in the name of the successors of Constantine.[41]

Republic of Rome.

The liberty of Rome, which had been oppressed by the arms and arts of Augustus, was rescued, after seven hundred and fifty years of servitude, from the persecution of Leo the Isaurian. By the Cæsars, the triumphs of the consuls had been annihilated; in the decline and fall of the empire, the god Terminus, the sacred boundary, had insensibly receded from the ocean, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates; and Rome was reduced to her ancient territory from Viterbo to Terracina, and from Narni to the mouth of the Tiber.[42] When the kings were banished, the republic reposed on the firm basis which had been founded by their wisdom and virtue. Their perpetual jurisdiction was divided between two annual magistrates: the senate continued to exercise the powers of administration and counsel; and the legislative authority was distributed in the assemblies of the people, by a well-proportioned scale of property and service. Ignorant of the arts of luxury, the primitive Romans had improved the science of government and war: the will of the community was absolute: the rights of individuals were sacred: one hundred and thirty thousand citizens were armed for

vel totius ecclesiæ unitate. The canonists may decide whether the guilt or the name constitutes the excommunication; and the decision is of the last importance to their safety, since, according to the oracle, (Gratian, *Caus.* xxiii. p. 5. c. 47, apud Spanheim, *Hist. Imag.* p. 112), homicidas non esse qui excommunicatos trucidant.

41 Compare the tale of the consilium Pontificis, sperans conversionem principis, (Anastas. p. 155). Sed ne dissimulem, Theophanes et fides R. J. admonebat. (p. 157). The popes style Leo and Constantine Copronymus, Imperatores et Domini, with the strange epithet of *Piissimi*. A famous Mosaic of the Lateran, (A. D. 798), represents Christ, who delivers the keys to St. Peter and the banner to Constantine V. (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi. p. 337).

42 I have traced the Roman duchy according to the maps, and the maps according to the excellent dissertation of father Baretti, (*de Chorographia Italiæ Medii Ævi*, sect. 20, pp. 216–232.) Yet I must nicely observe, that Viterbo is of Lombard foundation, (p. 211,) and that Terracina was usurped by the Greeks.

defence or conquest; and a band of robbers and outlaws was moulded into a nation, deserving of freedom, and ambitious of glory.[43] When the sovereignty of the Greek emperors was extinguished, the ruins of Rome presented the sad image of depopulation and decay: her slavery was a habit, her liberty an accident; the effect of superstition, and the object of her own amazement and terror. The last vestige of the substance, or even the forms, of the constitution, was obliterated from the practice and memory of the Romans; and they were devoid of knowledge, or virtue, again to build the fabric of a commonwealth. Their scanty remnant, the offspring of slaves and strangers, was despicable in the eyes of the victorious barbarians. As often as the Franks or Lombards expressed their most bitter contempt of a foe, they called him a Roman; "and in this name," says the bishop Liutprand, "we include whatever is base, "whatever is cowardly, whatever is perfidious, the extremes "of avarice and luxury, and every vice that can prostitute "the dignity of human nature."[44]* By the necessity of their situation, the inhabitants of Rome were cast into the rough model of a republican government: they were compelled to elect some judges in peace, and some leaders in war: the nobles assembled to deliberate, and their resolves could not be executed without the union and consent of the multitude. The style of the Roman senate and people was revived,[45] but the spirit was fled; and their new independence was disgraced by the tumultuous conflict of licentiousness and oppression. The want of laws could only be supplied

[43] On the extent, population, &c., of the Roman kingdom, the reader may peruse, with pleasure, the *Discours Preliminaire* to the Republique Romaine of M. de Beaufort. (tom. i.), who will not be accused of too much credulity for the early ages of Rome.

[44] Quos (*Romanos*) nos, Longobardi scilicet, Saxones, Franci, Lotharingi, Bajoarii, Suevi, Burgundiones, tanto dedignamur ut inimicos nostros commoti, nil aliud contumeliarum nisi Romane, dicamus; hoc solo, id est Romanorum nomine, quicquid ignobilitatis, quicquid timiditatis, quicquid avaritiæ, quicquid luxuriæ, quicquid mendacii, immo quicquid vitiorum est comprehendentes (Liutprand, in *Legat Script. Ital*, tom. ii. pars i. p. 481). For the sins of Cato or Tully, Minos might have imposed as a fit penance the daily perusal of this barbarous passage.

[45] Pipino regi Francorum, omnis senatus, atque universa populi generalitas a Deo servatæ Romanæ urbis. Codex Carolin. epist. 36, in *Script. Ital.* tom. iii. pars ii. p. 160. The names of senatus and senator were never totally extinct (*Dissert. Chorograph.* pp. 216, 217); but in the middle ages they signified little more than nobiles, optimates, &c. (Ducange, Gloss. Latin).

* Yet this contumelious sentence, quoted by Robertson, (Charles V. note 2), as well as Gibbon, was applied by the angry bishop to the *Byzantine* Romans, whom, indeed, he admits to be the genuine descendants of Romulus.—M.

Under Paganism, the Romans were the conquerors of the world, and the proud title, "a Roman Citizen," was the noblest that fame could bestow. Under Christianity, the same title became a by-word and a reproach, for the citizens of Rome were now debased by "every vice that can prostitute the dignity of "human nature."—E.

by the influence of religion, and their foreign and domestic counsels were moderated by the authority of the bishop. His alms, his sermons, his correspondence with the kings and prelates of the West, his recent services, their gratitude and oath, accustomed the Romans to consider him as the first magistrate or prince of the city. The Christian humility of the popes was not offended by the name of *Dominus*, or Lord; and their face and inscription are still apparent on the most ancient coins.[46] Their temporal dominion is now confirmed by the reverence of a thousand years; and their noblest title is the free choice of a people, whom they had redeemed from slavery. * * * *

Forgery of the donation of Constantine.

Fraud is the resource of weakness and cunning; and the strong, though ignorant barbarian, was often entangled in the net of sacerdotal policy. The Vatican and Lateran were an arsenal and manufacture, which, according to the occasion, have produced or concealed a various collection of false or genuine, of corrupt or suspicious, acts, as they tended to promote the interest of the Roman church. Before the end of the eighth century, some apostolical scribe, perhaps the notorious Isidore, composed the decretals, and the donation of Constantine, the two magical pillars of the spiritual and temporal monarchy of the popes. This memorable donation was introduced to the world by an epistle of Adrian the first, who exhorts Charlemagne to imitate the liberality, and revive the name, of the great Constantine.[47] According to the legend, the first of the Christian emperors was healed of the leprosy, and purified in the waters of baptism, by St. Silvester, the Roman bishop; and never was physician

[46] See Muratori *Antiquit. Italiæ Medii Ævi*, tom. ii, *Dissertat.* xxvii. p. 548, On one of these coins we read Hadrianus Papa, (*A. D.* 772); on the reverse, Vict. DDNN, with the word *CONOB.* which the Père Joubert, (*Science des Medailles.* tom. ii. p. 42) explains by *CON*stantinopoli *O*fficina *B* (*secunda*).*

[47] Piissimo Constantino magno, per ejus largitatem S. R. Ecclesia elevata et exaltata est, et potestatem in his Hesperiæ partibus largiri dignatus est * * * Quia ecce novus Constantinus his temporibus, &c., (*Codex Carolin.* epist. 49, in tom. iii. part ii. p 195.) Pagi, (*Critica*, A. D. 324, No. 16), ascribes them to an impostor of the eighth century, who borrowed the name of St. Isidore: his humble title of *Peccator* was ignorantly, but aptly, turned into *Mercator;* his merchandise was indeed profitable, and a few sheets of paper were sold for much wealth and power.

* Seldom, in the history of the world, do we find a people, "redeemed from "slavery," but to be mastered by some sterner tyrant. Where secular and ecclesiastical power are divided, they may at times check each other. United in one hand, they fabricated for the Romans a heavier yoke, than any which kings, patricians, triumvirs or emperors, had in succession imposed. Their submission must not be called free choice; if no other title had maintained the popes, their throne would long ago have been subverted. To fit the many for freedom is a slow work, in which must be combined various elements, that are seldom found together.—ENG. CH.

more gloriously recompensed. His royal proselyte withdrew from the seat and patrimony of St. Peter; declared his resolution of founding a new capital in the East; and resigned to the popes the free and perpetual sovereignty of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the West.[48] This fiction was productive of the most beneficial effects. The Greek princes were convicted of the guilt of usurpation; and the revolt of Gregory was the claim of his lawful inheritance. The popes were delivered from their debt of gratitude; and the nominal gifts of the Carlovingians were no more than the just and irrevocable restitution of a scanty portion of the ecclesiastical State. The sovereignty of Rome no longer depended on the choice of a fickle people; and the successors of St. Peter and Constantine were invested with the purple and prerogatives of the Cæsars. So deep was the ignorance and credulity of the times, that the most absurd of fables was received, with equal reverence, in Greece and in France, and is still enrolled among the decrees of the canon law.[49] The emperors, and the Romans, were incapable of discerning a forgery, that subverted their rights and freedom; and the only opposition proceeded from a Sabine monastery, which, in the beginning of the twelfth century, disputed the truth and validity of the donation of Constantine.[50] In the revival of letters and liberty this fictitious deed was transpierced by the pen of Laurentius Valla, the pen of an eloquent critic and a Roman patriot.[51] His contemporaries of the fifteenth century were

[48] Fabricius, (*Bibliot. Græc.* tom. vi. pp. 4-7,) has enumerated the several editions of this *Act*, in Greek and Latin. The copy which Laurentius Valla recites and refutes, appears to be taken either from the spurious *Acts* of St. Silvester, or from Gratian's *Decree*, to which, according to him and others, it has been surreptitiously tacked.

[49] In the year 1059, it was believed (was it believed?) by Pope Leo IX. Cardinal Peter Damianus, &c. Muratori places (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. ix. pp. 23, 24), the fictitious donations of Lewis the Pious, the Othos, &c., de Donatione Constantini. See a Dissertation of *Natalis Alexander*, seculum iv. diss. 25. pp. 335-350.

[50] See a large account of the controversy, (A. D. 1105,) which arose from a private lawsuit, in the *Chronicon Farsesne*, (*Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. ii. pars. 2, p. 637, &c.,) a copious extract from the archives of that Benedictine abbey. They were formerly accessible to curious foreigners, (Le Blanc and Mabillon,) and would have enriched the first volume of the *Historia Monastica Italiæ* of Quirini. But they are now imprisoned, (Muratori, *Scriptores R. I.* tom. ii. pars. 2. p. 269,) by the timid policy of the court of Rome; and the future cardinal yielded to the voice of authority and the whispers of ambition. (Quirini, *Comment.* pars. 2, pp. 123-136.)

[51] I have read in the collection of Schardius (*de Potestate Imperiali Ecclesiastica*, pp. 734-780), this animated discourse, which was composed by the author, A. D. 1440, six years after the flight of Pope Eugenius IV. It is a most vehement party pamphlet: Valla justifies and animates the revolt of the Romans, and would even approve the use of a dagger against their sacerdotal tyrant. Such a critic might expect the persecution of the clergy; yet he made his peace, and is buried in the Lateran, (Bayle, *Dictionnaire Critique*, VALLA; Vossius, de Historicis Latinis, p. 580).

astonished at his sacrilegious boldness; yet such is the silent and irresistible progress of reason, that before the end of the next age, the fable was rejected by the contempt of historians[52] and poets,[53] and the tacit or modest censure of the advocates of the Roman church.[54] The popes themselves have indulged a smile at the credulity of the vulgar;[55] but a false and obsolete title still sanctifies their reign; and, by the same fortune which has attended the decretals and the Sibylline oracles, the edifice has subsisted after the foundations have been undermined.

Restoration of images in the East by the empress Irene, A. D. 780, &c.

While the popes established in Italy their freedom and dominion, the images, the first cause of their revolt, were restored in the Eastern empire.[56] Under the reign of Constantine the fifth, the union of civil and ecclesiastical power had overthrown the tree, without extirpating the root, of superstition. The idols, for such they were now held, were secretly cherished by the order and the sex most prone to devotion; and the fond alliance of the monks and females obtained a final victory over the reason and authority of man. Leo the fourth maintained with less rigor the religion of his father and grandfather; but his wife, the fair and ambitious Irene, had imbibed the zeal of the Athenians, the heirs of the idolatry, rather than the philosophy, of their ancestors. During the life of her husband, these sentiments were inflamed by danger

52 See Guicciardini, a servant of the popes, in that long and valuable digression, which has resumed its place in the last edition, correctly published from the author's MS. and printed in four volumes in quarto, under the name of Friburgo, 1775, (*Istoria d'Italia*, tom. i. pp. 385-395).

53 The Paladin Astolpho found it in the moon, among the things that were lost upon earth, (*Orlando Furioso*, xxxiv. 80).

Di vari fiore ad un grand monte passa,
Ch' ebbe già buono odore, or puzza forte;
Questo era il dono (se però dir lece)
Che Constantino al buon Silvestro fece.

Yet this incomparable poem has been approved by a bull of Leo X.

54 See Baronius, A. D. 324, No. 117-123, A. D. 1191, No. 51, &c. The cardinal wishes to suppose that Rome was offered by Constantine, and *refused* by Silvester. The act of donation he considers, strangely enough, as a forgery of the Greeks.

55 Baronius n'en dit guères contre; encore en a-t'il trop dit, et l'on vouloit sans moi (*Cardinal du Perron*), qui l'empechai, censurer cette partie de son histoire. J'en devisai un jour avec le Pape, et il ne me repondit autre chose "chevolete? i Canonici la lengono," il le disoit *en riant*. (*Perroniana*, p. 77).

56 The remaining history of images, from Irene to Theodora, is collected, for the Catholics, by Baronius and Pagi, (A. D. 780-840), Natalis Alexander (*Hist. N. T.* seculum viii. *Panoplia adversus Hæreticos*, pp. 118-178), and Dupin, (*Bibliot. Eccles.* tom. vi. pp. 136-154); for the Protestants, by Spanheim, (*Hist. Imag.* pp. 305-639, Basnage, (*Hist. de l'Eglise*, tom. i. pp. 556-572, tom. ii. pp. 1362-1385), and Mosheim, (*Institut. Hist. Eccles.* secul. viii. et. ix.) The Protestants, except Mosheim, are soured with controversy; but the Catholics, except Dupin, are inflamed by the fury and superstition of the monks; and even Le Beau, (*Hist. du Bas Empire*), a gentleman and a scholar, is infected by the odious contagion.

and dissimulation, and she could only labor to protect and promote some favorite monks whom she drew from their caverns, and seated on the metropolitan thrones of the East. But as soon as she reigned in her own name and that of her son, Irene more seriously undertook the ruin of the Iconoclasts; and the first step of her future persecution was a general edict for liberty of conscience. In the restoration of the monks, a thousand images were exposed to the public veneration; a thousand legends were invented of their sufferings and miracles. By the opportunities of death or removal, the episcopal seats were judiciously filled; the most eager competitors for earthly or celestial favor anticipated and flattered the judgment of their sovereign; and the promotion of her secretary Tarasius gave Irene the patriarch of Constantinople, and the command of the oriental church. But the decrees of a general council could only be repealed by a similar assembly:[57] the Iconoclasts whom she convened, were bold in possession, and averse to debate; and the feeble voice of the bishops was re-echoed by the more formidable clamor of the soldiers and people of Constantinople. The delay and intrigues of a year, the separation of the disaffected troops, and the choice of Nice for a second orthodox synod, removed these obstacles; and the episcopal conscience was again, after the Greek fashion, in the hands of the prince. No more than eighteen days were allowed for the consummation of this important work: the Iconoclasts appeared, not as judges, but as criminals or penitents; the scene was decorated by the legates of pope Adrian and the Eastern patriarch;[58] the decrees were framed by the president Tarasius, and ratified by the acclamations and subscriptions of three hundred and fifty bishops. They unanimously pronounced, that the worship of images is agreeable to Scripture and reason, to the fathers and councils of the church: but they hesitate whether that worship be relative or direct; whether the Godhead, and the figure of Christ,

Seventh general council. Second of Nice, A. D. 787, Sept. 24, Oct. 23.

[57] See the Acts, in Greek and Latin, of the second *Council of Nice*, with a number of relative pieces, in the eighth volume of the *Councils*, pp. 645-1600. A faithful version, with some critical notes, would provoke, in different readers, a sigh or a smile.

[58] The pope's legates were casual messengers, two priests without any special commission, and who were disavowed on their return. Some vagabond monks were persuaded by the Catholics to represent the Oriental patriarchs. This curious anecdote is revealed by Theodore Studites, (epist. i. 38, in *Sirmond. Opp.* tom. v. p. 1319), one of the warmest Iconoclasts of the age.

be entitled to the same mode of adoration. Of this second Nicene council, the acts are still extant; a curious monument of superstition and ignorance, of falsehood and folly. I shall only notice the judgment of the bishops, on the comparative merit of image worship and morality. A monk had concluded a truce with the dæmon of fornication, on condition of interrupting his daily prayers to a picture that hung in his cell. His scruples prompted him to consult the abbot. "Rather than abstain from adoring Christ and "his mother in their holy images, it would be better for "you," replied the casuist, "to enter every brothel, and "visit every prostitute, in the city."[59]

Final establishment of images by the empress Theodora, A. D. 842.

For the honor of orthodoxy, at least the orthodoxy of the Roman church, it is somewhat unfortunate, that the two princes who convened the two councils of Nice are both stained with the blood of their sons. The second of these assemblies was approved and rigorously executed by the despotism of Irene, and she refused her adversaries the toleration which at first she had granted to her friends. During the five succeeding reigns, a period of thirty-eight years, the contest was maintained, with unabated rage and various success, between the worshipers and the breakers of the images; but I am not inclined to pursue with minute diligence the repetition of the same events. Nicephorus allowed a general liberty of speech and practice; and the only virtue of his reign is accused by the monks as the cause of his temporal and eternal perdition. Superstition and weakness formed the character of Michael the first, but the saints and images were incapable of supporting their votary on the throne. In the purple, Leo the fifth asserted the name and religion of an Armenian; and the idols, with their seditious adherents, were condemned to a second exile. Their applause would have sanctified the murder of an impious tyrant, but his assassin and successor, the second Michael, was tainted from his birth with the Phrygian heresies: he attempted to mediate between the contending parties; and the intractable spirit of the Catholics insensibly cast him into the opposite scale. His moderation

[59] Συμφέρει δέ σοι μὴ καταλίπειν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ πορνεῖον εἰς ὁ μὴ κἰσέλθῃς ἢ ἵνα ἀρνήσῃ τὸ προσκύνειν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτοῦ μήτρος ἐν εἰκονι. These visits could not be innocent, since the Δαίμων πορνείας, (the demon of fornication), ἐπολεμεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν * * * ἐν μίᾳ οὖν ὡς ἐπκειτο αὐτῷ σφόδρα, &c. *Actio*, iv. p. 901, *Actio*, v. 1031.

was guarded by timidity; but his son Theophilus, alike ignorant of fear and pity, was the last and most cruel of the Iconoclasts. The enthusiasm of the times ran strongly against them; and the emperors, who stemmed the torrent, were exasperated and punished by the public hatred. After the death of Theophilus, the final victory of the images was achieved by a second female, his widow Theodora, whom he left the guardian of the empire. Her measures were bold and decisive. The fiction of a tardy repentance absolved the fame and the soul of her deceased husband: the sentence of the Iconoclast patriarch was commuted from the loss of his eyes to a whipping of two hundred lashes; the bishops trembled, the monks shouted, and the festival of orthodoxy preserves the annual memory of the triumph of the images. A single question yet remained, whether they are endowed with any proper and inherent sanctity: it was agitated by the Greeks of the eleventh century;[60] and as this opinion has the strongest recommendation of absurdity, I am surprised that it was not more explicitly decided in the affirmative. In the West, pope Adrian the first accepted and announced the decrees of the Nicene assembly, which is now revered by the Catholics as the seventh in rank of the general councils. Rome and Italy were docile to the voice of their father; but the greatest part of the Latin Christians were far behind in the race of superstition. The churches of France, Germany, England, and Spain, steered a middle course between the adoration and the destruction of images, which they admitted into their temples, not as objects of worship, but as lively and useful memorials of faith and history. An angry book of controversy was composed and published in the name of Charlemagne;[61] under his authority a synod of three hundred bishops was assembled at Frankfort:[62] they blamed the fury of the Iconoclasts, but they pronounced a more severe censure

Reluctance of the Franks, and of Charlemagne, A. D. 794, &c.

60 See an account of this controversy in the *Alexius* of Anna Comnena, (l. v. p. 129), and Mosheim, (*Institut. Hist. Eccles.* pp. 371, 372).

61 The *Libri Carolini*, (Spanheim, pp. 443–529), composed in the palace or winter quarters of Charlemagne, at Worms, A. D. 790, and sent by Engebert to Pope Hadrian I., who answered them by a grandis et verbosa epistola, (*Concil* tom. viii. p. 1553). The Carolines propose 120 objections against the Nicene synod, and such words as these are the flowers of their rhetoric—Dementiam * * * priscæ Gentilitatis obseletum errorem * * * argumenta insanissima et absurdissima * * * derisione dignas nænias, &c. &c.

62 The assemblies of Charlemagne were political as well as ecclesiastical; and the three hundred members, (*Nat. Alexander*, sec. viii. p. 53), who sat and voted at Frankfort, must include not only the bishops, but the abbots, and even the principal laymen.

against the superstition of the Greeks, and the decrees of their pretended council, which was long despised by the barbarians of the West.[63] Among them the worship of images advanced with a silent and insensible progress; but a large atonement is made for their hesitation and delay, by the gross idolatry of the ages which precede the Reformation, and of the countries, both in Europe and America, which are still immersed in the gloom of superstition.

Final separation of the popes from the Eastern empire. A. D. 774-300.

It was after the Nicene synod, and under the reign of the pious Irene, that the popes consummated the separation of Rome and Italy, by the translation of the empire to the less orthodox Charlemagne. They were compelled to choose between the rival nations: religion was not the sole motive of their choice; and while they dissembled the failings of their friends, they beheld, with reluctance and suspicion, the Catholic virtues of their foes. The difference of language and manners had perpetuated the enmity of the two capitals; and they were alienated from each other by the hostile opposition of seventy years In that schism the Romans had tasted of freedom, and the popes of sovereignty: their submission would have exposed them to the revenge of a jealous tyrant; and the revolution of Italy had betrayed the impotence, as well as the tyranny, of the Byzantine court. The Greek emperors had restored the images, but they had not restored the Calabrian estates[64] and the Illyrian diocese,[65] which the Iconoclasts had torn away from the successors of St. Peter; and pope Adrian threatens them with a sentence of excommunication unless they speedily abjure this practical heresy.[66] The Greeks

[63] Qui supra sanctissima patres nostri (episcopi et sacerdotes) *omnimodis* servitium et adorationem imaginum renuentes contempserunt, atque consentientes condemnaverunt. (*Concil.* tom. ix. p. 101, *Canon.* ii Franckfurd). A polemic must be hard-hearted indeed, who does not pity the efforts of Baronius, Pagi, Alexander, Maimbourg, &c., to elude this unlucky sentence.

[64] Theophanes, (p. 343), specifies those of Sicily and Calabria, which yielded an annual rent of three talents and a half of gold (perhaps 7000*l.* sterling). Liutprand more pompously enumerates the patrimonies of the Roman church in Greece, Judæa, Persia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Egypt, and Libya, which were detained by the injustice of the Greek emperor, (*Legat. ad Nicephorum.* in *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. ii. pars i. p. 481).

[65] The great diocese of the Eastern Illyricum, with Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, (*Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 145): by the confession of the Greeks, the patriarch of Constantinople had detached from Rome the Metropolitans of Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, Nicopolis, and Patræ, (*Luc. Holsten Geograph. Sacra*, p. 22); and his spiritual conquests extended to Naples and Amalphi, (Giannone, *Istoria Civile di Napoli*, tom. i. pp. 517-524, Pagi, A. D. 730, No. 11).

[66] In hoc ostenditur, quia ex uno capitulo ab errore reversis, in aliis duobus, in *eodem* (was it the same?) permaneant errore * * * de diocesi S. R. E. seu de

were now orthodox, but their religion might be tainted by the breath of the reigning monarch: the Franks were now contumacious; but a discerning eye might discern their approaching conversion from the use, to the adoration, of images. The name of Charlemagne was stained by the polemic acrimony of his scribes; but the conqueror himself conformed, with the temper of a statesman, to the various practice of France and Italy. In his four pilgrimages or visits to the Vatican, he embraced the popes in the communion of friendship and piety; knelt before the tomb, and consequently before the image, of the apostle; and joined, without scruple, in all the prayers and processions of the Roman liturgy. Would prudence or gratitude allow the pontiffs to renounce their benefactor? Had they a right to alienate his gift of the Exarchate? Had they power to abolish his government of Rome? The title of patrician was below the merit and greatness of Charlemagne; and it was only by reviving the Western empire that they could pay their obligations or secure their establishment. By this decisive measure they would finally eradicate the claims of the Greeks: from the debasement of a provincial town, the majesty of Rome would be restored: the Latin Christians would be united, under a supreme head, in their ancient metropolis; and the conquerors of the West would receive their crown from the successors of St. Peter. The Roman church would acquire a zealous and respectable advocate; and, under the shadow of the Carlovingian power, the bishop might exercise, with honor and safety, the government of the city.[67]

Coronation of Charlemagne, as emperor of Rome and of the West, A. D. 800, Dec. 25.

Before the ruin of Paganism in Rome, the competition for a wealthy bishopric had often been productive of tumult and bloodshed. The people was less numerous, but the times were more savage, the prize more important, and the chair of St. Peter was fiercely disputed by the leading ecclesiastics who aspired to the rank of sovereign.

patrimoniis iterum increpantes commonemus, ut si ea restituere noluerit hereticum eum pro hujusmodi errore perseverantia decernemus, (Epist. Hadrian. Papæ ad Carolum Magnum, in *Concil.* tom. viii. p. 1598); to which he adds a reason, most directly opposite to his conduct, that he preferred the salvation of souls and rule of faith to the goods of this transitory world.

[67] Fontanini considers the emperors as no more than the advocates of the church (advocatus et defensor S. R. E. See Ducange, *Gloss. Lat.* tom. i. p. 297). His antagonist Muratori reduces the popes to be no more than the exarchs of the emperor. In the more equitable view of Mosheim, (*Institut. Hist. Eccles* pp. 264, 265), they held Rome under the empire as the most honorable species of fief or benefice—premuntur nocte caliginosa!

The reign of Adrian I.[68] surpasses the measure of past or succeeding ages;[69] the walls of Rome, the sacred patrimony, the ruin of the Lombards, and the friendship of Charlemagne, were the trophies of his fame: he secretly edified the throne of his successors, and displayed in a narrow space the virtues of a great prince. His memory was revered; but in the next election, a priest of the Lateran, Leo III. was preferred to the nephew and the favorite of Adrian, whom he had promoted to the first dignities of the church. Their acquiescence or repentance disguised, above four years, the blackest intention of revenge, till the day of a procession, when a furious band of conspirators dispersed the unarmed multitude, and assaulted with blows and wounds the sacred person of the pope. But their enterprise on his life or liberty was disappointed, perhaps by their own confusion and remorse. Leo was left for dead on the ground; on his revival from the swoon, the effect of his loss of blood, he recovered his speech and sight; and this natural event was improved to the miraculous restoration of his eyes and tongue, of which he had been deprived, twice deprived, by the knife of the assassins.[70] From his prison he escaped to the Vatican; the duke of Spoleto hastened to his rescue, Charlemagne sympathized in his injury, and in his camp of Paderborn in Westphalia accepted, or solicited, a visit from the Roman pontiff. Leo repassed the Alps with a commission of counts and bishops, the guards of his safety and the judges of his innocence; and it was not without reluctance, that the conqueror of the Saxons delayed till the ensuing year the personal discharge of this pious office. In his fourth and last pilgrimage, he was received at Rome with the due honors of king and

[68] His merits and hopes are summed up in an epitaph of thirty-eight verses of which Charlemagne declares himself the author, (*Concil.* tom. viii. p. 520).

Post patrem lacrymans Carolus hæc carmina scripsi.
Tu mihi dulcis amor, te modo plango pater * * *
Nomina jungo simul titulis, clarissime, nostra
Adrianus, Carolus, rex ego, tuque pater.

The poetry might be supplied by Alcuin; but the tears, the most glorious tribute, can only belong to Charlemagne.

[69] Every new pope is admonished—"Sancte Pater, non videbis annos Petri," twenty-five years. On the whole series the average is about eight years—a short hope for an ambitious cardinal.

[70] The assurance of Anastasius, (tom. iii. pars i. pp. 197, 198), is supported by the credulity of some French annalists; but Eginhard, and other writers of the same age, are more natural and sincere. "Unus ei oculus paullulum est læsus," says John the deacon of Naples, (*Vit. Episcop. Napol.* in *Scriptores Muratori*, tom. i. pars. ii. p. 512). Theodolphus, a contemporary bishop of Orleans, observes with prudence, (l. iii. carm. 3),

Reddita sunt? mirum est: mirum est auferre nequisse,
Est tamen in dubio, hinc mirer an inde magis.

patrician: Leo was permitted to purge himself by oath of the crimes imputed to his charge: his enemies were silenced, and the sacrilegious attempt against his life was punished by the mild and insufficient penalty of exile. On the festival of Christmas, the last year of the eighth century, Charlemagne appeared in the church of St. Peter; and, to gratify the vanity of Rome, he had exchanged the simple dress of his country for the habit of a patrician.[71] After the celebration of the holy mysteries, Leo suddenly placed a precious crown on his head,[72] and the dome resounded with the acclamations of the people, "Long life and victory "to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God "the great and pacific emperor of the Romans!" The head and body of Charlemagne were consecrated by the royal unction: after the example of the Cæsars, he was saluted or adored by the pontiff; his coronation oath represents a promise to maintain the faith and privileges of the church; and the first-fruits were paid in his rich offerings to the shrine of the apostle. In his familiar conversation, the emperor protested his ignorance of the intentions of Leo, which he would have disappointed by his absence on that memorable day. But the preparations of the ceremony must have disclosed the secret; and the journey of Charlemagne reveals his knowledge and expectation: he had acknowledged that the imperial title was the object of his ambition, and a Roman synod had pronounced, that it was the only adequate reward of his merit and services.[73]

Reign and character of Charlemagne, A. D. 768–814.

The appellation of *great* has been often bestowed, and sometimes deserved, but CHARLEMAGNE is the only prince in whose favor the title has been indissolubly blended with the name. That name, with the addition of *saint*, is inserted

[71] Twice, at the request of Hadrian and Leo, he appeared at Rome—longa tunica et chlamyde amictus, et calceamentis quoque Romano more formatis. Eginhard, (c. xxiii. pp. 109–113), describes, like Suetonius, the simplicity of his dress, so popular in the nation, that when Charles the Bald returned to France in a foreign habit, the patriotic dogs barked at the apostate, (Gaillard, *Vie de Charlemagne*, tom. iv. p. 109.)

[72] See Anastasius, (p. 199), and Eginhard, (c. xxviii. pp. 124–128.) The unction is mentioned by Theophanes, (p. 399), the oath by Sigonius, (from the Ordo Romanus), and the pope's adoration, more antiquorum principum, by the Annales Bertiniani. (*Script. Murator.* tom. ii. pars 2, p. 505.)

[73] This great event of the translation or restoration of the empire is related and discussed by *Natalis Alexander*, (secul. ix. dissert. i. pp. 390–397), Pagi, (tom. iii. p. 418), Muratori, (*Annali. d'Italia*, tom. vi. pp. 339–352), Sigonius, (*de Regno Italiæ*, l. iv. *Opp.* tom. ii. pp. 247–251), Spanheim, (*de ficta Translatione Imperii*), Giannone, (tom. i. pp. 395–405), St. Marc, (*Abrégé Chronologique*, tom. i. pp. 438–450), Gaillard, (*Hist. by Charlemagne*, tom. ii. pp. 386–446). Almost all these moderns have some religious or national bias.

in the Roman calendar; and the saint, by a rare felicity, is crowned with the praises of the historians and philosophers of an enlightened age.[74] His *real* merit is doubtless enhanced by the barbarism of the nation and the times from which he emerged: but the *apparent* magnitude of an object is likewise enlarged by an unequal comparison; and the ruins of Palmyra derive a casual splendor from the nakedness of the surrounding desert. Without injustice to his fame, I may discern some blemishes in the sanctity and greatness of the restorer of the Western empire. Of his moral virtues, chastity is not the most conspicuous:[75] but the public happiness could not be materially injured by his nine wives or concubines, the various indulgence of meaner or more transient amours, the multitude of his bastards whom he bestowed on the church, and the long celibacy and licentious manners of his daughters,[76] whom the father was suspected of loving with too fond a passion.* I shall be scarcely permitted to accuse the ambition of a conqueror; but in a day of equal retribution, the sons of his brother Carloman, the Merovingian princes of Aquitain, and the four thousand five hundred Saxons who were beheaded on the same spot, would have something to allege against the justice and humanity of Charlemagne. His treatment of the vanquished Saxons[77] was an abuse of the right of conquest; his laws were not less sanguinary than his arms; and in the discussion of his motives, whatever is subtracted from bigotry must be imputed to temper. * * *

[74] By Mably, (*Observations sur l'Histoire de France*); Voltaire, (*Histoire Générale*); Robertson, (*History of Charles V.*); and Montesquieu, (*Esprit des Loix*, l. 31, c. 18). In the year 1782, M. Gaillard published his *Histoire de Charlemagne*, (in four vols. duodecimo,) which I have freely and profitably used. The author is a man of sense and humanity, and his work is labored with industry and elegance. But I have likewise examined the original monuments of the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne, in the fifth volume of the *Historians of France*.

[75] The vision of Weltin, composed by a monk, eleven years after the death of Charlemagne, shows him in purgatory, with a vulture who is perpetually gnawing the guilty member, while the rest of his body, the emblem of his virtues, is sound and perfect. (See *Gaillard*, tom. ii. pp. 317–360.)

[76] The marriage of Eginhard with Imma, daughter of Charlemagne, is, in my opinion, sufficiently refuted by the *probrum* and *suspicio* that sullied these fair damsels, without excepting his own wife, c. xix. pp. 98–100, cum Notis Schmincke). The husband must have been too strong for the historian.

[77] Besides the massacres and transmigrations, the pain of death was pronounced against the following crimes: 1. The refusal of baptism. 2. The false pretence of baptism. 3. A relapse to idolatry. 4. The murder of a priest or bishop. 5. Human sacrifices. 6. Eating meat in Lent But every crime might be expiated by baptism or penance, (Gaillard, tom. ii. pp. 241–247); and the Christian Saxons became the friends and equals of the Franks, (Struv, *Corpus Hist. Germanicæ*, p. 133.)

* This charge of incest, as Mr. Hallam justly observes, "seems to have originated in a misinterpreted passage of Eginhard." Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 16.—MILMAN.

In the north, Christianity was propagated by the sword of Otho, the conqueror and apostle of the Slavic nations of the Elbe and Oder. * * * From that memorable æra, two maxims of public jurisprudence were introduced by force and ratified by time. I. *That* the prince, who was elected in the German diet, acquired, from that instant, the subject kingdoms of Italy and Rome. II. But that he might not legally assume the titles of emperor and Augustus, till he had received the crown from the hands of the Roman pontiff. * * *

Authority of the emperors in the elections of the popes, A. D. 800-1060.

These emperors, in the election of the popes, continued to exercise the powers which had been assumed by the Gothic and Grecian princes; and the importance of this prerogative increased with the temporal estate and spiritual jurisdiction of the Roman church. In the Christian aristocracy, the principal members of the clergy still formed a senate to assist the administration, and to supply the vacancy, of the bishop. Rome was divided into twenty-eight parishes, and each parish was governed by a cardinal-priest, or presbyter, a title which, however common and modest in its origin, has aspired to emulate the purple of kings. Their number was enlarged by the association of the seven deacons of the most considerable hospitals, the seven palatine judges of the Lateran, and some dignitaries of the church. This ecclesiastical senate was directed by the seven cardinal-bishops of the Roman province, who were less occupied in the suburb dioceses of Ostia, Porto, Velitræ, Tusculum, Præneste, Tibur, and the Sabines, than by their weekly service in the Lateran, and their superior share in the honors and authority of the apostolic see. On the death of the pope, these bishops recommended a successor to the suffrage of the college of cardinals, and their choice was ratified or rejected by the applause or clamor of the Roman people. But the election was imperfect; nor could the pontiff be legally consecrated till the emperor, the advocate of the church, had graciously signified his approbation and consent. The royal commissioner examined the form and freedom of the proceedings; nor was it till after a previous scrutiny into the qualifications of the candidates, that he accepted an oath of fidelity, and confirmed the donations which had successively enriched the patrimony of St. Peter. In the frequent schisms, the rival claims were submitted to the emperor; and in a synod of bishops he presumed to judge, to condemn, and to punish, the crimes of a guilty pontiff.

Otho I. imposed a treaty on the senate and people, who engaged to prefer the candidate most acceptable to his majesty:[78] his successors anticipated or prevented their choice: they bestowed the Roman benefice, like the bishoprics of Cologne or Bamberg, on their chancellors or preceptors: and whatever might be the merit of a Frank or Saxon, his name sufficiently attests the interposition of foreign power. These acts of prerogative were most speciously excused by the vices of a popular election. The competitor who had been excluded by the cardinals, appealed to the passions or avarice of the multitude: the Vatican and the Lateran were stained with blood; and the most powerful senators, the marquises of Tuscany and the counts of Tusculum, held the apostolic see in a long and disgraceful servitude. The Roman pontiffs, of the ninth and tenth centuries, were insulted, imprisoned, and murdered, by their tyrants; and such was their indigence after the loss and usurpation of the ecclesiastical patrimonies, that they could neither support the state of a prince, nor exercise the charity of a priest.[79] The influence of two sister prostitutes, Marozia and Theodora, was founded on their wealth and beauty, their political and amorous intrigues: the most strenuous of their lovers were rewarded with the Roman mitre, and their reign[80] may have suggested to the darker ages[81] the fable of a

Disorders.

[78] Firmiter jurantes, nunquam se papam electuros aut ordinaturos, præter consensum et electionem Othonis et filii sui, (Liutprand, l. vi. c. 6. p. 472). This important concession may either supply or confirm the decree of the clergy and people of Rome, so fiercely rejected by Baronius, Pagi, and Muratori, (A. D. 964), and so well defended and explained by St. Marc, (*Abrégé*, tom. ii. pp. 808-816, tom. iv. pp. 1167–1185). Consult that historical critic, and the *Annals* of Muratori, for the election and confirmation of each pope.

[79] The oppression and vices of the Roman church, in the tenth century, are strongly painted in the history and legation of Liutprand, (see pp. 440, 450, 471-476. 479, &c.); and it is whimsical enough to observe Muratori tempering the invectives of Baronius against the popes. But these popes had been chosen, not by the cardinals, but by lay-patrons.

[80] The time of pope Joan, (*papissa Jounna*,) is placed somewhat earlier than Theodora or Marozia; and the two years of her imaginary reign are forcibly inserted between Leo IV. and Benedict III. But the contemporary Anastasius indissolubly links the death of Leo and the elvevation of Benedict, (illico, mox, p. 247); and the accurate chronology of Pagi, Muratori, and Leibnitz, fixes both events in the year 857.

[81] The advocates for pope Joan produce one hundred and fifty witnesses, or rather echoes, of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. They bear testimony against themselves and the legend, by multiplying the proof that so curious a story *must* have been repeated by writers of every description to whom it was known. On those of the ninth and tenth centuries, the recent event would have flashed with a double force. Would Photius have spared such a reproach? Could Liutprand have missed such scandal? It is scarcely worth while to discuss the various readings of Martinus Polonus, Sigebert of Gemblours, or even Marianus Scots; but a most palpable forgery is the passage of pope Joan, which has been foisted into some MSS. and editions of the Roman Anastasius.

female[82] pope.[83] The bastard son,* the grandson, and the great-grandson, of Marozia, a rare genealogy, were seated in the chair of St. Peter, and it was at the age of nineteen years that the second of these became the head of the Latin church.† His youth and manhood were of a suitable complexion; and the nations of pilgrims could bear testimony to the charges that were urged against him in a Roman synod, and in the presence of Otho the Great. As John XII. had renounced the dress and the decencies of his profession, the *soldier* may not perhaps be dishonored by the wine which he drank, the blood that he spilt, the flames that he kindled, or the licentious pursuits of gaming and hunting. His open simony might be the consequence of distress: and his blasphemous invocation of Jupiter and Venus, if it be true, could not possibly be serious. But we read with some surprise, that the worthy grandson of Marozia lived in public adultery with the matrons of Rome: that the Lateran palace was turned into a school for prostitution, and that his rapes of virgins and widows had deterred the female pilgrims from visiting the tomb of St. Peter, lest, in the devout act, they should be violated by his successor.[84] The Protestants have dwelt with malicious

[82] As *false*, it deserves that name; but I would not pronounce it incredible. Suppose a famous French chevalier of our own times to have been born in Italy, and educated in the church, instead of the army: *her* merit or fortune *might* have raised her to St. Peter's chair; her amours would have been natural; her delivery in the streets unlucky, but not improbable.‡

[83] Till the Reformation the tale was repeated and believed without offence: and Joan's female statue long occupied her place among the popes in the cathedral of Sienna, (Pagi, *Critica*, tom. iii. pp. 624-626). She has been annihilated by two learned Protestants, Blondel and Bayle, (*Dictionnaire Critique*, PAPESSE, POLONUS, BLONDEL); but their brethren were scandalized by this equitable and generous criticism. Spanheim and Lefant attempt to save this poor engine of controversy; and even Mosheim condescends to cherish some doubt and suspicion, (p. 289.)

[84] Lateranense palatium * * * prostibulum meretricum * * * Testis omnium gentium, præterquam Romanorum, absentia mulierum, quæ sanctorum apostolorum limina orandi gratia timent visere, cum nonnullas ante dies paucos, hunc audierint conjugatas, viduas, virgines vi oppressisse. (Liutprand, *Hist.* l. vi. c. 6, p. 471. See the whole affair of John XII., pp. 471-476).

* Muratori confesses the "vita disonesta" of Maria or Marozia; but contends that John XI. was her legitimate son by her husband Alberico, marquis of Camerino, and discredits the "slander of Liutprand," who asserted that this pontiff was the offspring of her adultery with pope Sergius III. Cardinal Baronius, however, believed these "calumniators," and called John XI. "pseudo-pontifex." (*Annali d'Italia*. xii. 273, 277, 380.)—ENG. CH.

† John XI. was the son of her husband Alberic, not of her lover, Pope Sergius III., as Muratori has distinctly proven, *Ann.* ad ann. 911, tom. . . p. 628. Her grandson Octavian, otherwise called John XII., was pope: but a great-grandson cannot be discovered in any of the succeeding popes; nor does our historian himself, in his subsequent narration, (p. 202), seem to know of one. Hobhouse, *Illustrations of Childe Harold*, p. 309.—MILMAN

‡ Gibbon here alludes to the Chevalier D'Eon, whose sex at that period was so much a matter of doubt as to cause him to be deprived of a public office, which he had held for many years in France. After his death in England, all doubts as to his sex were removed by medical examination.—ENG. CH.

pleasure on these characters of antichrist; but to a philosophic eye, the vices of the clergy are far less dangerous than their virtues. After a long series of scandal, the apostolic see was reformed and exalted by the austerity and zeal of Gregory VII. That ambitious monk devoted his life to the execution of two projects. I. To fix in the college of cardinals the freedom and independence of election, and for ever to abolish the right or usurpation of the emperors and the Roman people. II. To bestow and resume the Western empire as a fief or benefice[85] of the church, and to extend his temporal dominion over the kings and kingdoms of the earth. After a contest of fifty years, the first of these designs was accomplished by the firm support of the ecclesiastical order, whose liberty was connected with that of their chief. But the second attempt, though it was crowned with some partial and apparent success, has been vigorously resisted by the secular power, and finally extinguished by the improvement of human reason.

Reformation and claims of the church, A. D. 1073, &c.

[85] A new example of the mischief of equivocation is the *beneficium*, (*Ducange*, tom. i. p. 617, &c.,) which the pope conferred on the emperor Frederic I., since the Latin word may signify either a legal fief, or a simple favor, an obligation, (we want the word *bienfait*.) (See Schmidt, *Hist. des Allemands*, tom. iii. pp. 393–498. Pfeffel, *Abrégé Chronologique*, tom. i. pp. 229, 296, 317, 324, 420, 430, 500, 505, 509, &c.)

Isis.

MINERVA.

THE blue-eyed MINERVA sprang forth in complete armor, from JOVE's immortal head—the goddess of wisdom arose in warlike panoply from the brain of JUPITER. This is the poetic conceit of the ancient Pagan mythologists, and this myth is simply equivalent to teaching that *Wisdom came from God.* Christians will not deny this assertion, although Moses, whom they reverence, held a different belief, and taught that wisdom came from SATAN, the prince of darkness. For, by eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, Adam and Eve, says the Jewish lawgiver, disobeyed God, acquired wisdom, and lost Paradise.

With the Greeks and Romans MINERVA, also called PALLAS ATHENE, was the personification of the reasoning faculty, and was also worshiped as the patroness of the arts and sciences. Among other gifts, she kindly taught the art of weaving to mankind. For vainly boasting of skillful workmanship, she transformed her pupil Arachne, into a spider, and this insect still possesses a knowledge of the weaver's art. In a trial of skill with NEPTUNE for the honor of naming a new city, founded by the Egyptian Cecrops, Wisdom conquered Power, and the assembled gods awarded the prize to the olive tree of MINERVA, as being more useful to mankind than the horse which NEPTUNE produced by striking his trident upon the sand.

In the contest between MINERVA, JUNO, and VENUS for the prize of beauty—the golden apple inscribed *To the Fairest*, and presented by ERIS or DISCORD, the youthful shepherd named PARIS, was appointed by JUPITER to decide the difficult problem. MINERVA sought to influence his judgment by promising him glory and renown in war; JUNO by promising power and riches; VENUS by promising the fairest women for his wife. In this contest Wisdom was defeated. PARIS awarded the golden apple to VENUS; and Wisdom may never hope to contend successfully with Beauty, when mortals are the judges.

The fertile imagination and sublime genius of the Greeks enabled them to beautify, if they did not originate, these allegorical fancies concerning the gods; and the great German poet GOETHE, awards the highest praise to this creative faculty; and thus invokes blessings upon FANCY—the never resting, ever changing, whimsical daughter of JUPITER.

"May she, crowned with roses and bearing the stem of a lily, enter the flowery "valleys, to rule over the butterflies, and suck with bees' lips the light nutritious "dew from the blossoms; or, with dishevelled hair and gloomy aspect, rush "through the yielding wind, round rocky walls, appearing in a thousand different "colors, ever changing like morning and eve, as moon-glances appear to mortal "eyes. Let us all praise the old venerable father, who has granted to mortal men "so fair a companion, endowed with never fading charms. For to us alone he "has united her with heavenly ties, bidding her never to forsake us, to abide "with us in joy and sorrow, as becomes a faithful companion. Treat her with "affection, like a beloved one: And let the old grave mother-in-law, *Wisdom*, by "no means distress the tender little soul! I know her sister also, the elder and "more serious of the two, my gentle friend! O that she may never forsake me "while the light of life continues, she the noble encourager, comforter—HOPE."

The mythical creations of Fancy, with which the Greeks and Romans peopled high Olympus—the religions they invented—the gods they worshiped and adored,

"All these have vanished.
"They live no longer in the faith of reason;
"But still the heart doth need a language; still
"Doth the old instinct bring back the old names—
"Spirits or gods—that used to share this earth
"With man as with their friend."

"The sleeping and the dead," says Lady Macbeth, "are but as pictures: 'tis "the eye of childhood that fears a painted devil!" But the childhood of the race demanded what the manhood of the race hath discarded—the worship and reverence of the immortal gods! JUPITER and JUNO, HERCULES and MERCURY, BACCHUS and APOLLO, DIANA, MINERVA, VENUS, and all the heavenly host, now exist only in the realms of literature and art. They still lend inspiration to the poet's fancy, the painter's canvas, and the sculptor's marble: but in the domain of reason and philosophy, their memory is but a shadowy dream swiftly vanishing into the mists of oblivion.—E.

Triton and Nereides.*

XV.†

ORIGIN AND DOCTRINE OF THE PAULICIANS.—THEIR PERSECUTION BY THE GREEK EMPERORS.—REVOLT IN ARMENIA, &C.—TRANSPLANTATION INTO THRACE.—PROPAGATION IN THE WEST.—THE SEEDS, CHARACTER, AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE REFORMATION.

Supine superstition of the Greek church.

IN the profession of Christianity, the variety of national characters may be clearly distinguished. The natives of Syria and Egypt abandoned their lives to lazy and contemplative devotion: Rome again aspired to the dominion of the world; and the wit of the lively and loquacious Greeks was consumed in the disputes of metaphysical theology. The incomprehensible mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, instead of commanding their silent submission, were agitated in vehement and subtle controversies, which enlarged their faith at the expense, perhaps, of their charity and reason. From the council of Nice to the end of the seventh century, the peace and unity of the church was

* Triton was a sea-deity, son of Neptune and Amphitrite. Above the waist, his figure was human, and below, a dolphin. Some represent him with the fore feet of a horse. In works of art, he is represented as blowing a shell, with which he could soothe the restless waves of the sea, and abate the fury of storms.

The Nereides, daughters of Nereus and Doris, were the marine nymphs of the Mediterranean, in contradistinction to the Naiades, the nymphs of fresh water, and the Oceanides, the nymphs of the great ocean. Thetis, mother of Achilles, was one of the most celebrated of the Nereides. They are described as lovely divinities, dwelling in marine grottos and caves, which they ornamented with sea shells and gems from the ocean. They are frequently represented as riding on the backs of dolphins, sometimes holding in their hands the trident of Neptune, at others, garlands of flowers, or ornamental scarfs. They are often engraved on gems as half maidens and half fishes. Their appearance was always considered propitious to mariners. They were worshiped in Greece, chiefly in the marine towns, and on the coast of the sea; and the piety of mankind placed on their altars offerings of milk and honey.—E.

† Chap. LIV. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

invaded by these spiritual wars; and so deeply did they affect the decline and fall of the empire, that the historian has too often been compelled to attend the synods, to explore the creeds, and to enumerate the sects, of this busy period of ecclesiastical annals. From the beginning of the eighth century to the last ages of the Byzantine empire, the sound of controversy was seldom heard: curiosity was exhausted, zeal was fatigued, and, in the decrees of six councils, the articles of the Catholic faith had been irrevocably defined. The spirit of dispute, however vain and pernicious, requires some energy and exercise of the mental faculties; and the prostrate Greeks were content to fast, to pray, and to believe, in blind obedience to the patriarch and his clergy. During a long dream of superstition, the Virgin and the Saints, their visions and miracles, their relics and images, were preached by the monks and worshiped by the people; and the appellation of people might be extended, without injustice, to the first ranks of civil society. At an unseasonable moment, the Isaurian emperors attempted somewhat rudely to awaken their subjects; under their influence, reason might obtain some proselytes, a far greater number was swayed by interest or fear; but the Eastern world embraced or deplored their visible deities, and the restoration of images was celebrated as the feast of orthodoxy. In this passive and unanimous state the ecclesiastical rulers were relieved from the toil, or deprived of the pleasure, of persecution. The Pagans had disappeared; the Jews were silent and obscure: the disputes with the Latins were rare and remote hostilities against a national enemy; and the sects of Egypt and Syria enjoyed a free toleration under the shadow of the Arabian caliphs. About the middle of the seventh century, a branch of Manichæans was selected as the victims of spiritual tyranny; their patience was at length exasperated to despair and rebellion; and their exile has scattered over the West the seeds of reformation. These important events will justify some inquiry into the doctrine and story of the PAULICIANS;[1] and, as they cannot plead for themselves,

[1] The errors and virtues of the Paulicians are weighed, with his usual judgment and candor, by the learned Mosheim. (*Hist. Ecclesiast.* seculum ix. p. 311, &c.) He draws his original intelligence from Photius, (*contra Manichæos*, l. i.), and Peter Siculus, (*Hist. Manichæorum*). The first of these accounts has not fallen into my hands; the second, which Mosheim prefers, I have read in a Latin version inserted in the *Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum*, (tom. xvi, pp. 754-764), from the edition of the Jesuit Raderus, (*Ingolstadii*, 1604, in 4to.)*

* Compare Hallam's *Middle Ages*, pp. 461-471. Mr. Hallam justly observes that this chapter "appears to be accurate as well as luminous, and is at least far "superior to any modern work on the subject."—MILMAN.

our candid criticism will magnify the *good*, and abate or suspect the *evil*, that is reported by their adversaries.

Origin of the Paulicians or disciples of St. Paul, A. D. 660, &c.

The Gnostics, who had distracted the infancy, were oppressed by the greatness and authority, of the church. Instead of emulating or surpassing the wealth, learning, and numbers, of the Catholics, their obscure remnant was driven from the capitals of the East and West, and confined to the villages and mountains along the borders of the Euphrates. Some vestige of the Marcionites may be detected in the fifth century;[2] but the numerous sects were finally lost in the odious name of the Manichæans; and these heretics, who presumed to reconcile the doctrines of Zoroaster and Christ, were pursued by the two religions with equal and unrelenting hatred. Under the grandson of Heraclius, in the neighborhood of Samosata, more famous for the birth of Lucian than for the title of a Syrian kingdom, a reformer arose, esteemed by the *Paulicians* as the chosen messenger of truth. In his humble dwelling of Mananalis, Constantine entertained a deacon, who returned from Syrian captivity, and received the inestimable gift of the New Testament, which was already concealed from the vulgar by the prudence of the Greek, and perhaps of the Gnostic clergy.[3] These books became the measure of his studies and the rule of his faith; and the Catholics, who dispute his interpretation, acknowledge that his text was genuine and sincere. But he attached himself with peculiar devotion to the writings and character of St. Paul. The name of the Paulicians is derived by their enemies from some unknown and domestic teacher; but I am confident that they gloried in their affinity to the apostle of the Gentiles. His disciples, Titus, Timothy, Sylvanus, Tychicus, were represented by Constantine and his fellow-laborers: the names of the apostolic churches were applied to the congregations which they assembled in Armenia and Cappadocia; and this

2 In the time of Theodoret, the diocese of Cyrrhus, in Syria, contained eight hundred villages. Of these, two were inhabited by Arians and Eunomians, and eight by *Marcionites*, whom the laborious bishop reconciled to the Catholic church, (Dupin, *Bibliot. Ecclésiastique*, tom. iv. pp. 81, 82).*

3 Nobis profanis ista (*sacra Evangelia*) legere non licet sed sacerdotibus duntaxat, was the first scruple of a Catholic when he was advised to read the Bible. (*Petr. Sicul.* p. 761.)

* In former notes, more particularly to chapter 15 and 21, it was shown, that the innumerable forms of Gnosticism were the desultory efforts of individuals, each to adapt Christianity to his peculiar philosophical notions, before they had an authorized standard of faith. When this was given to them, such theories fell into disrepute, and sank into a deeper obscurity, in proportion as the growing stateliness of the hierarchy discountenanced and discarded philosophy.—E. C.

innocent allegory revived the example and memory of the first ages. In the Gospel, and the Epistles of St. Paul, his faithful follower investigated the creed of primitive Christianity; and, whatever might be the success, a Protestant reader will applaud the spirit, of the inquiry. But if the scriptures of the Paulicians were pure, they were not perfect. Their founders rejected the two epistles of St Peter,[4] the apostle of the circumcision, whose dispute with their favorite for the observance of the law could not easily be forgiven.[5] They agreed with their Gnostic brethren in the universal contempt for the Old Testament, the book of Moses and the prophets, which have been consecrated by the decrees of the Catholic church. With equal boldness, and doubtless with more reason, Constantine, the new Sylvanus, disclaimed the visions, which, in so many bulky and splendid volumes, had been published by the Oriental sects;[6] the fabulous productions of the Hebrew patriarchs and the sages of the East; the spurious gospels, epistles, and acts, which in the first age had overwhelmed the orthodox code; the theology of Manes, and the authors of the kindred heresies; and the thirty generations, or æons, which had been created by the fruitful fancy of Valentine. The Paulicians sincerely condemned the memory and opinions of the Manichæan sect, and complained of the injustice which impressed that invidious name on the simple votaries of St. Paul and of Christ.

Their Bible.

Of the ecclesiastical chain, many links had been broken by the Paulician reformers; and their liberty was enlarged, as they reduced the number of masters, at whose voice profane reason must bow to mystery and miracle. The early separation of the Gnostics had preceded the establishment of the Catholic

The simplicity of their belief and worship.

[4] In rejecting the *Second Epistle of St. Peter*, the Paulicians are justified by some of the most respectable of the ancients and moderns, (see Wetstein ad loc. Simon, *Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament*, c. 17.) They likewise overlooked the Apocalypse, (Petr. Sicul. p. 756); but as such neglect is not imputed as a crime, the Greeks of the ninth century must have been careless of the credit and honor of the Revelations.

[5] This contention, which has not escaped the malice of Porphyry, supposes some error and passion in one or both of the apostles. By Chrysostom, Jerome, and Erasmus, it is represented as a sham quarrel, a pious fraud, for the benefit of the Gentiles and the correction of the Jews. (Middleton's *Works*, vol. ii. pp. 1–20.)

[6] Those who are curious of this heterodox library, may consult the researches of Beausobre, (*Hist. Critique du Manicheisme*, tom. i. pp. 305–437.) Even in Africa, St. Austin could describe the Manichæan books, tam multi, tam grandes, tam pretiosi codices, (contra Faust. xiii. 14); but he adds, without pity, incendite omnes illas membranas; and his advice has been rigorously followed.

worship; and against the gradual innovations of discipline and doctrine, they were as strongly guarded by habit and aversion, as by the silence of St. Paul and the Evangelists. The objects which had been transformed by the magic of superstition, appeared to the eyes of the Paulicians in their genuine and naked colors. An image made without hands, was the common workmanship of a mortal artist, to whose skill alone the wood and canvass must be indebted for their merit or value. The miraculous relics were a heap of bones and ashes, destitute of life or virtue, or of any relation, perhaps, with the person to whom they were ascribed. The true and vivifying cross* was a piece of sound or rotten timber; the body and blood of Christ, a loaf of bread and

* [In chapter lxi. Gibbon records the sale or gift of the Holy Crown of Thorns, by the emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II., to the king of France, as follows:] The emperor and empire were still possessed of an ideal treasure which drew its fantastic value from the superstition of the Christian world. The merit of the true cross was somewhat impaired by its frequent division; and a long captivity among the infidels might shed some suspicion on the fragments that were produced in the East and West. But another relic of the Passion was preserved in the imperial chapel of Constantinople; and the crown of thorns which had been placed on the head of Christ was equally precious and authentic. It had formerly been the practice of the Egyptian debtors to deposit, as a security, the mummies of their parents; and both their honor and religion were bound for the redemption of the pledge. In the same manner, and in the absence of the emperor, the Barons of Romania borrowed the sum of thirteen thousand one hundred and and thirty-four pieces of gold on the credit of the holy crown: they failed in the performance of their contract; and a rich Venetian, Nicholas Querini, undertook to satisfy their impatient creditors, on condition that the relic should be lodged at Venice, to become his absolute property, if it were not redeemed within a short and definite term. The baron apprized their sovereign of the hard treaty and impending loss; and as the empire could not afford a ransom of seven thousand pounds sterling, Baldwin was anxious to snatch the prize from the Venetians, and to vest it with more honor and emolument in the hands of the most Christian king. Yet the negotiation was attended with some delicacy. In the purchase of relics, the saint would have started at the guilt of simony: but if the mode of expression were changed, he might lawfully repay the debt, accept the gift, and acknowledge the obligation. His ambassadors, two Dominicans, were despatched to Venice to redeem and receive the holy crown, which had escaped the dangers of the sea and the galleys of Vataces. On opening a wooden box, they recognized the seals of the doge and barons, which were applied on a shrine of silver; and within this shrine the monument of the Passion was enclosed in a golden vase. The reluctant Venetians yielded to justice and power: the emperor Frederic granted a free and honorable passage; the court of France advanced as far as Troyes in Champagne, to meet with devotion this inestimable relic; it was borne in triumph through Paris by the king himself, barefoot, and in his shirt; and a free gift of ten thousand marks of silver reconciled Baldwin to his loss. The success of this transaction tempted the Latin emperor to offer with the same generosity the remaining furniture of his chapel; a large and authentic portion of the true cross; the baby-linen of the Son of God, the lance, the sponge, and the chain, of his Passion; the rod of Moses, and part of the skull of St. John the Baptist. For the reception of all these spiritual treasures, twenty thousand marks were expended by St. Louis on a stately foundation, the holy chapel of Paris, on which the muse of Boileau has bestowed a comic immortality. The truth of such remote and ancient relics, which cannot be proved by any human testimony, must be admitted by those who believe in the miracles which they have performed. About the middle of the last age, an inveterate ulcer was touched and cured by a holy prickle of the holy crown: the prodigy is attested by the most pious and enlightened Christians of France; nor will the fact be easily disproved, except by those who are armed with a general antidote against religious credulity.

a cup of wine, the gifts of nature and the symbols of grace. The mother of God was degraded from her celestial honors and immaculate virginity; and the saints and angels were no longer solicited to exercise the laborious office of mediation in heaven, and ministry upon earth. In the practice, or at least in the theory, of the sacraments, the Paulicians were inclined to abolish all visible objects of worship, and the words of the gospel were, in their judgment, the baptism and communion of the faithful. They indulged a convenient latitude for the interpretation of Scripture; and as often as they were pressed by the literal sense, they could escape to the intricate mazes of figure and allegory. Their utmost diligence must have been employed to dissolve the connection between the Old and the New Testament; since they adored the latter as the oracles of God, and abhorred the former, as the fabulous and absurd invention of men or dæmons. We cannot be surprised, that they should have found in the gospel the orthodox mystery of the Trinity: but instead of confessing the human nature and substantial sufferings of Christ, they amused their fancy with a celestial body that passed through the Virgin like water through a pipe; with a fantastic crucifixion, that eluded the vain and impotent malice of the Jews. A creed thus simple and spiritual was not adapted to the genius of the times;[7] and the rational Christian, who might have been contented with the light yoke and easy burthen of Jesus and his apostles, was justly offended, that the Paulicians should dare to violate the unity of God, the first article of natural and revealed religion. Their belief and their trust was in the Father, of Christ, of the human soul, and of the invisible world. But they likewise held the eternity of matter; a stubborn and rebellious substance, the origin of a second principle, of an active being, who has created this visible world, and exercises his temporal reign till the final consummation of death and sin.[8] The appearances of moral and physical evil had established the two principles in the ancient philosophy and religion of the East; from whence this doctrine was transfused to the various swarms of the

They hold the two principles of the Magians and Manichæans.

[7] The six capital errors of the Paulicians are defined by Peter Siculus, (p. 756,) with much prejudice and passion.

[8] Primum illorum axioma est, duo rerum esse principia; Deum malum et Deum bonum, aliumque hujus mundi conditorem et principem, et alium futuri ævi. (Petr. Sicul. p. 756.)

Gnostics. A thousand shades may be devised in the nature and character of *Ahriman*, from a rival god to a subordinate dæmon, from passion and frailty to pure and perfect malevolence: but, in spite of our efforts, the goodness and the power of Ormuzd are placed at the opposite extremities of the line; and every step that approaches the one must recede in equal proportion from the other.[9]

The establishment of the Paulicians in Armenia, Pontus, &c.

The apostolic labors of Constantine Sylvanus soon multiplied the number of his disciples, the secret recompense of spiritual ambition. The remnant of the Gnostic sects, and especially the Manichæans of Armenia, were united under his standard; many Catholics were converted or seduced by his arguments; and he preached with success in the regions of Pontus[10] and Cappadocia, which had long since imbibed the religion of Zoroaster. The Paulician teachers were distinguished only by their scriptural names, by the modest title of Fellow-pilgrims, by the austerity of their lives, their zeal or knowledge, and the credit of some extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit. But they were incapable of desiring, or at least of obtaining, the wealth and honors of the Catholic prelacy. Such anti-Christian pride they bitterly censured; and even the rank of elders or presbyters was condemned as an institution of the Jewish synagogue. The new sect was loosely spread over the provinces of Asia Minor to the westward of the Euphrates; six of their principal congregations represented the churches to which St. Paul had addressed his epistles; and their founder chose his residence in the neighborhood of Colonia,[11] in the

9 Two learned critics, Beausobre, (*Hist. Critique du Manicheisme*, l. i. iv. v. vi.,) and Mosheim, (*Institut. Hist. Eccles.* and *de Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum*, sec. i. ii. iii.,) have labored to explore and discriminate the various systems of the Gnostics on the subject of the two principles.

10 The countries between the Euphrates and the Halys were possessed above 350 years by the Medes, (*Herodot.* l. i. c. 103,) and Persians; and the kings of Pontus were of the royal race of the Achæmenides, (*Sallust. Fragment.* l iii. with the French supplement and notes of the president de Brosses.) *

11 Most probably founded by Pompey after the conquest of Pontus. This Colonia, on the Lycus, above Neo-Cæsarea, is named by the Turks Coulei-hisar, or Chonac, a populous town in a strong country, (D'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. ii. p. 34. Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, tom. iii. lettre xxi p. 293.)

* For the kings of Pontus, see Clinton. (*F. H.* iii. p. 421-428); Sallust is contradicted by Polybius, (v. 43); and after him by Diodorus Siculus, (xix. 40); Appian, (*Mithr.* c. 9); Florus, (iii. 5); and Jerome, (*De Vir. Illust.* p. 300), who all trace the descent of this dynasty from one of the seven Persian chiefs, who assassinated the false Smerdis, (521 B. C.), and placed Darius Hystaspes on the throne. The Achæmenides had their origin during the dark fifteen centuries that preceded the time of Cyrus, (*L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, p. 214); they were the royal family of Persia. (*Herodot.* vii. c. 11.) Had there been one of them among the seven conspirators, it is to be presumed that he would have been chosen king. Polybius adds, that the progenitor of the kings of Pontus received from Darius the government of the district bordering on the Euxine, where they afterwards founded an independent kingdom.—ENG. CH.

same district of Pontus which had been celebrated by the altars of Bellona[12] and the miracles of Gregory.[13] After a mission of twenty-seven years, Sylvanus, who had retired from the tolerating government of the Arabs, fell a sacrifice to Roman persecution. The laws of the pious emperors, which seldom touched the lives of less odious heretics, proscribed without mercy or disguise the tenets, the books, and the persons of the Montanists and Manichæans: the books were delivered to the flames; and all who should presume to secrete such writings, or to profess such opinions, were devoted to an ignominious death.[14] A Greek minister armed with legal and military powers, appeared at Colonia to strike the shepherd, and to reclaim, if possible, the lost sheep. By a refinement of cruelty, Simeon placed the unfortunate Sylvanus before a line of his disciples, who were commanded, as the price of their pardon and the proof of their repentence, to massacre their spiritual father. They turned aside from the impious office; the stones dropped from their filial hands, and of the whole number, only one executioner could be found, a new David, as he is styled by the Catholics, who boldly overthrew the giant of heresy. This apostate, Justus was his name, again deceived and betrayed his unsuspecting brethren, and a new conformity to the acts of St. Paul may be found in the conversion of Simeon: like the apostle, he embraced the doctrine which he had been sent to persecute, renounced his honors and fortunes, and acquired among the Paulicians the fame of a missionary and a martyr. They were not ambitious of martyrdom,[15] but in a calamitous period of one hundred and fifty years, their patience sustained whatever zeal could inflict; and

Persecution by the Greek emperors.

12 The temple of Bellona, at Comana in Pontus, was a powerful and wealthy foundation, and the high priest was respected as the second person in the kingdom. As the sacerdotal office had been occupied by his mother's family, Strabo, (l. xii. pp. 809, 835, 836, 837,) dwells with peculiar complacency on the temple, the worship, and festival which was twice celebrated every year. But the Bellona of Pontus had the features and character of the goddess, not of war, but of love.

13 Gregory, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, (A. D. 240–265,) surnamed Thaumaturgus, or the Wonder-worker. An hundred years afterwards, the history or romance of his life was composed by Gregory of Nyssa, his namesake and countryman, the brother of the great St. Basil.

14 Hoc cæterum ad sua egregia facinora divini atque orthodoxi Imperatores addiderunt, ut Manichæos Montanosque capitali puniri sententia juberent, eorumque libros, quocunque in loco inventi essent, flammis tradi: quod si quis uspian eosdem occultasse deprehenderetur, hunc eundem mortis pœnæ addici, ejusque bona in fiscum inferri. (*Petr. Sicul.* p. 759.) What more could bigotry and persecution desire?

15 It should seem that the Paulicians allowed themselves some latitude of equivocation and mental reservation, till the Catholics discovered the pressing questions, which reduced them to the alternative of apostasy or martyrdom. (*Petr. Sicul.* p. 760).

power was insufficient to eradicate the obstinate vegetation of fanaticism and reason. From the blood and ashes of the first victims, a succession of teachers and congregations repeatedly arose: amidst their foreign hostilities, they found leisure for domestic quarrels: they preached, they disputed, they suffered; and the virtues, the apparent virtues, of Sergius, in a pilgrimage of thirty-three years, are reluctantly confessed by the orthodox historians.[16] The native cruelty of Justinian the second was stimulated by a pious cause; and he vainly hoped to extinguish, in a single conflagration, the name and memory of the Paulicians. By their primitive simplicity, their abhorrence of popular superstition, the Iconoclast princes might have been reconciled to some erroneous doctrines; but they themselves were exposed to the calumnies of the monks, and they chose to be the tyrants, lest they should be accused as the accomplices, of the Manichæans. Such a reproach has sullied the clemency of Nicephorus, who relaxed in their favor the severity of the penal statues, nor will his character sustain the honor of a more liberal motive. The feeble Michael the first, the rigid Leo the Armenian, were foremost in the race of persecution; but the prize must doubtless be adjudged to the sanguinary devotion of Theodora, who restored the images to the Oriental church. Her inquisitors explored the cities and mountains of the lesser Asia, and the flatterers of the empress have affirmed that, in a short reign, one hundred thousand Paulicians were extirpated by the sword, the gibbet, or the flames. Her guilt or merit has perhaps been stretched beyond the measure of truth; but if the account be allowed, it must be presumed that many simple Iconoclasts were punished under a more odious name; and that some who were driven from the church, unwillingly took refuge in the bosom of heresy.

Revolt of the Paulicians, A. D. 845–880.

The most furious and desperate of rebels are the sectaries of a religion long persecuted, and at length provoked. In a holy cause they are no longer susceptible of fear or remorse: the justice of their arms hardens them against the feelings of humanity; and they revenge their father's wrongs on the children of their tyrants. Such have been the Hussites of Bohemia and the Calvinists of France, and such in the ninth century, were

16 The persecution is told by *Petrus Siculus*, (p. 579-763), with satisfaction and pleasantry. Justus *justa* persolvit. Simeon was not τιτος, but κητος (the pronunciation of the two vowels must have been nearly the same), a great whale that drowned the mariners who mistook him for an Island. See likewise Cedrenus, (p. 432-435).

the Paulicians of Armenia and the adjacent provinces.[17] They were first awakened to the massacre of a governor and bishop, who exercised the imperial mandate of converting or destroying the heretics: and the deepest recesses of mount Argæus protected their independence and revenge.* A more dangerous and consuming flame was kindled by the persecution of Theodora, and the revolt of Carbeas, a valiant Paulician, who commanded the guards of the general of the East. His father had been impaled by the Catholic inquisitors; and religion, or at least nature, might justify his desertion and revenge. Five thousand of his brethren were united by the same motives; they renounced the allegiance of anti-Christian Rome; a Saracen emir introduced Carbeas to the caliph; and the commander of the faithful extended his sceptre to the implacable enemy of the Greeks. In the mountains between Siwas and Trebizond he founded or fortified the city of Tephrice,[18] which is still occupied by a fierce and licentious people, and the neighboring hills were covered with the Paulician fugitives, who now reconciled the use of the Bible and the sword. During more than thirty years, Asia was afflicted by the calamities of foreign and domestic war: in their hostile inroads the disciples of St. Paul were joined with those of Mahomet; and the peaceful Christians, the aged parent and tender virgin, who were delivered into barbarous servitude, might justly accuse the intolerant spirit of their sovereign. So urgent was the mischief, so intolerable the shame, that even the dissolute Michael, the son of Theodora, was compelled to march in person against the Paulicians: he was defeated under the walls of Samosata; and the Roman emperor fled before the heretics whom his mother had condemned to the flames. The

They fortify Tephrice,

[17] Petrus Siculus, (p. 763, 764), the continuator of Theophanes, (l. iv. c. 4, p. 103, 104), Cedrenus (p. 541, 542, 545), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xvi. p. 156), describes the revolt and exploits of Carbeas and his Paulicians.

[18] Otter, (*Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tom. ii.), is probably the only Frank who has visited the independent barbarians of Tephrice, now Divrigni, from whom he fortunately escaped in the train of a Turkish officer.

* Mount Argæus, now called by the Turk Arstschisch, was between the ancient provinces of Cappadocia and Cilicia. According to Strabo, (Lib. xii. 538), it was so lofty, that it was crowned with perpetual snow, and from its summit the Euxine could be seen to the north, and the bay of Issus in the south. In its neighborhood, Tyana gave birth to the noted Apollonius, of whose adventures Wieland has made so amusing a romance. At its foot, Eunomius first saw the light in the village of Cadora, and ended his days there in exile. To the list of heretics produced in this district, may also be added Paul of Samosata. Some light will probably be thrown on its early history, when the rock-inscriptions, found by Mr. Layard at Wan, are fully interpreted. They record the victories of a king Arghistis, whose name indicates a connection with Mount Argæus. Nin. and Bab. 397.—Eng. Ch.

Saracens fought under the same banners, but the victory was ascribed to Carbeas; and the captive generals, with more than a hundred tribunes, were either released by his avarice, or tortured by his fanaticism. The valor and ambition of Chrysocheir,[19] his successor, embraced a wider circle of rapine and revenge. In alliance with his faithful Moslems, he boldly penetrated into the heart of Asia; the troops of the frontier and the palace were repeatedly overthrown; the edicts of persecution were answered by the pillage of Nice and Nicomedia, of Ancyra and Ephesus; nor could the apostle St. John protect from violation his city and sepulchre. The cathedral of Ephesus was turned into a stable for mules and horses; and the Paulicians vied with the Saracens in their contempt and abhorrence of images and relics. It is not unpleasing to observe the triumph of rebellion over the same despotism which has disdained the prayers of an injured people. The emperor Basil, the Macedonian, was reduced to sue for peace, to offer a ransom for the captives, and to request, in the language of moderation and charity, that Chrysocheir would spare his fellow-Christians, and content himself with a royal donative of gold and silver and silk garments. "If "the emperor," replied the insolent fanatic, "be desirous "of peace, let him abdicate the East, and reign without "molestation in the West. If he refuse, the servants of the "Lord will precipitate him from the throne." The reluctant Basil suspended the treaty, accepted the defiance, and led his army into the land of heresy, which he wasted with fire and sword. The open country of the Paulicians was exposed to the same calamities which they had inflicted; but when he had explored the strength of Tephrice, the multitude of the barbarians, and the ample magazines of arms and provisions, he desisted with a sigh from the hopeless seige. On his return to Constantinople he labored, by the foundation of convents and churches, to secure the aid of his celestial patrons, of Michael the archangel and the prophet Elijah; and it was his daily prayer that he might live to transpierce, with three arrows, the head of his impious adversary. Beyond his expectations, the wish was accomplished: after a successful inroad, Chrysocheir was surprised and slain in his retreat; and the rebel's head was

And pillage Asia Minor.

[19] In the history of Chrysocheir, Genesius, (*Chron.* pp. 69–70, edit. Venet.,) has exposed the nakedness of the empire. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, (in *Vit. Basil.* c. 37–43, pp. 166–171,) has displayed the glory of his grandfather. Cedrenus (pp. 570–573,) is without their passions or their knowledge.

triumphantly presented at the foot of the throne. On the reception of this welcome trophy, Basil instantly called for his bow, discharged three arrows with unerring aim, and accepted the applause of the court, who hailed the victory of the royal archer. With Chrysocheir, the glory of the Paulicians faded and withered;[20] on the second expedition of the emperor, the impregnable Tephrice was deserted by the heretics, who sued for mercy or escaped to the borders. The city was ruined, but the spirit of independence survived in the mountains; the Paulicians defended, above a century, their religion and liberty, infested the Roman limits, and maintained their perpetual alliance with the enemies of the empire and the gospel.

Their decline.

About the middle of the eighth century, Constantine, surnamed Copronymus by the worshipers of images, had made an expedition into Armenia, and found, in the cities of Melitene and Theodosiopolis, a great number of Paulicians, his kindred heretics. As a favor, or punishment, he transplanted them from the banks of the Euphrates to Constantinople and Thrace; and by this emigration their doctrine was introduced and diffused in Europe.[21] If the sectaries of the metropolis were soon mingled with the promiscuous mass, those of the country struck a deep root in a foreign soil. The Paulicians of Thrace resisted the storms of persecution, maintained a secret correspondence with their Armenian brethren, and gave aid and comfort to their preachers, who solicited, not without success, the infant faith of the Bulgarians.[22] In the tenth century, they were restored and multiplied by a more powerful colony, which John Zimisces[23] transported from the Chalybian hills to the valleys of mount Hæmus. The oriental clergy, who would have preferred the destruction, impatiently sighed for the absence of the Manichæans: the warlike emperor had felt and esteemed their valor: their attachment to the Saracens was pregnant with mischief;

Their transplantation from Armenia to Thrace.

[20] Συναπεμαράνθη πᾶσα ἡ ἀνδοῦσα τῆς Τεφρικῆς εὐανδρία. How elegant is the Greek tongue, even in the mouth of Cedrenus!

[21] Copronymus transported his συγγενεῖς, heretics; and thus ἐπλατύνθη ἡ αἵρεσις τῶν Παυλικιανῶν, says Cedrenus, (p. 463,) who has copied the annals of Theophanes.

[22] Petrus Siculus, who resided nine months at Tephrice, (A. D. 870,) for the ransom of captives, (p. 764,) was informed of their intended mission, and addressed his preservative, the *Historia Manichæorum*, to the new archbishop of the Bulgarians, (p. 754.)

[23] The colony of Paulicians and Jacobites transplanted by John Zimisces, (A. D. 970,) from Armenia to Thrace, is mentioned by Zonaras, (tom. ii. l. xvii. p. 209,) and *Anna Comnena*, (*Alexiad*, l. xiv. p. 450, &c.)

but, on the side of the Danube, against the barbarians of Scythia, their service might be useful, and their loss would be desirable. Their exile in a distant land was softened by a free toleration: the Paulicians held the city of Philippopolis and the keys of Thrace; the Catholics were their subjects; the Jacobite emigrants their associates: they occupied a line of villages and castles in Macedonia and Epirus; and many native Bulgarians were associated to the communion of arms and heresy. As long as they were awed by power and treated with moderation, their voluntary bands were distinguished in the armies of the empire; and the courage of these *dogs*, ever greedy of war, ever thirsty of human blood, is noticed with astonishment, and almost with reproach, by the pusillanimous Greeks. The same spirit rendered them arrogant and contumacious: they were easily provoked by caprice or injury; and their privileges were often violated by the faithless bigotry of the government and clergy. In the midst of the Norman war, two thousand five hundred Manichæans deserted the standard of Alexius Comnenus,[24] and retired to their native homes. He dissembled till the moment of revenge; invited the chiefs to a friendly conference; and punished the innocent and guilty by imprisonment, confiscation, and baptism. In an interval of peace, the emperor undertook the pious office of reconciling them to the church and state: his winter-quarters were fixed at Philippopolis; and the thirteenth apostle, as he is styled by his pious daughter, consumed whole days and nights in theological controversy. His arguments were fortified, their obstinacy was melted, by the honors and rewards which he bestowed on the most eminent proselytes; and a new city, surrounded with gardens, enriched with immunities, and dignified with his own name, was founded by Alexius, for the residence of his vulgar converts. The important station of Philippopolis was wrested from their hands; the contumacious leaders were secured in a dungeon, or banished from their country; and their lives were spared by the prudence, rather than the mercy, of an emperor, at whose command a poor and solitary heretic was burnt alive before the church of St. Sophia.[25] But the proud hope of eradicating the prejudices of a nation was speedily overturned by the invincible zeal

[24] The Alexiad of Anna Comnena, (l. v. p. 131; l. vi. pp. 154. 155; l. xiv. pp. 450–457, with the Annotations of Ducange.) records the transactions of her apostolic father with the Manichæans whose abominable heresy she was desirous of refuting.

[25] Basil, a monk, and the author of the Bogomiles, a sect of Gnostics, who soon vanished, (Anna Comnena, *Alex.* l. xv. pp. 487–494. Mosheim, *Hist. Eccl.* p. 420.)

of the Paulicians, who ceased to dissemble or refused to obey. After the departure and death of Alexius, they soon resumed their civil and religious laws. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, their pope or primate (a manifest corruption) resided on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and governed, by his vicars, the filial congregations of Italy and France.[26] From that æra, a minute scrutiny might prolong and perpetuate the chain of tradition. At the end of the last age, the sect or colony still inhabited the valleys of mount Hæmus, where their ignorance and poverty were more frequently tormented by the Greek clergy than by the Turkish government. The modern Paulicians have lost all memory of their origin; and their religion is disgraced by the worship of the cross, and the practice of bloody sacrifice, which some captives have imported from the wilds of Tartary.[27]

Their introduction into Italy and France.

In the West, the first teachers of the Manichæan theology had been repulsed by the people, or suppressed by the prince. The favor and success of the Paulicians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries must be imputed to the strong, though secret, discontent which armed the most pious Christians against the church of Rome.* Her avarice was oppressive, her despotism odious: less degenerate perhaps than the Greeks in the worship of saints and images, her innovations were more rapid and scandalous: she had rigorously defined and imposed the doctrine of transubstantiation: the lives of the Latin clergy were more corrupt, and the Eastern bishops might pass for the successors of the apostles, if they were compared with the lordly prelates, who wielded by turns the crosier, the sceptre, and the sword. Three different roads might introduce the Paulicians into the heart of Europe. After the conversion of Hungary, the pilgrims

26 Matt. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 267. This passage of our English historian is alleged by Ducange in an excellent note on Villehardouin, (No. 208,) who found the Paulicians at Philippopolis the friends of the Bulgarians.

27 See Marsigli, *Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomano*, p. 24.

* Gothic resistance to ecclesiastical tyranny grew in vigor as the new thrones became firmer and society more organized. Germany was the principal scene of the struggle. Indignantly enduring what it was yet to weak to shake off, captive mind welcomed the Paulicians as its fellow-sufferers and allies; it did not learn from them to know its wrongs or to desire enfranchisement. Mr. Hallam, (*Middle Ages*, iii. 463, note,) not more highly than justly, commends this chapter: and concurs with its "accurate and luminous" view of the influence, exercised by these persecuted and dispersed Eastern sectaries on the subsequent changes in the West. The Gothic mind must be studied in its infancy and growth; its native strength and internal resources must be attentively scanned, in order to understand how it prepared its own eventual extrication. That the Paulicians or Manichæans had but a small share in bringing on the Reformation, is evident from the absence of their doctrines in the creeds of Protestant Churches.—E. C.

who visited Jerusalem might safely follow the course of the Danube: in their journey and return they passed through Philippopolis; and the sectaries, disguising their name and heresy, might accompany the French or German caravans to their respective countries. The trade and dominion of Venice pervaded the coast of the Adriatic, and the hospitable republic opened her bosom to foreigners of every climate and religion. Under the Byzantine standard, the Paulicians were often transported to the Greek provinces of Italy and Sicily: in peace and war they freely conversed with strangers and natives, and their opinions were silently propagated in Rome, Milan, and the kingdoms beyond the Alps.[28] It was soon discovered, that many thousand Catholics of every rank, and of either sex, had embraced the Manichæan heresy; and the flames which consumed twelve canons of Orleans was the first act and signal of persecution. The Bulgarians,[29] a name so innocent in its origin, so odious in its application, spread their branches over the face of Europe. United in common hatred of idolatry and Rome, they were connected by a form of episcopal and presbyterian government; their various sects were discriminated by some fainter or darker shades of theology; but they generally agreed in the two principles, the contempt of the Old Testament, and the denial of the body of Christ, either on the cross or in the Eucharist. A confession of simple worship and blameless manners is extorted from their enemies; and so high was their standard of perfection, that the increasing congregations were divided into two classes of disciples, of those who practiced, and of those who aspired. It was in the country of the Albigeois,[30] in the southern provinces of France, that the Paulicians were

[28] The introduction of the Paulicians into Italy and France is amply discussed by Muratori, (*Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi*, tom. v. dissert. lx. pp. 81–152,) and Mosheim, (pp. 379–382, 419–422.) Yet both have overlooked a curious passage of William the Apulian, who clearly describes them in a battle between the Greeks and Normans, A. D., 1040, (in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Ital.* tom. v. p. 256,;

Cum Græcis aderant quidam, quos pessimus error
Fecerat amentes, et ab ipso nomen habebant.

But he is so ignorant of their doctrine as to make them a kind of Sabellians or Patripassians.

[29] *Bulgari, Boulgres, Bougres*, a national appellation, has been applied by the French as a term of reproach to usurers and unnatural sinners. The *Paterini*, or *Patelini*, has been made to signify a smooth and flattering hypocrite, such as *l'Avocat Patelin* of that original and pleasant farce, (Ducange, *Gloss. Latinitat. Medii et Infimi Ævi*). The Manichæans were likewise named *Cathari*, or the pure, by corruption, *Gazari*, &c.

[30] Of the laws crusade, and persecution against the Albigeois, a just, though general, idea is expressed by Mosheim, (pp. 477–481). The detail may be found in the ecclesiastical historians, ancient and modern, Catholics and Protestants, and amongst these Fleury is the most impartial and moderate.

Persecution of the Albigeois, A. D. 1200, &c.

most deeply implanted; and the same vicissitudes of martyrdom and revenge which had been displayed in the neighborhood of the Euphrates, were repeated in the thirteenth century on the banks of the Rhone. The laws of the Eastern emperors were revived by Frederic the second. The insurgents of Tephrice were represented by the barons and cities of Languedoc. Pope Innocent III. surpassed the sanguinary fame of Theodora. It was in cruelty alone that her soldiers could equal the heroes of the Crusades, and the cruelty of her priests was far excelled by the founders of the Inquisition;[31] an office more adapted to confirm, than to refute, the belief of an evil principle. The visible assemblies of the Paulicians, or Albigeois, were extirpated with fire and sword; and the bleeding remnant escaped by flight, concealment, or Catholic conformity. But the invincible spirit which they had kindled still lived and breathed in the Western world. In the state, in the church, and even in the cloister, a latent succession was preserved of the disciples of St. Paul; who protested against the tyranny of Rome embraced the Bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the visions of the Gnostic theology. The struggles of Wickliffe in England, of Huss in Bohemia, were premature and ineffectual; but the names of Zuinglius, Luther, and Calvin, are pronounced with gratitude as the deliverers of nations.

Character and consequences of the Reformation.

A philosopher, who calculates the degree of their merit and the value of their reformation, will prudently ask from what articles of faith, *above* or *against* our reason, they have enfranchised the Christians; for such enfranchisement is doubtless a benefit, so far as it may be compatible with truth and piety. After a fair discussion, we shall rather be surprised by the timidity,[32] than scandalized by the freedom, of our

[31] The Acts, (*Liber* Sententiarum), of the Inquisition of Thoulouse, (A. D. 1307-1323), have been published by Limborch, (Amsteiodami, 1692), with a previous History of the Inquisition in general. They deserved a more learned and critical editor. As we must not calumniate even Satan, or the Holy Office, I will observe, that of a list of criminals which fills nineteen folio pages, only fifteen men and four women were delivered to the secular arm.

[32] The opinions and proceedings of the reformers are exposed in part ii. of the general history of Mosheim: but the balance, which he has held with so clear an eye, and so steady a hand, begins to incline in favor of his Lutheran brethren.*

* No salutary change has ever been sudden. Permanent reform has always had such unsuccessful precursors as Wickliffe and Huss. The merit of their triumphant followers was in the favorable conjuncture which called them into action. To estimate rightly the value of the Reformation, we must watch in all its stages, the long previous struggle by which it was prepared, and unveil the antagonist ascendancy in its earliest form. There is not a brighter hour in the history of man. It was the birth of public opinion, that offspring of Gothic mind, that dread of tyrants, that power which is now so rapidly advancing to govern the world.—E. C.

first reformers. With the Jews, they adopted the belief and defence of all the Hebrew Scriptures, with all their prodigies, from the garden of Eden to the visions of the prophet Daniel; and they were bound, like the Catholics, to justify against the Jews the abolition of a divine law. In the great mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, the reformers were severely orthodox: they freely adopted the theology of the four, or the six, first councils; and with the Athanasian creed, they pronounced the eternal damnation of all who did not believe the Catholic faith. Transubstantiation, the invisible change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is a tenet that may defy the power of argument and pleasantry; but instead of consulting the evidence of their senses, of their sight, their feeling, and their taste, the first Protestants were entangled in their own scruples, and awed by the words of Jesus in the institution of the sacrament. Luther maintained a *corporeal*, and Calvin a *real*, presence of Christ in the eucharist; and the opinion of Zuinglius, that it is no more than a spiritual communion, a simple memorial has slowly prevailed in the reformed churches.[33] But the loss of one mystery was amply compensated by the stupendous doctrine of original sin, redemption, faith, grace, and predestination, which have been strained from the epistles of St. Paul. These subtle questions had most assuredly been prepared by the fathers and schoolmen: but the final improvement and popular use may be attributed to the first reformers, who enforced them as the absolute and essential terms of salvation. Hitherto the weight of supernatural belief inclines against the Protestants; and many a sober Christian would rather admit that a wafer is God, than that God is a cruel and capricious tyrant.

Yet the services of Luther and his rivals are solid and important; and the philosopher must own his obligations to these fearless enthusiasts.[34] I. By their hands, the lofty fabric of superstition, from the abuse of indulgences to the intercession of the Virgin, has been levelled with the ground. Myriads of both sexes of the monastic profession were restored to the liberty and labors of social life. A

[33] Under Edward VI. our reformation was more bold and perfect; but in the fundamental articles of the church of England, a strong and explicit declaration against the real presence was obliterated in the original copy, to please the people, or the Lutherans, or Queen Elizabeth, (*Burnet's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 82, 128, 302).

[34] "Had it not been for such men as Luther and myself," said the fanatic Whiston to Halley the philosopher "you would now be kneeling before an image "of St. Winifred."

hierarchy of saints and angels, of imperfect and subordinate deities, were stripped of their temporal power, and reduced to the enjoyment of celestial happiness; their images and relics were banished from the church; and the credulity of the people was no longer nourished with the daily repetition of miracles and visions. The imitation of Paganism was supplied by a pure and spiritual worship of prayer and thanksgiving, the most worthy of man, the least unworthy of the Deity. It only remains to observe, whether such sublime simplicity be consistent with popular devotion; whether the vulgar, in the absence of all visible objects, will not be inflamed by enthusiasm, or insensibly subside in languor and indifference. II. The chain of authority was broken, which restrains the bigot from thinking as he pleases, and the slave from speaking as he thinks: the popes, fathers, and councils, were no longer the supreme and infallible judges of the world; and each Christian was taught to acknowledge no law but the Scriptures, no interpreter but his own conscience. This freedom, however, was the consequence, rather than the design, of the Reformation. The patriot reformers were ambitious of succeeding the tyrants whom they had dethroned. They imposed with equal rigor their creeds and confessions; they asserted the right of the magistrate to punish heretics with death. The pious or personal animosity of Calvin proscribed in Servetus[35] the guilt of his own rebellion;[36] and the flames of Smithfield,

[35] The article of *Servet* in the *Dictionnaire Critique* of Chauffepie is the best account which I have seen of this shameful transaction. See likewise the Abbé d'Artigny, *Nouveaux Mémoires d'Histoire*, &c., tom. ii. pp. 55–154.

[36] I am more deeply scandalized at the single execution of Servetus, than at the hecatombs which have blazed in the auto-da-fés of Spain and Portugal. 1. The zeal of Calvin seems to have been envenomed by personal malice, and perhaps envy. He accused his adversary before their common enemies, the judges of Vienna, and betrayed, for his destruction, the sacred trust of a private correspondence. 2. The deed of cruelty was not varnished by the pretence of danger to the church or state. In his passage through Geneva, Servetus was a harmless stranger, who neither preached, nor printed, nor made proselytes. 3. A Catholic inquisitor yields the same obedience which he requires, but Calvin violated the golden rule of doing as he would be done by; a rule which I read in a moral treatise of Isocrates, (in *Nicocles*, tom. i. p. 93, edit. Battie), four hundred years before the publication of the gospel.* Ἃ πάσχοντες ὑφ' ἑτέρων ὀργίζεσθε, ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴ ποιεῖτε.†

* Gibbon has not accurately rendered the sense of this passage, which does not contain the maxim of charity, *Do unto others as you would they should do unto you*, but simply the maxim of Justice, Do not to others that which would offend you if they should do it to you.—Guizot.

† M. Guizot complains that Gibbon's version of this passage is not accurate. The words of Isocrates may not have been rendered with literal exactness; but their spirit has undoubtedly been preserved. The leaders of the Reformation did not understand the impulse by which they were carried forward; they did not perceive that it could not be stopped at their point, that mind was set free from its confinement of twelve hundred years, and would not be again coerced. Calvin erected for himself a church, over which his sway was as absolute as that of another pope. To fortify this, he issued his intolerant decree: "Jure gladii hæreticos coercendos "esse," and darkened his fame by a deed, above all others, hideous for its malig-

in which he was afterwards consumed, had been kindled for the Anabaptists by the zeal of Cranmer.[37] The nature of the tiger was the same, but he was gradually deprived of his teeth and fangs. A spiritual and temporal kingdom was possessed by the Roman pontiff: the Protestant doctors were subjects of an humble rank, without revenue or jurisdiction. *His* decrees were consecrated by the antiquity of the Catholic church: *their* arguments and disputes were submitted to the people; and their appeal to private judgment was accepted beyond their wishes, by curiosity and enthusiasm. Since the days of Luther and Calvin, a secret reformation has been silently working in the bosom of the reformed churches; many weeds of prejudice were eradicated; and the disciples of Erasmus[38] diffused a spirit of freedom and moderation. The liberty of conscience has been claimed as a common benefit, an inalienable right;[39] the free governments of Holland[40] and England introduced the practice of toleration; and the narrow allowance of the laws has been enlarged by the prudence and humanity of the times. In the exercise, the mind has understood the limits of its powers, and the words and shadows that might

[37] See Burnet, vol. ii. pp. 84–86. The sense and humanity of the young king were oppressed by the authority of the primate.

[38] Erasmus may be considered as the father of rational theology. After a slumber of a hundred years, it was revived by the Arminians of Holland, Grotius, Limborch, and Le Clerc; in England by Chillingworth, the Latitudinarians of Cambridge, (Burnet, *Hist. of Own Times*, vol. i. pp. 261–268, octavo edition), Tillotson, Clarke, Hoadley, &c.

[39] I am sorry to observe, that the three writers of the last age, by whom the rights of toleration have been so nobly defended, Bayle, Leibnitz, and Locke, are all laymen and philosophers.

[40] See the excellent chapter of Sir William Temple on the religion of the United Provinces. I am not satisfied with Grotius, (de Rebus Belgicis, *Annal.* l. i. p. 13, 14, edit. in 12mo.), who approves the imperial laws of persecution, and only condemns the bloody tribunal of the Inquisition. *

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nity and hateful for its perfidy. The work for which Servetus suffered, *Christianismi Restitutio*, was doomed to share its author's fate. Every copy that could be found, was used by the bigots of Vienna for fuel when they burned his effigy. In the horrid tragedy at Geneva, "femori auctoris alligatus, cum ipso combustus "est." (See Pettigrew's *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, Lat. MSS. No. 101.) A copy that had escaped destruction came into Dr. Mead's possession, who was preparing to publish it in 1723, when the impression was seized by Dr. Gibson, then bishop of London, and committed to the flames. Four copies were saved, which with two of the original edition are now the bibliographical treasures of royal and scientific libraries. But they have afforded to the press the means of multiplying the book, so that it is now generally obtainable.—ENG. CH.

* The "Reformed Church" of Holland imbibed too much the spirit, and followed the example, of its Genevan founder. As soon as it was itself secure, it began, under the second Staathouder, Moritz, to persecute the Arminian Remonstrants; and the synod of Dordrecht emulated the council of Constance. Grotius himself was one of its victims. His escape from the castle of Leeuwensteen is a popular tale, read by many who do not know that he was confined there for his religious opinions. The progress of toleration has restrained, and now forbids, such proceedings. But even as late as 1787, when the Prussian arms reinstated the expelled prince of Orange, licentious multitudes were let loose to assault and plunder the "godless heretics;" and even in these days, the orthodox teachers do not discourage, as they ought, the prejudices of ignorant fanaticism.—E. C.

amuse the child can no longer satisfy his manly reason.[41] The volumes of controversy are overspread with cobwebs: the doctrine of a Protestant church is far removed from the knowledge or belief of its private members; and the forms of orthodoxy, the articles of faith, are subscribed with a sigh or a smile by the modern clergy. Yet the friends of Christianity are alarmed at the boundless impulse of inquiry and skepticism. The predictions of the Catholics are accomplished;† the web of mystery is unravelled by the Arminians, Arians, and Socinians, whose numbers must not be computed from their separate congregations; and the pillars of revelation are shaken by those men who preserve the name without the substance of religion, who indulge the license, without the temper, of philosophy.[42]

41 Sir Willian Blackstone, (*Commentaries*, vol. iv. pp. 53, 54.) explains the law of England as it was fixed at the Revolution. The exceptions of Papists, and of those who deny the Trinity, would still leave a tolerable scope for persecution, if the national spirit were not more effectual than a hundred statutes.*

42 I shall recommend to public animadversion two passages in Dr. Priestley, which betray the ultimate tendency of his opinions. At the first of these, (*Hist. of the Corruptions of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 275, 276), the priest, at the second, (vol. ii. p. 484), the magistrate, may tremble!

* That spirit has since expunged these statutes from our code. Its characteristics and progress illuminate every page of English history, but more particularly those of the three centuries, since it broke from hierarchial bondage. Its distinguishing qualities cannot be found so conspicuously displayed in the annals of any other country. (See Haliam, 2, 374.)—ENG. CH.

† The Catholics clearly foresaw a decline of faith, if Reason should be permitted to contend with Authority. The Protestants, sincere and earnest in their work, scarcely realized the bright future for mental liberty their doctrines foreshadowed. When Luther, Calvin, and the early reformers, assumed the attitude of *Protestants*, and successfully *protested* against the hitherto invincible power of the Church of Rome, they were the real friends of religious freedom and human progress. If they were justified in protesting against papal authority and adopting reason as their guide in matters of faith, how could they logically refuse the same rights to other and *more radical* Protestants? If the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, and the Lutheran might investigate, reason, and think, how could they consistently deny the same privilege to the Quaker, the Unitarian, or the Deist? The Dark Ages of Medieval faith, which destroyed Pagan civilization and oppressed the nations of Europe, was the logical and legitimate result of the religion of Rome; and the returning light of reason and philosophy dates from the decadence of that faith, and the advent of the intrepid and heterodox *Protestant* reformers.—E.

VENUS MARINA—The deified personification of beauty and love.
"—— The Goddess loves . . . , and fills
"The air around with beauty."—*Byron.*

VENUS AND ADONIS.

IN the contest of the primeval gods, SATURN maimed URANUS, whose blood rendered the sea generative, and out of the foam of the waves arose that resplendent goddess of beauty and of love, called VENUS by the Romans and APHRODITE by the Greeks. In obedience to the will of JUPITER she was joined in wedlock with the deformed god VULCAN, and was beloved by many of the Olympian deities. In return she loved MARS, BACCHUS, MERCURY, NEPTUNE, and other gods, and also the mortals ANCHISES, and ADONIS. The early death of the latter, from a wound received while hunting a wild boar, VENUS bitterly lamented and pathetically exclaimed:

" ——— He must not die,
" Till mutual overthrow of mortal kind!
" For he being dead, with him is beauty slain,
" And beauty dead, black chaos comes again!"—*Shakspeare.*

To mitigate the frantic grief and despair of the ocean-born goddess, the kind hearted PROSERPINA, the daughter of CERES and wife of PLUTO, restored ADONIS to life, on condition that he should spend six months alternately with VENUS and herself. "This implies," says Lempriere, "the alternate return of summer and "winter. ADONIS is often taken for OSIRIS, because the festivals of both were "often begun with mournful lamentations, and finished with a revival of joy, as "they were returning to life again."

"In honor of ADONIS," says Moritz, "festivals were celebrated, during which "the women bemoaned his death, and, exposing vessels filled only with such "flowers as soon wither away, and which were called *little gardens of Adonis*, "mourned life's short enduring blossoms. It would seem that the lamentation "on the death of ADONIS, which has been general in the East, relates to a still "more ancient fiction, which is only renewed in the Greek fable."

The learned German author, Prof. John Joachim Eschenburg, explains the myth, in his *Manual of Classical Literature*, as follows: "*Adonis* or *Adonia* was an oriental "title of the sun, signifying Lord; the boar was the emblem of winter, during which "the productive powers of nature being suspended, VENUS was said to lament "the loss of ADONIS until he was restored again to life; whence both the Syrian "and Argive women annually mourned his death, and celebrated his renovation. "ADONIS is supposed to be the same deity with the Syrian TAMMUZ."

" ——— TAMMUZ came next behind,
" Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
" The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
" In amorous ditties, all a summer's day;
" While smooth ADONIS from his native rock
" Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
" Of TAMMUZ yearly wounded: the love-tale
" Infected Sion's daughters with like heat;
" Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch
" Ezekiel saw." *Paradise Lost*, Book I.

"Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house which was toward "the north; and, behold, there sat women weeping for TAMMUZ."—*Ezekiel* viii. 14.

"The worship of ADONIS," says William Smith, LL.D., in his *Classical Dictionary*, "was of Phœnician origin, and appears to have had reference to the death "of nature in winter and to its revival in spring: hence ADONIS spends six months "in the lower and six months in the upper world. His death and his return to life "were celebrated in annual festivals (*Adonia*) at Byblos, Alexandria, Athens, &c."

The sacred festival called *Adonia* was annually observed by the Greeks, Phœnicians, Lycians, Syrians, and Egyptians, and probably by the Jews and early Christians. It was still celebrated at Alexandria, the cradle of the Christian faith, in the time of Saint Cyril, and probably at Antioch, "where the disciples were "first called Christians." It greatly resembled the religious celebration of the death and resurrection of JESUS, called Easter, the Passover, or the Lord's Supper, by the Christians; but Christian historians have neglected to point out the exact time when the Pagan festival called *Adonia* was abolished, and the Christian festival called *Easter* was established in its stead. Taylor, in his *Diegesis*, says that:

"The *Adonia* were solemn feasts in honor of VENUS, and in memory of her be-"loved son ADONIS. VENUS, as sprung from the sea, *Mare*, could not be more "honorably distinguished than by her epithet MARIA; *Adonia* is literally *Our* "*Lord:* so that these solemn feasts, without any change or substitution of names, "were unquestionably celebrated to the honor of MARY and her son, OUR LORD."

Thus can we clearly trace a marked resemblance between ancient Pagan idolatry and modern orthodox Christianity. The one faith seems to be a direct and lineal descendant from the other. Names have indeed been changed, and ceremonies somewhat altered. But still the worship is essentially the same. Graven images are still adored. Christian statues have merely been substituted for Pagan idols; and the saints and martyrs of Catholicism now usurp the consecrated shrines of the gods of the old mythology.—E.

La Trinità, Antiquità di Salerno.*

XVI.†

COUNCIL OF THE GREEKS AND LATINS AT FERRARA AND FLORENCE.

FOUR principal questions had been agitated between the Greek and Latin Churches: I. The use of unleavened bread in the communion of Christ's body. II. The nature of purgatory. III. The supremacy of the

* The above representation of the Trinity is from No. 47 of *Die Gartenlaube*, for 1882, published at Leipsic, Germany. It was copied from an oil painting, which had been taken from a convent in lower Italy during the revolution, and was exhibited at a hotel in Salerno. It is undoubtedly the work of a pious monk, and probably dates from the thirteenth century. The broad majestic head is painted on a dark background, and is surrounded with the golden halo, or aureola, which artists always employ to represent saints and divine personages. The hair, which is remarkably abundant, is slightly inclined to curl, and, like the beard, is of a dark brown color, contrasting strangely with the ghostly white of the face, and producing a weird and startling effect on the mind of the beholder. The features are unique. The full, voluptuous lips of the three mouths, suggest an Asiatic origin. The Grecian noses are elongated, but narrow, and present no Hebrew characteristics. The nostrils are broad and expanded, like representatives of the Mongolian or Ethiopian races. The forehead is large and massive, suggestive of strength and wisdom. The eyebrows are highly arched, and give prominence to the peculiarly round and full eyes, which are half closed as if in grave meditation. The aspect of the entire countenance is suggestive of deep melancholy, suffering, and grief. "The unity of the trinity," is shown by the three persons in one godhead,—their equality, by the remarkable resemblance between the three portraits. The magical effect of the four eyes, which apparently gives each portrait, *when viewed separately*, two complete visual organs, illustrates to the devout Trinitarian the mystical, if deceptive, nature of his faith; and may suggest to the confident Unitarian and doubting Agnostic, that—

"There are more things in heaven and earth,
"Than are dreamt of in their philosophy."—E.

† From Ch. LXVI. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

pope. And, IV. The single or double procession of the Holy Ghost. The cause of either nation was managed by ten theological champions; the Latins were supported by the inexhaustible eloquence of cardinal Julian; and Mark of Ephesus and Bessarion of Nice were the bold and able leaders of the Greek forces. We may bestow some praise on the progress of human reason, by observing, that the first of these questions was *now* treated as an immaterial rite, which might innocently vary with the fashion of the age and country. With regard to the second, both parties were agreed in the belief of an intermediate state of purgation for the venial sins of the faithful; and whether their souls were purified by elemental fire, was a doubtful point, which in a few years might be conveniently settled on the spot by the disputants. The claims of supremacy appeared of a more weighty and substantial kind; yet by the Orientals the Roman bishop had ever been respected as the first of the five patriarchs; nor did they scruple to admit, that his jurisdiction should be exercised agreeably to the holy canons; a vague allowance, which might be defined or eluded by occasional convenience. The procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone, or from the Father and the Son, was an article of faith which had sunk much deeper into the minds of men; and in the sessions of Ferrara and Florence, the Latin addition of *filioque* was subdivided into two questions, whether it were legal, and whether it were orthodox. Perhaps it may not be necessary to boast on this subject of my own impartial indifference; but I must think that the Greeks were strongly supported by the prohibition of the council of Chalcedon, against adding any article whatsoever to the creed of Nice, or rather of Constantinople. In earthly affairs, it is not easy to conceive how an assembly of legislators can bind their successors, invested with powers equal to their own. But the dictates of inspiration must be true and unchangeable; nor should a private bishop, or a provincial synod, have presumed to innovate against the judgment of the Catholic church. On the substance of the doctrine, the controversy was equal and endless; reason is confounded by the procession of a Deity; the gospel, which lay on the altar, was silent; the various texts of the fathers might be corrupted by fraud, or entangled by sophistry; and the Greeks were ignorant of the characters and writings of the Latin saints. Of this at least we may be sure, that

neither side could be convinced by the arguments of their opponents. Prejudice may be enlightened by reason, and a superficial glance may be rectified by a clear and more perfect view of an object adapted to our faculties; but the bishops and monks had been taught from their infancy to repeat a form of mysterious words; their national and personal honor depended on the repetition of the same sounds; and their narrow minds were hardened and inflamed by the acrimony of a public dispute.

In the treaty between the two nations, several forms of consent were proposed, such as might satisfy the Latins, without dishonoring the Greeks; and they weighed the scruples of words and syllables, till the theological balance trembled with a slight preponderance in favor of the Vatican. It was agreed (I must entreat the attention of the reader), that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, as from one principle and one substance; that he proceeds *by* the Son, being of the same nature and substance, and that he proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, by one *spiration* and production. * * * * * * *

*The divine light of Mount Thabor, a memorable question, consummates the religious follies of the Greeks. The fakirs of India, and the monks of the Oriental church, were alike persuaded, that in total abstraction of the faculties of the mind and body, the purer spirit may ascend to the enjoyment and vision of the Deity. The opinion and practice of the monasteries of Mount Athos will be best represented in the words of an abbot, who flourished in the eleventh century. "When thou art alone in thy cell," says the ascetic teacher, "shut thy door, and seat thyself in a corner; raise "thy mind above all things vain and transitory; recline thy "beard and chin on thy breast; turn thy eyes and thy "thought towards the middle of thy belly, the region of the "navel; and search the place of the heart, the seat of the "soul. At first, all will be dark and comfortless; but if you "persevere day and night, you will feel an ineffable joy; "and no sooner has the soul discovered the place of the "heart, than it is involved in a mystic and ethereal light." This light, the production of a distempered fancy, the creature of an empty stomach and an empty brain, was adored by the Quietists as the pure and perfect essence of God himself; and as long as the folly was confined to Mount Athos, the

* From Chap. LXIII. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

simple solitaries were not inquisitive how the divine essence could be a *material* substance, or how an *immaterial* substance could be perceived by the eyes of the body. But in the reign of the younger Andronicus, these monasteries were visited by Barlaam, a Calabrian monk, who was equally skilled in philosophy and theology; who possessed the languages of the Greeks and Latins; and whose versatile genius could maintain their opposite creeds, according to the interest of the moment. The indiscretion of an ascetic revealed to the curious traveller the secrets of mental prayer; and Barlaam embraced the opportunity of ridiculing the Quietists, who placed the soul in the navel; of accusing the monks of Mount Athos of heresy and blasphemy. His attack compelled the more learned to renounce or dissemble the simple devotion of their brethren: and Gregory Palamas introduced a scholastic distinction between the essence and operation of God. His inaccessible essence dwells in the midst of an uncreated and eternal light; and this beatific vision of the saints had been manifested to the disciples on Mount Thabor, in the transfiguration of Christ. Yet this distinction could not escape the reproach of Polytheism; the eternity of the light of Thabor was fiercely denied; and Barlaam still charged the Palamites with holding two eternal substances, a visible and an invisible God. From the rage of the monks of Mount Athos, who threatened his life, the Calabrian retired to Constantinople, where his smooth and specious manners introduced him to the favor of the great domestic and the emperor. The court and the city were involved in this theological dispute, which flamed amidst the civil war; but the doctrine of Barlaam was disgraced by his flight and apostasy; the Palamites triumphed; and their adversary, the patriarch John of Apri, was deposed by the consent of the adverse factions of the state. In the character of emperor and theologian, Cantacuzene presided in the synod of the Greek church, which established, as an article of faith, the uncreated light of Mount Thabor; and, after so many insults, the reason of mankind was slightly wounded by the addition of a single absurdity. Many rolls of paper or parchment have been blotted; and the impenitent sectaries who refused to subscribe the orthodox creed, were deprived of the honors of Christian burial; but in the next age the question was forgotten; nor can I learn that the axe or the fagot were employed for the extirpation of the Barlaamite heresy.

NEPTUNE.

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NEPTUNE.

AFTER the pristine gods, Pontus, Oceanus, and Nereus, had disappeared in the dim obscurity of the past, we see the mighty Neptune, the noble son of Saturn and Rhea, rising in kingly majesty from the bosom of the waves, and assuming undisputed dominion over oceans, rivers, and seas. On the preceding page is an engraving of this Pagan deity from one of Sir J. N. Paton's illustrations of Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*. Like all true gods, this divinity is formed in the image of man, and is shown reclining on the seashore, holding in his hand the well-known trident — the symbol of his power over the treacherous waves — which always bear the traces of his sceptre in the furrows visible on their unstable surface as they forever assault and beat against all objects that rise above their level, like selfish mortals who strive to drag down to their own dull mediocrity those who aspire to a higher and nobler condition.

It has been said, that while the divinities of Olympus still exist in the realms of literature and art, they have been banished forever from the domain of theology; but in truth, though the names of our deities have undergone a change, their attributes remain the same, and the entire fabric of modern theology is undoubtedly of ancient mythological origin. The opposing principles of good and evil, now worshiped and feared by all religionists, were also worshiped and feared by the ancient fire-worshipers, who adored Jehovah under the name of Ormuzd — the author of every blessing — and who feared Satan — the essential principle of evil — then named Ahriman. Does not the Christian mystery of the trinity appear in the trimurti of Boodhism, and in the "divine" teachings of Plato? Is not the worship of Pagan images paralleled by the adoration of Christian saints? Are not the doctrines of the incarnation and resurrection—of heaven, and hell, and purgatory, and the judgment, essentially Pagan, and are they not now universally affirmed throughout Christendom by the hired advocates of Christianity?

When Confucius taught his countrymen the noble doctrine, "Do unto others "as ye would that others should do unto you," the sentiment was as true and pure as when in later years it was proclaimed by Jesus of Nazareth to his disciples: but when Jesus admitted that some "made themselves eunuchs for the king- "dom of heaven's sake," the rite, although Christian, remained as ridiculous as when it originated in Phrygia and was practiced by the mad priests of Cybele. When Mazdak, the Persian, Pythagoras, the Greek, and Jesus, the Jew, taught their disciples to hold their property in common, they taught the same doctrine of Communism that the rich now oppose and the poor approve. It is neither Christian, nor Persian, nor Pagan, but expresses the common hope of suffering humanity. And all the doctrines that have survived from the classic age of Pagan civilization — the doubts and dreams of poets and seers, the thoughts and systems of sages and philosophers — will ultimately be preserved if found to be true, and will be discarded if found to be false. But the accumulated knowledge we now possess has not been derived from one sect, one country, one religion or one race, but rather from all countries, all races, and all religions; and is the product of the wisdom and experience garnered during all the ages.

"How many ideas of the ancient Stoics," says Castelar, "and how many ideas "of the primitive Christians form the foundation of our faith, of our code of morals? "What soul has conceived the law to whose empire I find myself submitting? "What apostle or what martyr has raised the altar of my belief? Useless ques- "tions. Ask not of the cloud where it has been formed, nor of the lightning "where it has been kindled; the universe is the laboratory of life, and the univer- "sal conscience is the laboratory of ideas. Thus some engender them, others "express them, these preach them, those die for them; and even those who "oppose and combat them aid in their development, till they become the common "property of mankind."—E.

A

VINDICATION

OF

SOME PASSAGES

IN THE

Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE,

BY

EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

NEW YORK
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PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

"The chain of authority was broken, which restrains the bigot from thinking as he pleases, and the slave from speaking as he thinks: the popes, fathers, and councils, were no longer the supreme and infallible judges of the world; and each Christian was taught to acknowledge no law but the Scriptures; no interpreter but his own conscience." — GIBBON.

GIBBON was opposed to theological discussion. After stating his views in relation to the facts of history, and citing his authorities, he was content to leave the subject to the judgment of his readers. But the rude charges made by his opponents, of "willful misrepresentations, gross errors and servile "plagiarisms,"* forced him in self-defence to publish his *Vindication*. "The whole sacerdotal order," says M. Guizot, in his *Memoirs of Gibbon's Life*, "was leagued against him. His most active "opponents were rewarded by dignities and favors."† * * * "Theologians, especially, complained of those sections [of his "work] which related to ecclesiastical history. They assailed his "Fifteenth and Sixteenth chapters, sometimes justly, sometimes "acrimoniously, almost always with weapons weaker than those "of their adversary. If I may judge of them by what I have read "of their labors, they were far surpassed by him in information, "acquirements, and talents."‡ * * * "His eye was never darkened "by the mists which time gathers round the dead. He saw that "man is ever the same, whether arrayed in the toga, or in the dress "of to-day, whether deliberating in the senate of old, or at the "modern council-board, and that the course of events, eighteen "centuries ago, was the same as at present."

*For this polite language the world is indebted to Mr. Davis.
†Mr. Davis received a royal pension. Dr. Apthorpe an archiepiscopal living. Dr. Watson, the most gentlemanly of Gibbon's opponents, was made a bishop.
‡Preface to second edition of Guizot's translation of Gibbon's *Rome*.

"I shall always seek the truth," said Gibbon, before he began to write history, "although as yet I have scarcely found anything "but its semblance." In the preface of the fourth volume of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, he further remarks: "I "shall content myself with renewing my serious protestation, "that I have always endeavored to draw from the fountain-head; "that my curiosity, as well as a sense of duty, has always urged "me to study the originals, and that, if they have sometimes "eluded my search, I have carefully marked the secondary "evidence, on whose faith a passage or a fact were reduced to "depend."

Although Gibbon carefully followed this prudent and reasonable course, yet his *History* was vigorously assailed, on its first appearance, by prominent Christian writers. "All the religious party, "so numerous and respected in England," continues M. Guizot, "united to condemn the last two chapters of the volume,—the "Fifteenth and Sixteenth of the work,—which contain the history "of the establishment of Christianity. Many and loud were their "protests. To Gibbon, these were startling." His own judgment was impartial. He had conscientiously endeavored to state the truth in regard to the origin of Christianity; and he was greatly astonished that truth should prove so unsatisfactory to Christian ears. "Had I believed," he says in his *Memoirs*, "that the "majority of English readers were so fondly attached even to the "name and shadow of Christianity, had I foreseen that the pious, "the timid, and the prudent, would feel, or affect to feel, with "such exquisite sensibility, I might, perhaps, have softened the "two invidious chapters, which would create many enemies and "conciliate few friends." But, as these chapters had been written and published to the world, they could not be recalled, nor could their influence be destroyed. Their author, however, could be assailed, and his motives might be misrepresented. Appeals could be made to sectarian faith and religious prejudice, and bigotry might, perchance, be stimulated and aroused.

Although many books have been written in opposition to Gibbon, and although the crop of "*Answers*, *Apologies*, *Remarks*, "*Examinations*," *&c.*, proved fruitful and prolific, yet no new fact in regard to the origin of Christianity has been given to the world by this army of truculent theologians. No new witnesses have by them been summoned; no new evidence has been discovered; no important testimony has been produced. Gibbon had entirely covered the ground, and thoroughly exhausted the subject; and if

the history of Christianity be incomplete, and the proof of its divine origin be insufficient, it is surely not the fault of the accomplished and learned historian of the Roman Empire.

Christian writers have almost unanimously awarded the highest praise to Gibbon's *History*, with the exception of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters, in which an historical account is given of the origin and progress of Christianity. As presented by Gibbon, the chain of evidence seemed so defective and weak, that Christians, who believed their faith was grounded on the strongest historical proof, were naturally indignant. With more zeal than discretion, they accused Gibbon of misrepresentation and fraud—of perverting evidence and suppressing facts. After boldly making these charges, they undertook the difficult task of proving them to be true. The shrewdest of their number, the famous Lord Bishop of Landaff, wrote an *Apology for Christianity*, which reads like an orthodox sermon, but which entirely omits the formality of presenting evidence. Gibbon, who understood the Bishop's motives, acknowledged his piety, and ignored his pamphlet. He fully realized Waston's difficult position, who was forced to resort to declamation or remain dumb. The *statements* and *arguments* of Gibbon's other opponents, which betray the assurance and intolerance of their authors, can be seen in this *Vindication*. Gibbon, who had quoted from the highest authorities, was convicted by these critics of quoting from other editions than those used by them; and, therefore, although the quotations were right, the references were not. Some figures, in copying, had become transposed; a passage which Gibbon described as containing half a dozen lines, was found, when accurately measured, to number perhaps eight or ten; and, in addition to these great crimes, Gibbon's printer, following the traditions of his craft, had been guilty of several typographical blunders. The critics were so elated with these discoveries, that they quite forgot to present the evidence for Christianity which, as they said, Gibbon had suppressed; and they also neglected to prove their charges of misrepresentation and fraud. Indeed, the contrast between their statements and their evidence —their assertions and their facts—is remarkably suggestive.

"It is impossible to have read Gibbon," says the *Eclectic Review*, "without obtaining an increased clearness in our view of the "several grand changes of the civilized world, by means of which "ancient and modern history are linked together. By indefatiga- "ble study of such writers as describe the manners and customs "of the several countries and ages, Gibbon had become so inti- "mately acquainted with the modes of thinking and acting peculiar

"to those times and countries, as to have almost attained the "clearness of a contemporary author. A familiar acquaintance "of the emperor Julian, for instance, could scarcely have described "with greater precision whatever constitutes the chief interest of "that important reign. He appears to have taken Tacitus for his "model, and, like that author, to have aimed continually at making "his words say as much as possible. It is indeed astonishing, "how he contrives to express the minutest shade of a thought, "by an unusual, or more emphatic use of common words; and "what a multiplicity of views he has the art to combine in the "same sentence. His *Vindication* of himself against the misinter- "pretation of some of his phrases, gave him an opportunity of "pointing out in those particular cases, how very delicately they "were poised. We may give as an instance the word *accused*, "which, according to his own explanation, was purposely em- "ployed without addition, to signify that the martyr Nemesion "might or might not be guilty of robbery. The bishop Eusebius "presumed, that he was innocent; the Pagan magistrate pre- "sumed, as a Pagan, that he was guilty. One thing only was "certain—he was accused. But Mr. Gibbon's style, to be rightly "and fully appreciated, ought to be studied. A single reading "will seldom give us a thorough conception of all he means to "convey. On a repeated perusal, when the whole connexion has "become tolerably familiar to the mind, new light breaks in upon "us; and we are surprised to find the entire thought, with all its "appurtenances, much richer than we had at first apprehended."

PETER ECKLER.

PLUTO OR HADES.

PLUTO.

"Great prince o' th' gloomy regions of the dead."

PLUTO was a son of Saturn and Rhea, and brother to Jupiter and Neptune. In the division of his father's empire he received as his portion, the lower world, or the world of shades, and was recognized as the god of the infernal regions, of death, and of funerals. He is represented by poets and artists with a stern and menacing air, and his gloomy features never relax into a smile. The gates of his dominions are watched by the triple-headed Cerebus, and before they can be reached four dismal rivers must be crossed. First, *Acheron*, the sighing river of bitter waters: second, *Styx*, a lake of horror, and terrible above all: third, *Cocytus*, the sound of whose waters imitate the groans and cries of the damned. The fourth river, *Phlegethon*, rolls onward forever its seething waves of fire.

But the more sensible Pagans, like the more sensible Christians, gradually discarded the sulphurous flames and brimstone fuel of their ancestors, and described the torments of hell as of a mental rather than of a physical nature. Virgil says:

"Just in the gate, and in the jaws of Hell,
"Revengeful Care and sullen Sorrow dwell;
"And pale Diseases, and repining Age,
"Want, Fear, and Famine's unresisted rage:
"Here Toil and Death, and Death's half brother, Sleep,
"(Forms terrible to view,) their sentry keep,
"With anxious pleasures of a guilty mind,
"Deep Fraud before, and open Force behind;
"The Furies' iron beds, and Strife that shakes
"Her hissing tresses, and unfolds her snakes."

The Greeks named the realms inhabited by spirits *Hades*, and this word, or its synonym, *Sheol*, occurs often in the revised *New Testament*. By the sentence of *Minos* and his fellow judges in the *Field of Truth*, departed souls were adjudged, according to their deserts, either to that portion of Hades devoted to punishment and misery, called *Tartarus*, or to *Elysium*, the place of reward and happiness. The description of the two places corresponds with modern orthodox ideas regarding the delights of heaven and the torments of hell, and does not conflict with *The Revelation* of St. John. A further agreement between the Christian and Pagan stories is shown in the fact, that both describe their spirits as being intelligent, immaterial, capable of speech and action, sensible to pain and pleasure, and both have, apparently, all the wants and desires of living beings. St. Luke tells us that when the rich man lifted up his eyes in hell and saw Lazarus afar off in Abraham's bosom, he begged, "being in torments," for a drop of water to cool his parched tongue. When Ulysses went into the lower world his mother presented herself to him, but when he tried to embrace her, the empty shade receded, telling him that after death the soul escaped every touch like a dream. Indeed, Christians should not hesitate to acknowledge their indebtedness to Paganism for the principal dogmas of their faith, and they should not forget that at the time when the materialistic Jews still taught that "death ends all," and that "a man "hath no preëminence above a beast," the more civilized Pagans had already proclaimed the doctrine of the soul's immortality — had kindled in Tartarus "torrents and rivers of flame" where the "worm dieth not, and the fire is not "quenched," and had pictured in Elysium the beatitude of heavenly bliss — of a home "not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." For, in the Pagan heaven,

"There rage no storms; the sun diffuses there
"His temper'd beams, thro' skies forever fair,
"There gentler airs, o'er brakes of myrtle blow;
"Hills greener rise, and purer waters flow;
"There bud the woodbine and Jes'mine pale,
"With ev'ry bloom that scents the morning gale;
"While thousand melting sounds the breezes bear,
"In silken dalliance to the dreaming ear,
"And golden fruits, 'mid shadowy blossoms, shine,
"In fields immortal and in groves divine." — E.

A VINDICATION.*

PERHAPS it may be necessary to inform the Public, that not long since an *Examination of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* was published by Mr. Davis. He styles himself a Bachelor of Arts, and a Member of Baliol College in the university of Oxford. His title-page is a declaration of war; and in the prosecution of his religious crusade, he assumes a privilege of disregarding the ordinary laws which are respected in the most hostile transactions between civilized men or civilized nations. Some of the harshest epithets in the English language are repeatedly applied to the historian, a part of whose work Mr. Davis has chosen for the object of his criticism. To this author Mr. Davis imputes the crime of betraying the confidence and seducing the faith of those readers, who may heedlessly stray in the flowery paths of his diction, without perceiving the poisonous snake that lurks concealed in the grass—*Latet anguis in herba.* The Examiner has assumed the province of reminding them of "the unfair "proceedings of such an insidious friend, who offers the "deadly draught in a golden cup, that they may be less "sensible of the danger.[1] In order to which Mr. Davis has

1 Davis, Preface, p. ii.

* This *Vindication* is reprinted verbatim from the original quarto edition, published in 1796, and edited by John Lord Sheffield.—E.

" selected several of the more notorious instances of his " misrepresentations and errors; reducing them to their " respective heads, and subjoining a long list of almost " incredible inaccuracies: and such striking proofs of servile " plagiarism, as the world will be surprised to meet with in " an author who puts in so bold a claim to originality and " extensive reading[2]?" Mr. Davis prosecutes this attack through an octavo volume of not less than two hundred and eighty-four pages with the same implacable spirit; perpetually charges his adversary with perverting the ancients, and transribing the moderns; and, inconsistently enough, imputes to him the opposite crimes of art and carelessness, of gross ignorance and of willful falsehood. The Examiner closes his work[3] with a severe reproof of those feeble critics who have allowed any share of knowledge to an odious antagonist. He presumes to pity and to condemn the first historian of the present age, for the generous approbation which he had bestowed on a writer, who is content that Mr. Davis should be his enemy, whilst he has a right to name Dr. Robertson for his friend.

When I delivered to the world the First Volume of an important *History*, in which I had been obliged to connect the progress of Christianity with the civil state and revolutions of the Roman Empire, I could not be ignorant that the result of my enquiries might offend the interest of some and the opinions of others. If the whole work was favorably received by the Public, I had the more reason to expect that this obnoxious part would provoke the zeal of those who consider themselves as the Watchmen of the Holy City. These expectations were not disappointed; and a fruitful crop of *Answers*, *Apologies*, *Remarks*, *Examinations*, &c., sprung up with all convenient speed. As soon as I saw the advertisement, I generally sent for them; for I have never affected, indeed I have never understood, the stoical apathy, the proud contempt of criticism, which some authors have publicly professed. Fame is the motive, it is the reward, of our labors; nor can I easily comprehend how it is possible that we should remain cold and indifferent with regard to the attempts which are made to deprive us of the most valuable object of our possessions, or at least of our hopes. Besides this strong and natural impulse of curiosity, I was prompted by the more laudable desire of applying to my own, and the public benefit, the well-grounded censures of a learned ad-

[2] Davis, Preface, p. iii.

[3] Davis, p. 282, 283.

versary; and of correcting those faults which the indulgence of vanity and friendship had suffered to escape without observation. I read with attention several criticisms which were published against the two last chapters of my *History*, and unless I much deceived myself, I weighed them in my own mind without prejudice and without resentment. After I was clearly satisfied that their principal objections were founded on misrepresentation or mistake, I declined with sincere and disinterested reluctance the odious task of controversy, and almost formed a tacit resolution of committing my intentions, my writings, and my adversaries to the judgment of the Public, of whose favorable disposition I had received the most flattering proofs.

The reasons which justified my silence were obvious and forcible: the respectable nature of the subject itself, which ought not to be rashly violated by the rude hand of controversy; the inevitable tendency of dispute, which soon degenerates into minute and personal altercation; the indifference of the Public for the discussion of such questions as neither relate to the business nor the amusement of the present age. I calculated the possible loss of temper and the certain loss of time, and considered, that while I was laboriously engaged in a humiliating task, which could add nothing to my own reputation, or to the entertainment of my readers, I must interrupt the prosecution of a work which claimed my whole attention, and which the Public, or at least my friends, seemed to require with some impatience at my hands. The judicious lines of Dr. Young sometimes offered themselves to my memory, and I felt the truth of his observation, That every author lives or dies by his own pen, and that the unerring sentence of Time assigns its proper rank to every composition and to every criticism, which it preserves from oblivion.

I should have consulted my own ease, and perhaps I should have acted in stricter conformity to the rules of prudence, if I had still persevered in patient silence. But Mr. Davis may, if he pleases, assume the merit of extorting from me the notice which I had refused to more honorable foes. I had declined the consideration of their *literary Objections;* but he has compelled me to give an answer to his *criminal Accusations*. Had he confined himself to the ordinary, and indeed obsolete charges of impious principles, and mischievous intentions, I should have acknowledged with readiness and pleasure that the religion of Mr. Davis

appeared to be very different from mine. Had he contented himself with the use of that style which decency and politeness have banished from the more liberal part of mankind, I should have smiled, perhaps with some contempt, but without the least mixture of anger or resentment. Every animal employs the note, or cry, or howl, which is peculiar to its species; every man expresses himself in the dialect the most congenial to his temper and inclination, the most familiar to the company in which he has lived, and to the authors with whom he is conversant; and while I was disposed to allow that Mr. Davis had made some proficiency in ecclesiastical studies, I should have considered the difference of our language and manners as an unsurmountable bar of separation between us. Mr. Davis has overleaped that bar, and forces me to contend with him on the very dirty ground which he has chosen for the scene of our combat. He has judged, I know not with how much propriety, that the support of a cause, which would disclaim such unworthy assistance, depended on the ruin of my moral and literary character. The different misrepresentations, of which he has drawn out the ignominious catalogue, would materially affect my credit as an historian, my reputation as a scholar, and even my honor and veracity as a gentleman. If I am indeed incapable of understanding what I read, I can no longer claim a place among those writers who merit the esteem and confidence of the Public. If I am capable of willfully perverting what I understand, I no longer deserve to live in the society of those men, who consider a strict and inviolable adherence to truth as the foundation of every thing that is virtuous or honorable in human nature. At the same time, I am not insensible that his mode of attack has given a transient pleasure to my enemies, and a transient uneasiness to my friends. The size of his volume, the boldness of his assertions, the acrimony of his style, are contrived with tolerable skill to confound the ignorance and candor of his readers. There are few who will examine the truth or justice of his accusations; and of those persons who have been directed by their education to the study of ecclesiastical antiquity, many will believe, or will affect to believe, that the success of their champion has been equal to his zeal, and that the *serpent* pierced with an hundred wounds lies expiring at his feet. Mr. Davis's book *will* cease to be read (perhaps the grammarians may already reproach me for the use of

an improper tense); but the oblivion towards which it seems to be hastening, will afford the more ample scope for the artful practices of those, who may not scruple to affirm, or rather to insinuate, that Mr. Gibbon was publicly convicted of falsehood and misrepresentation; that the evidence produced against him was unanswerable; and that his silence was the effect and the proof of conscious guilt. Under the hands of a malicious surgeon, the sting of a wasp may continue to fester and inflame, long after the vexatious little insect has left its venom and its life in the wound.

The defence of my own honor is undoubtedly the first and prevailing motive which urges me to repel with vigor an unjust and unprovoked attack; and to undertake a tedious vindication, which, after the perpetual repetition of the vainest and most disgusting of the pronouns, will only prove that *I* am innocent, and that Mr. Davis, in his charge, has very frequently subscribed his own condemnation. And yet I may presume to affirm, that the Public have some interest in this controversy. They have some interest to know, whether the writer whom they have honored with their favor is deserving of their confidence; whether they must content themselves with reading the *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* as a *tale amusing enough*, or whether they may venture to receive it as a fair and authentic history. The general persuasion of mankind, that where *much* has been positively asserted, *something* must be true, may contribute to encourage a secret suspicion, which would naturally diffuse itself over the whole body of the work. Some of those friends who may now tax me with imprudence for taking this public notice of Mr. Davis's book, have perhaps already condemned me for silently acquiescing under the weight of such serious, such direct, and such circumstantial imputations.

Mr. Davis, who in the last page of his work[4] appears to have recollected that modesty is an amiable and useful qualification, affirms, that his plan required only that he should consult the authors to whom he was directed by my references; and that the judgment of riper years was not so necessary to enable him to execute with success the pious labor to which he had devoted his pen. Perhaps, before we separate, a moment to which I most fervently aspire, Mr. Davis may find that a mature judgment is indispensably requisite for the successful execution of *any*

[4] Davis, p. 284.

work of literature, and more especially of criticism. Perhaps he will discover, that a young student, who hastily consults an unknown author, on a subject with which he is unacquainted, cannot always be guided by the most accurate reference to the knowledge of the sense, as well as to the sight of the passage which has been quoted by his adversary. Abundant proofs of these maxims will hereafter be suggested. For the present, I shall only remark, that it is my intention to pursue, in my defence, the order, or rather the course, which Mr. Davis has marked out in his *Examination;* and that I have numbered the several articles of my impeachment according to the most natural division of the subject. And now let me proceed on this hostile march over a dreary and barren desert, where thirst, hunger, and intolerable weariness, are much more to be dreaded than the arrows of the enemy.

I.

Quotations in general.

"The remarkable mode of quotation which "Mr. Gibbon adopts, must immediately strike "every one who turns to his notes. He some-"times only mentions the author, perhaps the book; and "often leaves the reader the toil of finding out, or rather "guessing at the passage. The policy, however, is not "without its design and use. By endeavoring to deprive "us of the means of comparing him with the authorities he "cites, he flattered himself, no doubt, that he might safely "have recourse to *misrepresentation*.[5]" Such is the style of Mr. Davis; who in another place[6] mentions this mode of quotation "as a good artifice to escape detection;" and applauds, with an agreeable irony, his own labors in turning over a *few* pages of the Theodosian code.

I shall not descend to animadvert on the rude and illiberal strain of this passage, and I will frankly own that my indignation is lost in astonishment. The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of my *History* are illustrated by three hundred and eighty-three Notes; and the nakedness of a few Notes, which are not accompanied by any quotation, is amply compensated by a much greater number, which contain two, three, or perhaps four distinct references; so that upon the whole my stock of quotations, which support and justify my facts, cannot amount to less than eight hundred or a thousand. As I had often felt the inconvenience of

[5] Davis, Preface, p. ii. [6] Id. p. 230.

the loose and general method of quoting which is so falsely imputed to me, I have carefully distinguished the *books*, the *chapters*, the *sections*, the *pages* of the authors to whom I referred, with a degree of accuracy and attention, which might claim some gratitude, as it has seldom been so regularly practiced by any historical writers. And here I must confess some obligation to Mr. Davis, who, by staking my credit and his own on a circumstance so obvious and palpable, has given me this early opportunity of submitting the merits of our cause, or at least of our characters, to the judgment of the Public. Hereafter, when I am summoned to defend myself against the imputation of misquoting the text, or misrepresenting the sense of a Greek or Latin author, it will not be in my power to communicate the knowledge of the languages, or the possession of the books, to those readers who may be destitute either of one or of the other; and the part which *they* are obliged to take between assertions equally strong and peremptory, may sometimes be attended with doubt and hesitation. But, in the present instance, every reader who will give himself the trouble of consulting the first volume of my *History*, is a competent judge of the question. I exhort, I solicit him to run his eye down the columns of Notes, and to count *how many* of the quotations are minute and particular, *how few* are vague and general. When he has satisfied himself by this easy computation, there *is* a word which may naturally suggest itself; an epithet, which I should be sorry either to deserve or use; the boldness of Mr. Davis's assertion, and the confidence of my appeal, will tempt, nay, perhaps, will force him to apply that epithet either to one or to the other of the adverse parties.

I have confessed that a critical eye may discover *some* loose and general references; but as they bear a very *inconsiderable* proportion to the whole mass, they cannot support, or even excuse, a false and ungenerous accusation, which must reflect dishonor either on the object or on the author of it. If the examples in which I have occasionally deviated from my ordinary practice were specified and examined, I am persuaded that they might always be fairly attributed to one of the following reasons. 1. In some *rare* instances, which I have never attempted to conceal, I have been obliged to adopt quotations, which were expressed with less accuracy than I could have wished. 2. I may have accidentally recollected the sense of a passage which

I had formerly read, without being able to find the place, or even to transcribe from memory the precise words. 3. The whole tract (as in a remarkable instance of the second apology of Justin Martyr) was so short, that a more particular description was not required. 4. The form of the composition supplied the want of a local reference; the preceding mention of the *year* fixed the passage of the annalist; and the reader was guided to the proper spot in the commentaries of Grotius, Valesius, or Godefroy, by the more accurate citation of their original author. 5. The idea which I was desirous of communicating to the reader, was sometimes the general result of the author or treatise that I had quoted; nor was it possible to confine, within the narrow limits of a particular reference, the sense or spirit which was mingled with the whole mass. These motives are either laudable, or at least innocent. In two of these exceptions, my ordinary mode of citation was superfluous; in the other three, it was impracticable.

In quoting a comparison which Tertullian had used to express the rapid increase of the Marcionites, I expressly declared that I was obliged to quote it from memory.[7] If I have been guilty of comparing them to *bees* instead of *wasps*, I can however most sincerely disclaim the sagacious suspicion of Mr. Davis,[8] who imagines that I was tempted to amend the simile of Tertullian, from an improper partiality for those odious heretics.

A rescript of Diocletian, which declared *the* old law (not *an* old law[9]) had been alleged by me on the respectable authority of Fra-Paolo. The Examiner, who thinks that he has turned over the pages of the Theodosian code, informs[10] his reader that it may be found, l. vi. tit. xxiv. leg. 8.; he will be surprised to learn that this rescript could not be *found* in a code where it does not exist, but that it may distinctly be read in the same number, the same title, and the same book of the CODE of JUSTINIAN. He who is severe should at least be just: yet I should probably have disdained this minute animadversion, unless it had served to display the general ignorance of the critic in the history of the Roman jurisprudence. If Mr. Davis had not been an absolute stranger, the most treacherous guide could not have persuaded him that a rescript of Diocletian was to be found in the Theodosian code, which was designed only to preserve the laws

[7] Gibbon's *History*, p. 551. I shall usually refer to the third edition, unless there are any various readings.
[8] Davis, p. 144. [9] Gibbon, p. 593. [10] Davis, p. 230.

of Constantine and his successors. "Compendiosam (says "Theodosius himself) Divalium Constitutionum scientiam, "ex D. Constantini temporibus roboramus." (Novell. ad calcem Cod. Theod. L. i. tit. i. leg. 1.)

Errors of the press.

II. Few objects are below the notice of Mr. Davis, and his criticism is never so formidable as when it is directed against the guilty corrector of the press, who on some occasions has shown himself negligent of my fame and of his own. Some errors have arisen from the omission of letters; from the confusion of cyphers, which perhaps were not very distinctly marked in the original manuscript. The *two* of the Roman, and the *eleven* of the Arabic numerals, have been unfortunately mistaken for each other; the similar forms of a 2 and a 3, a 5 and a 6, a 3 and an 8, have improperly been transposed; A*n*tolycus for A*u*tolycus, Idolatria for Ido*l*olatria, Holste*r*ius for Holste*n*ius, had escaped my own observation, as well as the diligence of the person who was employed to revise the sheets of my History. These important errors, from the indulgence of a deluded Public, have been multiplied in the numerous impressions of three different editions; and for the present I can only lament my own defects, while I deprecate the wrath of Mr. Davis, who seems ready to infer that I cannot either read or write. I sincerely admire his patient industry, which I despair of being able to imitate; but if a future edition should ever be required, I could wish to obtain, on any reasonable terms, the services of so useful a corrector.

Difference of editions.

III. Mr. Davis had been directed by my references to several passages of *Optatus Milevitanus*,[11] and of the *Bibliotheque Ecclesiastique* of M. Dupin.[12] He eagerly consults those places, is unsuccessful, and is happy. Sometimes the place which I have quoted does not offer any of the circumstances which I had alleged, sometimes only a few; and sometimes the same passages exhibit a sense totally adverse and repugnant to mine. These shameful misrepresentations incline Mr. Davis to suspect that I have never consulted the original, (not even of a common French book!) and he asserts his right to censure my presumption. These important charges form two distinct articles in the list of *misrepresentations;* but Mr. Davis has amused himself with adding to the slips of the pen or of the press, some complaints of his ill

11 Davis, p. 73.

12 Id. p. 132–136.

success, when he attempted to verify my quotations from *Cyprian* and from *Shaw's Travels*.[13]

The success of Mr. Davis would indeed have been somewhat extraordinary, unless he had consulted the same *editions*, as well as the same places. I shall content myself with mentioning the editions which I have used, and with assuring him, that if he renews his research, he will not, or rather that he will, be disappointed.

Mr. Gibbon's Editions.	*Mr. Davis's Editions.*
Optatus Milevitanus, by Dupin, fol. Paris, 1700.	Fol. Antwerp, 1702.
Dupin. *Bibliotheque Ecclesiastique*, 4to. Paris, 1690.	8vo. Paris, 1687.
Cypriani Opera, Edit. Fell. fol. Amsterdam, 1700.	Most probably Oxon, 1682.
Shaw's Travels, 4to. London, 1757.	The folio Edition.

Jewish history, Tacitus.

IV. The nature of my subject had led me to mention, not the real origin of the Jews, but their first *appearance* to the eyes of other nations; and I cannot avoid transcribing the short passage in which I had introduced them. "The Jews, who under "the Assyrian and Persian monarchies had languished for "many ages the most despised portion of their slaves, "emerged from their obscurity under the successors of "Alexander. And as they multiplied to a surprising degree "in the East, and afterwards in the West, they soon excited "the curiosity and wonder of other nations.[14]" This simple abridgment seems in its turn to have excited the wonder of Mr. Davis, whose surprise almost renders him eloquent. "What a strange assemblage," says he, "is here? It is like "Milton's chaos, without bound, without dimension, where "time and place is lost. In short, what does this display "afford us, but a deal of boyish coloring to the prejudice "of much good history?[15]" If I rightly understand Mr. Davis's language, he censures, as a piece of confused declamation, the passage which he has produced from my *History;* and if I collect the angry criticisms which he has scattered over twenty pages of controversy,[16] I think I can discover that there is hardly a period, or even a word in this unfortunate passage, which has obtained the approbation of the Examiner.

As nothing can escape his vigilance, he censures me for including the twelve tribes of Israel under the common appellation of JEWS,[17] and for extending the name of ASSYRIANS to the subjects of the kings of Babylon;[18] and again censures me, because some facts which are affirmed or insinuated in my text, do not agree with the strict and

[13] Davis, p. 151–155. [14] Gibbon, p. 537. [15] Davis, p. 5.
[16] Id. p. 2–22. [17] Id. p. 3. [18] Id, p. 2.

proper limits which he has assigned to those national denominations. The name of *Jews* has indeed been established by the sceptre of the tribe of *Judah*, and, in the times which precede the captivity, it is used in the more general sense with some sort of impropriety; but surely I am not peculiarly charged with a fault which has been consecrated with the consent of twenty centuries, the practice of the best writers, ancient as well as modern, (see Josephus and Prideaux, even in the titles of their respective works,) and by the usage of modern languages, of the Latin, the Greek, and if I may credit Reland, of the Hebrew itself, (see Palestin, L. i. c. 6.) With regard to the other word, that of Assyrians, most assuredly I will not lose myself in the labyrinth of the Asiatic monarchies before the age of Cyrus; nor indeed is any more required for my justification, than to prove that Babylon was considered as the capital and royal seat of Assyria. If Mr. Davis were a man of learning, I might be morose enough to censure his ignorance of ancient geography, and to overwhelm him under a load of quotations, which might be collected and transcribed with very little trouble: but as I *must* suppose that he has received a classical education, I might have expected him to have read the first book of Herodotus, where that historian describes, in the clearest and most elegant terms, the situation and greatness of Babylon: Της δε Ασσυριης τα μεν κου και αλλα πολισματα μεγαλα πολλα, το δε ονομαστοτατον και ισοχυροτατον και ενθα σφι, Νινου αναστατου γενομενης, τα βασιληια κατεστηκες, ην Βαζυλων. (Clio. c. 178.) I may be surprised that he should be so little conversant with the Cyropœdia of Xenophon, in the whole course of which the King of Babylon, the adversary of the Medes and Persians, is repeatedly mentioned by the style and title of THE ASSYRIAN, Ὁ δε Ασσυριος, ὁ Βαζυλωνα τε εχων και την αλλην Ασσυριαν. (L. ii. p. 102, 103, edit. Hutchinson.) But there remains something more: and Mr. Davis must apply the same reproaches of *inaccuracy, if not ignorance*, to the prophet Isaiah, who, in the name of Jehovah, announcing the downfall of Babylon and the deliverence of Israel, declares with an oath, "And as I have "purposed the thing shall stand: to crush the ASSYRIAN "in my land, and to trample him on my mountains. Then "shall his yoke depart from off them; and his burthen shall be removed from off their shoulders." (*Isaiah*, xiv. 24, 25. Lowth's new translation. See likewise the Bishop's note, p. 98.) Our old translation expresses, with less

elegance, the same meaning; but I mention with pleasure the labors of a respectable Prelate, who in this, as well as in a former work, has very happily united the most critical judgment, with the taste and spirit of poetry.

The jealousy which Mr. Davis affects for the honor of the Jewish people will not suffer him to allow that they were *slaves* to the conquerors of the East: and while he acknowledges that they were tributary and dependent, he seems desirous of introducing, or even inventing, some milder expression of the state of vassalage and *subservience;*[19] from whence Tacitus assumed the words of *despectissima pars servientium.* Has Mr. Davis never heard of the distinction of civil and political slavery? Is he ignorant that even the natural and victorious subjects of an Asiatic despot have been deservedly marked with the opprobrious epithet of slaves by every writer acquainted with the name and advantage of freedom? Does he not know that, under such a government, the yoke is imposed with double weight on the necks of the vanquished, as the rigor of tyranny is aggravated by the abuse of conquest? From the first invasion of Judæa by the arms of the Assyrians, to the subversion of the Persian monarchy by Alexander, there elapsed a period of above four hundred years, which included about twelve ages or generations of the human race. As long as the Jews asserted their independence, they repeatedly suffered every calamity which the rage and insolence of a victorious enemy could inflict: the throne of David was overturned, the temple and city were reduced to ashes, and the whole land, a circumstance perhaps unparalleled in history, remained threescore and ten years without inhabitants, and without cultivation. (*II. Chronicles*, xxxvi. 21.) According to an institution which has long prevailed in Asia, and particularly in the Turkish government, the most beautiful and ingenious youths were carefully educated in the palace, where superior merit sometimes introduced these fortunate *slaves* to the favor of the conqueror, and to the honors of the state. (See the book and example of Daniel.) The rest of the unhappy Jews experienced the hardships of captivity and exile in distant lands; and while individuals were oppressed, the nation seemed to be dissolved or annihilated. The gracious edict of Cyrus was offered to all those who worshiped the God of Israel in the temple of Jerusalem; but it was

[19] Davis, p. 6.

accepted by no more than forty-two thousand persons of either sex and of every age, and of these about thirty thousand derived their origin from the tribes of Judah, of Benjamin, and of Levi. (See *Ezra*, i. *Nehemiah*, vii. and Prideaux's *Connections*, vol. i. p. 107. fol. edit. London, 1718.) The inconsiderable band of exiles, who returned to inhabit the land of their fathers, cannot be computed as the hundred and fiftieth part of the mighty people that had been numbered by the impious rashness of David. After a survey, which did not comprehend the tribes of Levi and Benjamin, the monarch was assured that he reigned over *one million five hundred and seventy thousand men* that drew sword, (*I. Chronicles*, xxi. 1—6,) and the country of Judæa must have contained near seven millions of free inhabitants. The progress of restoration is always less rapid than that of destruction; Jerusalem, which had been ruined in a few months, was rebuilt by the slow and interrupted labors of a whole century; and the Jews, who gradually multiplied in their native seats, enjoyed a servile and precarious existence, which depended on the capricious will of their master. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah do not afford a very pleasing view of their situation under the Persian empire; and the book of Esther exhibits a most extraordinary instance of the degree of estimation in which they were held at the court of Susa. A minister addressed his king in the following words, which may be considered as a commentary on the *despectissima pars servientium* of the Roman historian: "And Haman said to king Ahasuerus, "There is a certain people scattered abroad, and dispersed "among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom; "and their laws are diverse from all people, neither keep "they the King's laws; therefore it is not for the King's "profit to suffer them. If it please the King, let it be "written that they may be destroyed; and I will pay ten "thousand talents of silver to the hands of those that have "the charge of the business, to bring it to the King's "treasuries. And the king took his ring from his hand, "and gave it to Haman, the son of Hammedatha the "Agagite, the Jews' enemy. And the king said unto Haman, "The silver is given unto thee; the people also, to do with "them as it seemeth good to the." (*Esther*, iii. 8—11.) This trifling favor was asked by the Minister, and granted by the Monarch, with an easy indifference, which expressed their contempt for the lives and fortunes of the Jews; the

business passed without difficulty through the forms of office; and had Esther been less lovely, or less beloved, a single day would have consummated the universal slaughter of a submissive people, to whom no legal defence was allowed, and from whom no resistance seems to have been dreaded. I am a stranger to Mr. Davis's political principles; but I should think that the epithet of *slaves*, and of *despised* slaves, may, without injustice, be applied to a captive nation, over whose head the sword of tyranny was suspended by so slender a thread.

The policy of the Macedonians was very different from that of the Persians; and yet Mr. Davis, who reluctantly confesses that the Jews were oppressed by the former, does not understand how long they were favored and protected by the latter.[20] In the shock of those revolutions which divided the empire of Alexander, Judæa, like the other provinces, experienced the transient ravages of an advancing or retreating enemy, who led away a multitude of captives. But, in the age of Josephus, the Jews still enjoyed the privileges granted by the kings of Asia and Egypt, who had fixed numerous colonies of that nation in the new cities of Alexandria, Antioch, &c., and placed them in the same honorable condition (ισοπολιτας, ισοτιμες) as the Greeks and Macedonians themselves. (Joseph. *Antiquitat.* L. xii. c. 1. 3. p. 585. 596. vol. i. edit. Havercamp.) Had they been treated with less indulgence, their settlement in those celebrated cities, the seats of commerce and learning, was enough to introduce them to the knowledge of the world, and to justify my *absurd* proposition, that they emerged from obscurity under the successors of Alexander.

The Jews remained and flourished under the mild dominion of the Macedonian princes, till they were compelled to assert their civil and religious rights against Antiochus Epiphanes, who had adopted new maxims of tyranny; and the age of the Maccabees is perhaps the most glorious period of the Hebrew annals. Mr. Davis, who on this occasion is bewildered by the subtlety of Tacitus, does not comprehend why the historian should ascribe the independence of the Jews to three *negative* causes, "Macedonibus invalidis, "Parthis nondum adultis, et Romani procul aberant." To the understanding of the critic, Tacitus might as well have observed, that the Jews were not destroyed by a plague, a famine, or an earthquake; and Mr. Davis cannot see, for his

[20] Davis, p. 4.

own part, any reason why they may not have elected kings of their own two or three hundred years before.[21] Such indeed was not the reason of Tacitus: he probably considered that every nation, depressed by the weight of a foreign power, naturally rises towards the surface, as soon as the pressure is removed; and he might think that, in a short and rapid history of the independence of the Jews, it was sufficient for him to show that the obstacles did not exist, which, in an earlier or in a later period, would have checked their efforts. The curious reader, who has leisure to study the Jewish and Syrian history, will discover, that the throne of the Asmonæan princes was confirmed by the two great victories of the Parthians over Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes (see *Joseph. Antiquitat. Jud.* L. xiii. c. 5, 6, 8, 9. *Justin*, xxxvi. i. xxxviii. 10. with Usher and Prideaux, before Christ 141 and 130); and the expression of Tacitus, the more closely it is examined, will be the more rationally admired.

My quotations[22] are the object of Mr. Davis's criticism,[23] as well as the text of this short, but obnoxious passage. He corrects the error of my memory, which had suggested *servitutis* instead of *servientium;* and so natural is the alliance between truth and moderation, that on this occasion he forgets his character, and candidly acquits me of any malicious design to misrepresent the words of Tacitus. The other references, which are contained in the first and second Notes of my Fifteenth Chapter, are connected with each other, and can only be mistaken after they have been forcibly separated. The silence of Herodotus is a fair evidence of the obscurity of the Jews, who had escaped the eyes of so curious a traveler. The Jews are first mentioned by Justin, when he relates the siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus Sidetes; and the conquest of Judæa, by the arms of Pompey, engaged Diodorus and Dion to introduce that singular nation to the acquaintance of their readers. These epochs, which are within seventy years of each other, mark the age in which the Jewish people, emerging from their obscurity, began to act a part in the society of nations, and to excite the curiosity of the Greek and Roman historians. For that purpose only, I had appealed to the authority of Diodorus Siculus, of Justin, or rather of Trogus Pompeius, and of Dion Cassius. If I had designed to investigate the Jewish antiquities, reason, as well as faith, must have directed my inquiries to the Sacred Books, which, even as human productions, would deserve to be studied as one of the most curious and original monuments of the East.

[21] Davis, p. 8. [22] Gibbon, p. 537. Note 1, 2. [23] Davis, p. 10, 11, 20.

I stand accused, though not indeed by Mr. Davis, for profanely depreciating the *promised* Land, as well as the *chosen* People. The Gentleman without a name has placed this charge in the front of his battle,[24] and if my memory does not deceive me, it is one of the few remarks in Mr. Apthorpe's book, which have any immediate relation to my *History*. They seem to consider in the light of a reproach, and of an unjust reproach, the idea which I had given of Palestine, as of a territory scarcely superior to Wales in extent and fertility;[25] and they strangely convert a geographical observation into a theological error. When I recollect that the imputation of a similar error was employed by the implacable Calvin, to precipitate and to justify the execution of Servetus, I must applaud the felicity of this country, and of this age, which has disarmed, if it could not mollify, the fierceness of ecclesiastical criticism. (See *Dictionnaire Critique* de Chauffepie, tom. iv. p. 223.)

As I had compared the narrow extent of Phœnicia and Palestine with the important blessings which those celebrated countries had diffused over the rest of the earth, their minute size became an object not of consure but of praise.

Igentes animos angusto in pectore versant.

The precise measure of Palestine was taken from Templeman's *Survey of the Globe:* he allows to Wales 7011 square English miles, to the Morea or Peloponnesus 7220, to the Seven United Provinces 7546, and to Judæa or Palestine 7600. The difference is not very considerable, and if any of these countries has been magnified beyond its real size, Asia is more liable than Europe to have been affected by the inaccuracy of Mr. Templeman's maps. To the authority of this modern survey, I shall only add the ancient and weighty testimony of Jerom, who passed in Palestine above thirty years of his life. From Dan to Bershebah, the two fixed and proverbial boundaries of the Holy Land, he reckons no more than one hundred and sixty miles (*Hieronym. ad Dardanum*, tom. iii. p. 66), and the breadth of Palestine cannot by any expedient be stretched to one half of its length. (See Reland, *Palestin.* L. ii. c. 5. p. 421.)

The degrees and limits of fertility cannot be ascertained with the strict simplicity of geographical measures. Whenever we speak of the productions of the earth, in different climates, our ideas must be relative, our expressions vague and doubtful; nor can we always distinguish between the

[24] Remarks, p. 1. [25] Gibbon, p. 30.

gifts of Nature and the rewards of industry. The emperor Frederick II., the enemy and the victim of the Clergy, is accused of saying, after his return from his Crusade, that the God of the Jews would have despised his promised land, if he had once seen the fruitful realms of Sicily and Naples. (See *Giannone Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli*, tom. ii. p. 245.) This raillery, which malice has perhaps falsely imputed to Frederick, is inconsistent with truth and piety; yet it must be confessed, that the soil of Palestine does not contain that inexhaustible, and as it were spontaneous principle of fecundity, which, under the most unfavorable circumstance, has covered with rich harvests the banks of the Nile, the fields of Sicily, or the plains of Poland. The Jordan is the only navigable river of Palestine: a considerable part of the narrow space is occupied, or rather lost, in the *Dead Sea*, whose horrid aspect inspires every sensation of disgust, and countenances every tale of horror. The districts which border on Arabia partake of the sandy quality of the adjacent desert. The face of the country, except the sea-coast and the valley of the Jordan, is covered with mountains, which appear for the most part as naked and barren rocks; and in the neighborhood of Jerusalem there is a real scarcity of the two elements of earth and water. (See *Maundrel's Travels*, p. 65, and Reland, *Palestin.* tom. i. p. 238—395.) These disadvantages, which now operate in their fullest extent, were formerly corrected by the labors of a numerous people, and the active protection of a wise government. The hills were clothed with rich beds of artificial mould, the rain was collected in vast cisterns, a supply of fresh water was conveyed by pipes and aqueducts to the dry lands, the breed of cattle was encouraged in those parts which were not adapted for tillage, and almost every spot was compelled to yield some production for the use of the inhabitants. (See the same testimonies and observations of Maundrel and Reland.)

———*Pater ipse colendi*
Haud facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem
Movit agros; curis acuens mortalia corda
Nec torpere gravi passus SUA REGNA *veterno.*

Such are the useful victories which have been achieved by MAN on the lofty mountains of Switzerland, along the rocky coast of Genoa, and upon the barren hills of Palestine; and since Wales has flourished under the influence of English freedom, that rugged country has surely acquired some

share of the same industrious merit and the same artificial fertility. Those Critics who interpret the comparison of Palestine and Wales as a tacit libel on the former, are themselves guilty of an unjust satire against the latter, of those countries. Such is the injustice of Mr. Apthorpe and of the anonymous *Gentleman:* but if Mr. Davis (as we may suspect from his name) is himself of Cambrian origin, his patriotism on this occasion has protected me from his zeal.

V. I shall begin this article by the confession of an error which candor might perhaps excuse, but which my Adversary magnifies by a pathetic interrogation. "When he tells "us, that he has carefully examined all the original materials, "are we to believe him? or is it his design to try how far "the credulity and easy disposition of the age will suffer "him to proceed unsuspected and undiscovered?"[26] *Quousque tandem abuteris Catilina patientia nostra?*

In speaking of the danger of idolatry, I had quoted the picturesque expression of Tertullian, "Recogita sylvam et quantæ latitant spinæ," and finding it marked c. 10. in my Notes, I hastily, though naturally, added *de Idololatria*, instead of *de Corona Militis*, and referred to one *Treatise of Tertullian* instead of another.[27] And now let me ask in my turn, whether Mr. Davis had any real knowledge of the passage which I had misplaced, or whether he made an ungenerous use of his advantage, to insinuate that I had invented or perverted the words of Tertullian? Ignorance is less criminal than malice, and I shall be satisfied if he will plead guilty to the milder charge.

The same observation may be extended to a passage of Le Clerc, which asserts, in the clearest terms, the ignorance of the more ancient Jews with regard to a future state. Le Clerc lay open before me, but while my eye moved from the book to the paper, I transcribed the reference c. 1. sect. 8. instead of sect. 1. c. 8. from the natural, but erroneous persuasion, that *Chapter* expressed the larger, and *Section* the smaller division:[28] and this difference, of such trifling moment and so easily rectified, holds a distinguished place in the list of Misrepresentations which adorn Mr. Davis's Table of Contents.[29] But to return to Tertullian.

The *infernal* picture, which I had produced[30] from that vehement writer, which excited the horror of every humane reader, and which even Mr. Davis will not explicitly defend, has furnished him with a few critical cavils.[31] Happy should

[26] Davis, p. 25. [27] Gibbon, p. 553. Note 40. [28] Gibbon, p. 560. Note 58.
[29] Davis, p. 19. [30] Gibbon, p. 566. [31] Davis, p. 29–33.

I think myself, if the materials of my *History* could be always exposed to the Examination of the Public; and I shall be content with appealing to the impartial Reader, whether my Version of this Passage is not as fair and as faithful, as the more literal translation which Mr. Davis has exhibited in an opposite column. I shall only justify two expressions which have provoked his indignation. 1. I had observed that the zealous African pursues the infernal description in a long variety of affected and unfeeling witticisms; the instances of Gods, of Kings, of Magistrates, of Philosophers, of Poets, of Tragedians, were introduced into my Translation. Those which I had omitted, relate to the Dancers, the Charioteers, and the Wrestlers; and it is almost impossible to express those conceits which are connected with the language and manners of the Romans. But the reader will be *sufficiently* shocked, when he is informed that Tertullian alludes to the improvement which the agility of the Dancers, the red livery of the Charioteers, and the attitudes of the Wrestlers, would derive from the effects of fire. "Tunc histriones cognoscendi solutiores multo per "ignem; tunc spectandus Auriga in flammea rota totus "ruber. Tunc Xystici contemplandi, non in Gymnasiis, "sed in igne jaculati." 2. I cannot refuse to answer Mr. Davis's very particular question, Why I appeal to Tertullian for the condemnation of the wisest and most virtuous of the Pagans? *Because* I am inclined to bestow that epithet on Trajan and the Antonines, Homer and Euripides, Plato and Aristotle, who are all manifestly included within the fiery description which I had produced.

I am accused of misquoting Tertullian ad Scapulam,[32] as an evidence that Martyrdoms were lately introduced into Africa.[33] Besides Tertullian, I had quoted from Ruinart (*Acta Sincera*, p. 84.) the *Acts of the Scyllitan Martyrs;* and a very moderate knowledge of Ecclesiastical History would have informed Mr. Davis, that the two authorities thus connected establish the proposition asserted in my Text. Tertullian, in the above-mentioned Chapter, speaks of one of the Proconsuls of Africa, Vigellius Saturninus, "qui *primus hic* gladium in nos egit;" the *Acta Sincera* represent the same Magistrate as the Judge of the Scyllitan Martyrs; and Ruinart, with the consent of the best critics, ascribes their sufferings to the persecution of Severus. Was it my fault if Mr. Davis was incapable of supplying the intermediate ideas?

[32] Davis, p. 35, 36.

[33] Gibbon, p. 609. N. 172.

Is it likewise necessary that I should justify the frequent use which I have made of Tertullian? His copious writings display a lively and interesting picture of the primitive Church, and the scantiness of original materials scarcely left me the liberty of choice. Yet as I was sensible, that the Montanism of Tertullian is the convenient screen which our orthodox Divines have placed before his errors, I have, with peculiar caution, confined myself to those works which were composed in the more early and sounder part of his life.

As a collateral justification of my frequent appeals to this African Presbyter, I had introduced, in the third edition of my History, two passages of Jerom and Prudentius, which prove that Tertullian was the master of Cyprian, and that Cyprian was the master of the Latin Church [34] Mr. Davis assures me, however, that I should have done better not to have "added this note,[35] as I have only accu- "mulated my inaccuracies." One inaccuracy he has indeed detected, an error of the press, Hieronym. de Viris illustribus, c. 53 for 63; but this advantage is dearly purchased by Mr. Davis. Επιδος τον διδασκαλον, which he produces as the original words of Cyprian, has a braver and more learned sound, than *Da magistrum;* but the quoting in Greek, a sentence which was pronounced, and is recorded, in Latin, seems to bear the mark of the most ridiculous pedantry; unless Mr. Davis, consulting for the first time the Works of Jerom, mistook the Version of Sophronius, which is printed in the opposite column, for the Text of his original Author. My reference to Prudentius, Hymn. xiii. 100. cannot so easily be justified, as I presumptuously believed that my critics would continue to read till they came to a full stop. I shall now place before them, not the first verse only, but the entire period, which they will find full, express, and satisfactory. The Poet says of St. Cyprian, whom he places in Heaven,

Nec minus involitat terris, nec ab hoc recedit orbe:
Disserit, eloquitur, tractat, docet, instruit, prophetat;
Nec Libyæ populos *tantum reget, exit usque in ortum*
Solis, et usque obitum; Gallos *fovet, imbuit* Britannos,
Presidet Hesperiæ, *Christum scrit ultimis* Hibernis.

Sulpicius Severus and Fra-Paolo.

VI. On the subject of the imminent dangers which the Apocalypse has so narrowly escaped,[36] Mr. Davis accuses me of misrepresenting the sentiments of Sulpicius Severus and Fra-Paolo,[37] with this

[34] Gibbon, p. 566. N. 72.
[35] Davis, p. 145
[36] Gibbon, p. 563, 564. N. 67.
[37] Davis, p. 40-44.

difference, however, that I was incapable of reading or understanding the text of the Latin author; but that I willfully perverted the sense of the Italian historian. These imputations I shall easily wipe away, by showing that, in the first instance, I am probably in the right; and that, in the second, he is certainly in the wrong.

1. The concise and elegant Sulpicius, who has been justly styled the Christian Sallust, after mentioning the exile and Revelations of St. John in the isle of Patmos, observes (and surely the observation is in the language of complaint), "Librum sacræ Apocalypsis, qui quidem *a* "*plerisque* aut stulte aut impie non recipitur, conscriptum "edidit." I am found guilty of supposing *plerique* to signify *the greater number;* whereas Mr. Davis, with Stephens's *Dictionary* in his hand, is able to prove that *plerique* has not *always* that extensive meaning, and that a classic of good authority has used the word in a much more limited and qualified sense. Let the Examiner therefore try to apply his exception to this particular case. For my part, *I* stand under the protection of the general usage of the Latin language, and with a strong presumption in favor of the justice of my cause, or at least of the innocence and fairness of my intentions; since I have translated a familiar word, according to its acknowledged and ordinary acceptation.

But, "if I had looked into the passage, and found that "Sulpicius Severus there expressly tells us, that the "Apocalypse was the work of St. John, I could not have "committed so unfortunate a *blunder*, as to cite this Father "as saying, That the greater number of Christians denied "its Canonical authority.[38]" Unfortunate indeed would have been my blunder, had I asserted that the same Christians who denied its Canonical authority, admitted it to be the work of an Apostle. Such indeed was the opinion of Severus himself, and his opinion has obtained the sanction of the Church; but the Christians whom he taxes with folly or impiety for rejecting this sacred book, must have supported their error by attributing the Apocalypse to some uninspired writer; to John the Presbyter, or to Cerinthus the Heretic.

If the rules of grammar and of logic authorize, or at least allow me to translate *plerique* by the *greater number*, the Ecclesiastical History of the fourth century illustrates and justifies this obvious interpretation. From a fair comparison of the populousness and learning of the Greek and Latin

[38] Davis, p. 270

Churches, may I not conclude that the former contained the *greater number* of Christians qualified to pass sentence on a mysterious prophecy composed in the Greek language? May I not affirm, on the authority of St. Jerom, that the Apocalypse was generally rejected by the Greek Churches? "Quod si eam (*the Epistle to the Hebrēws*) Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter Scripturas Canonicas; nec Græcorum Ecclesiæ Apocalypsim Johannis eadem libertate suscipiunt. Et tamen nos utramque suscipimus, nequaqam hujus temporis consuetudinem, sed veterum auctoritatem sequentes." Epistol. ad Dardanum, tom. iii. p. 68.

It is not my design to enter any further into the controverted history of that famous book; but I am called upon[39] to defend my Remark that the Apocalypse was tacitly excluded from the sacred canon by the council of Laodicea. (Canon LX.) To defend my Remark, I need only state the fact in a simple but more particular manner. The assembled Bishops of Asia, after enumerating all the books of the Old and New Testament which should be read in churches, omit the Apocalypse, and the Apocalypse alone; at a time when it was rejected or questioned by many pious and learned Christians, who might deduce a very plausible argument from the silence of the Synod.

2. When the Council of Trent resolved to pronounce sentence on the Canon of Scripture, the opinion which prevailed, after some debate, was to declare the Latin Vulgate authentic and *almost* infallible; and this sentence, which was guarded by formidable anathemas, secured all the books of the Old and New Testament which composed that ancient version, "che si dichiarassero tutti in tutte le parte come si trovano nella Biblia Latina, esser di Divina è ugual autorita." (*Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*, L. ii. p. 147. Helmstadt (*Vicenza*) 1761.) When the merit of that version was discussed, the majority of the theologians urged, with confidence and success, that it was absolutely necessary to receive the Vulgate as authentic and inspired, unless they wished to abandon the victory to the Lutherans, and the honors of the church to the Grammarians. "In contrario della maggior parte dè teologi era detto.....che-questi nuovi Grammatici consonderanno ogni cosa, e sarà fargli giudici e arbitri della fede; e in luogo dè teologi e canonisti, converrà tener il primo conto nell' assumere a Vescovati e Cardinalati dè pedanti." (*Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*,

[39] By Mr. Davis, p. 41, and by Dr. Chelsum, Remarks, p. 57.

L. ii. p. 149.) The sagacious historian, who had studied the Council, and the judicious Le Courayer, who had studied his author (*Histoire du Concile de Trente*, tom. i. p. 245. Londres 1736.), consider this *ridiculous* reason as the most powerful argument which influenced the debates of the Council: but Mr. Davis, jealous of the honor of a synod which placed tradition on a level with the Bible, affirms that Fra-Paolo has given another more substantial reason on which these Popish bishops built their determination, That after dividing the books under their consideration into three classes; of those which had been always held for divine; of those whose authenticity had formerly been doubted, but which by use and custom had acquired canonical authority; and of those which had never been properly certified; the Apocalypse was judiciously placed by the Fathers of the Council in the second of these classes.

The Italian passage, which, for that purpose, Mr. Davis has alleged at the bottom of his page, is indeed taken from the text of Fra-Paolo; but the reader, who will give himself the trouble, or rather the pleasure, of perusing that incomparable historian, will discover that Mr. Davis has *only* mistaken a motion of the opposition, for a measure of the administration. He will find that this critical division, which is so erroneously ascribed to the public reason of the council, was no more than the ineffectual proposal of a temperate minority, which was soon over-ruled by a majority of artful statesmen, bigoted monks, and dependent bishops.

"We have here an evident proof that Mr. Gibbon is "equally expert in misrepresenting a modern as an ancient "writer, or that he willfully conceals the most material "reason, with a design, no doubt, to instill into his reader a "notion, that the authenticity of the Apocalypse is built on "the slightest foundation." [40]

VII. I had cautiously observed (for I was apprized of the obscurity of the subject) that the *Epistle* of Clemens does not lead us to discover any traces of Episcopacy either at Corinth or Rome.[41] In this observation I particularly alluded to the republican form of salutation. "The church of God inhabiting Rome, to the "church of God inhabiting Corinth;" without the least mention of a Bishop or President in either of those ecclesiastical assemblies. Clemens.

Yet the piercing eye of Mr. Davis[42] can discover not only traces, but evident proofs, of Episcopacy, in this *Epistle* of

[40] Davis, p. 44. [41] Gibbon, p. 592. N. 110. [42] Davis, p. 44, 45.

Clemens; and he actually quotes two passages, in which he distinguishes by capital letters the word BISHOPS, whose institution Clemens refers to the Apostles themselves. But can Mr. Davis hope to gain credit by such egregious trifling? While we are searching for the origin of bishops, not merely as an ecclesiastical title, but as the peculiar name of an order distinct from that of presbyters, he idly produces a passage, which, by declaring that the Apostles established in every place *bishops* and *deacons*, evidently confounds the *presbyters* with one or other of those two ranks. I have neither inclination nor interest to engage in a controversy which I had considered only in an historical light; but I have already said enough to show that there are more traces of a disingenuous mind in Mr. Davis, than of an episcopal order in the *Epistle* of Clemens.

Eusebius.

VIII. Perhaps, on some future occasion, I may examine the historical character of Eusebius; perhaps I may inquire, how far it appears from his words and actions, that the learned Bishop of Cæsarea was averse to the use of fraud, when it was employed in the service of religion. At present, I am only concerned to defend my own truth and honor, from the reproach of misrepresenting the sense of the ecclesiastical historian. Some of the charges of Mr. Davis on this head are so strong, so pointed, so vehemently urged, that he seems to have staked, on the event of the trial, the merits of our respective characters. If his assertions are true, I deserve the contempt of learned, and the abhorrence of good men. If they are false, * * * * * * *

1. I had remarked, without any malicious intention, that one of the seventeen Christians who suffered at Alexandria was likewise *accused* of robbery.[43] Mr. Davis[44] seems enraged because I did not add that he was *falsely* accused, takes some unnecessary pains to convince me that the Greek word εσυκοφαντηθη signifies *falso accusatus*, and "can "hardly think that any one who had looked into the original, "would dare thus absolutely to contradict the plain testi- "mony of the author he *pretends* to follow." A simple narrative of this fact, in the relation of which Mr. Davis has *really* suppressed several material circumstances, will afford the clearest justification.

[43] Gibbon, p. 654. N. 75.

[44] Davis, p. 61, 62, 63. This ridiculous charge is repeated by another *sycophant*, (in the Greek sense of the word,) and forms one of the *valuable* communications, which the learning of a Randolph suggested to the candor of a Chelsum. See Remarks, p. 209.

Eusebius has preserved an original letter from Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria to Fabius Bishop of Antioch, in which the former relates the circumstances of the persecution which had lately afflicted the capital of Egypt. He allows a rank among the martyrs to one Nemesion, an Egyptian, who was falsely or maliciously accused as a companion of robbers. Before the Centurion he justified himself from this calumny, which did not relate to him; but being charged as a Christian, he was brought in chains before the governor. That unjust magistrate, after inflicting on Nemesion *a double measure of stripes and tortures*, gave orders that he should be *burnt with the robbers*. (*Dionys. apud Euseb.* L. vi. c. 41.)

It is evident that Dionysius represents the religious sufferer as innocent of the criminal accusation which had been falsely brought against him. It is no less evident, that whatever might be the opinion of the Centurion, the supreme magistrate considered Nemesion as guilty, and that he affected to show, by the measure of his tortures, and by the companions of his execution, that he punished him, not only as a Christian, but as a robber. The evidence against Nemesion, and that which might be produced in his favor, are equally lost; and the question (which fortunately is of little moment) of his guilt or innocence rests solely on the opposite judgments of his ecclesiastical and civil superiors. I could easily perceive that both the bishop and the governor were actuated by different passions and prejudices towards the unhappy sufferer; but it was impossible for me to decide which of the two was the most likely to indulge his prejudices and passions at the expense of truth. In this doubtful situation I conceived that I had acted with the most unexceptionable caution, when I contented myself with observing that Nemesion was *accused;* a circumstance of a public and authentic nature, in which both parties were agreed.

Mr. Davis will no longer ask, "What possible evasion can "Mr. Gibbon have recourse to, to convince the world that "I have *falsely* accused *him* of a gross misrepresentation "of Eusebius?"

2. Mr. Davis[45] charges me with falsifying (*falsifying* is a very serious word) the testimony of Eusebius; because it suited my purpose to magnify the humanity and even kindness of Maxentius towards the afflicted Christians.[46] To support this charge, he produces some part of a chapter of Eusebius, the English in his text, the Greek in his notes,

[45] Davis, p. 64, 65

[46] Gibbon, p. 693. N. 168.

and makes the ecclesiastical historian express himself in the following terms: "Although Maxentius at first favored the "Christians with a view of popularity, yet afterwards, being "addicted to magic, and every other impiety, HE exerted "himself in persecuting the Christians, in a more severe "and destructive manner than his predecessors had done "before him."

If it were in my power to place the volume and chapter of Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* L. viii. c. 14.) before the eyes of every reader, I should be satisfied and silent. I should not be under the necessity of protesting that in the passage quoted, or rather abridged, by my adversary, the second member of the period, which alone contradicts my account of Maxentius, has not the most distant reference to that odious tyrant. After distinguishing the mild conduct which *he* affected towards the Christians, Eusebius proceeds to animadvert with becoming severity on the general vices of his reign; the rapes, the murders, the oppression, the promiscuous massacres, which I had faithfully related in their proper place, and in which the Christians, not in their religious, but in their civil capacity, must occasionally have shared with the rest of his unhappy subjects. The ecclesiastical historian then makes a transition to *another tyrant*, the cruel Maximin, who carried away from his friend and ally Maxentius the prize of superior wickedness; for HE was addicted to Magic arts, and was a cruel persecutor of the Christians. The evidence of words and facts, the plain meaning of Eusebius, the concurring testimony of Cæcilius or Lactantius, and the superfluous authority of versions and commentators, establish beyond the reach of doubt or cavil, that Maximin, and not Maxentius, is stigmatized as a persecutor, and that Mr. Davis alone has deserved the reproach of *falsifying* the testimony of Eusebius.

Let him examine the chapter on which he founds his accusation. If in that moment his feelings are not of the most painful and humiliating kind, he must indeed be an object of pity!

3. *A gross blunder* is imputed to me by this polite antagonist,[47] for quoting, under the name of Jerom, the Chronicle which I ought to have described as the work and property of Eusebius;[48] and Mr. Davis kindly points out the occasion of my blunder, That it was the consequence of my looking no farther than Dodwell for this remark, and

[47] Davis, p. 66. [48] Gibbon, p. 673. N. 125.

of not rightly understanding his reference. Perhaps the Historian of the Roman Empire may be credited, when he affirms that he frequently consulted a Latin Chronicle of the affairs of that empire; and he may the sooner be credited, if he shows that he knows something more of the Chronicle besides the name and the title-page.

Mr. Davis who talks so familiarly of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, will be surprised to hear that the Greek original no longer exists. Some chronological fragments, which had successively passed through the hands of Africanus and Eusebius, are still extant, though in a very corrupt and mutilated state, in the compilations of Syncellus and Cedrenus. They have been collected, and disposed by the labor and ingenuity of Joseph Scaliger; but that proud critic, always ready to applaud his own success, did not flatter himself that he had restored the hundredth part of the genuine *Chronicle* of Eusebius. "Ex eo (*syncello*) omnia Eusebiana "excerpsimus quæ quidem deprehendere potuimus; quæ, "quanquam ne centesima quidem pars eorum esse videtur "quæ ab Eusebio relicta sunt, aliquod tamen justum volu- "men explere possunt." (Jos Scaliger *Animadversiones in Græca Eusebii in Thesauro Temporum*, p. 401. Amstelod. 1658.) While the *Chronicle* of Eusebius was perfect and entire, the second book was translated into Latin by Jerom, with the freedom, or rather license, which that voluminous author, as well as his friend or enemy Rufinus, always assumed. Plurima in vertendo mutat, infulcit, præterit," says Scaliger himself, in the *Prolegomena* p. 22. In the persecution of Aurelian, which has so much offended Mr. Davis, we are able to distinguish the work of Eusebius from that of Jerom, by comparing the expressions of the *Ecclesiastical History* with those of the *Chronicle*. The former affirms, that towards the end of his reign, Aurelian was moved by some councils to excite a persecution against the Christians; that his design occasioned a great and general rumor; but that when the letters were prepared, and as it were signed, divine justice dismissed him from the world. Ηδη τισι ζηλωις ως αν διωγμον καθ' ημων εγειρειεν ανεκινειτο. πολυς τε ην ο λογος παρα πασι περι τουτου. μελλοντα δε ηδη και σχεδον ειπειν τοις καθ' ημων γραμμασιν υποσημειωμενον, θεια μετεισιν δικη. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* L. vii. c. 30. Whereas the *Chronicle* relates, that Aurelian was killed after he had excited or moved a persecution against the Christians, "cum adversum nos persecutionem "movisset."

From this manifest difference I assume a right to assert; first, that the expression of the *Chronicle* of *Jerom*, which is always proper, became in this instance necessary; and secondly, that the language of the fathers is so ambiguous and incorrect, that we are at a loss to determine how far Aurelian had carried his intention before he was assassinated. I have neither perverted the *fact*, nor have I been guilty of *a gross blunder*.

Justin Martyr.

IX. "The persons accused of Christianity "had a convenient time allowed them to settle "their domestic concerns, and to prepare their answer.[49]" This observation had been suggested, partly by a general expression of Cyprian (*de Lapsis*, p. 88. Edit. Fell. Amstelod. 1700.), and more especially by the second *Apology* of Justin Martyr, who gives a particular and curious example of this legal delay.

The expressions of Cyprian, "dies negantibus præstitu- "tus, &c.," which Mr. Davis most prudently suppresses, are illustrated by Mosheim in the following words: "Pri- "mum qui delati erant aut suspecti, illis certum dierum "spatium judex definiebat, quo decurrente, secum delibe- "rare poterant, utrum profiteri Christum an negare "mallent; *explorandæ fidei præfiniebantur dies*, per hoc "tempus liberi manebant in domibus suis; nec impediebat "aliquis quod ex consequentibus apparet, ne fuga sibi "consulerent. Satis hoc erat humanum." (*De Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum*, p. 480.) The practice of Egypt was sometimes more expeditious and severe; but this humane indulgence was still allowed in Africa during the persecution of Decius.

But my appeal to Justin Martyr is encountered by Mr. Davis with the following declaration:[50] "The reader will "observe, that Mr. Gibbon does not make any reference "to any section or division of this part of Justin's work; "with what view we may shrewdly suspect, when I tell "him, that after an accurate perusal of the whole second "*Apology*, I can boldly affirm, that the following instance "is the only one that bears the most distant similitude to "what Mr. Gibbon relates as above on the authority of "Justin. What I find in Justin is as follows: "A woman "being converted to Christianity, is afraid to associate with "her husband, because he is an abandoned reprobate, lest "she should partake of his sins. Her husband, not being

[49] Gibbon, p. 663.

[50] Davis, p. 71, 72.

" able to accuse *her*, vents his rage in this manner on one " Ptolemæus, a teacher of Christianity, and who had con- " verted her, &c." Mr. Davis then proceeds to relate the severities inflicted on Ptolemæus, who made a frank and instant profession of his faith; and he sternly exclaims, that if I take every opportunity of passing encomiums on the humanity of Roman magistrates, it is incumbent on me to produce better evidence than this.

His demand may be easily satisfied, and I need only for that purpose transcribe and translate the words of Justin, which *immediately* precede the Greek quotation alleged at the bottom of my adversary's page. I am possessed of two editions of Justin Martyr, that of Cambridge, 1768, in 8vo. by Dr. Ashton, who only published the two *Apologies;* and that of all his works, published in fol. Paris, 1742, by the Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maar: the following curious passage may be found, p. 164, of the former, and p. 89, of the latter edition: Κατηγοριαν πεποιηται, λεγων αυτην χριστιανην ειναι, και ἡ μεν βιζλιδιον σοι τω αυτοκρατορι αναδεδωκε, προτερον συνχωρηθηναι αυτη διοικησασθαι τα εαυτης αξιωσα. επειτα απολογησασθαι περι τȣ κατηγορματος, μετα την των πραγματων αυτης διοικησιν. και συνεχωρησας τȣτο. " He brought an accusation against her, " saying, that she was a Christian. But she presented a " petition to the Emperor, praying that she might first be " allowed to settle her domestic concerns; and promising, " that after she had settled them, she would then put in her " answer to the accusation. This you granted."

I disdain to add a single reflection; nor shall I qualify the conduct of my adversary with any of those harsh epithets, which might be interpreted as the expressions of resentment, though I should be constrained to use them as the only words in the English language which could accurately represent my cool and unprejudiced sentiments.

Lactantius.

X. In stating the toleration of Christianity during the greatest part of the reign of Diocletian, I had observed,[51] that the principal officers of the palace, whose names and functions were particularly specified, enjoyed, with their wives and children, the free exercise of the Christian religion. Mr. Davis twice affirms,[52] in the most deliberate manner, that this pretended fact, which is asserted on the sole authority, is contradicted by the positive evidence, of Lactantius. In both these *affirmations* Mr. Davis is inexcusably mistaken.

51 Gibbon, p. 676. N. 133, 134.

52 Davis, p. 75, 76.

1. When the storms of persecution arose, the priests, who were offended by the sign of the Cross, obtained an order from the Emperor, that the profane, the Christians, who accompanied him to the Temple, should be compelled to offer sacrifice; and this incident is mentioned by the rhetorician, to whom I shall not at present refuse the name of Lactantius. The act of idolatry, which, at the expiration of eighteen years, was required of the officers of Diocletian, is a manifest proof that their religious freedom had hitherto been inviolate, except in the single instance of waiting on their master to the Temple; a service less criminal than the profane compliance for which the minister of the King of Syria solicited the permission of the prophet of Israel.

2. The reference which I made to Lactantius expressly pointed out this exception to their freedom. But the proof of the toleration was built on a different testimony, which my disingenuous adversary has concealed; an ancient and curious instruction composed by Bishop Theonas, for the use of Lucian, and the other Christian eunuchs of the palace of Diocletian. This authentic piece was published in the Spicilegium of Dom Luc d'Acheri: as I had not the opportunity of consulting the original, I was contented with quoting it on the faith of Tillemont, and the reference to it immediately precedes (ch. xvi. note 133.) the citation of Lactantius (note 134).

Mr. Davis may now answer his own question, "What "apology can be made for thus asserting, on the sole "authority of Lactantius, facts which Lactantius so ex- "pressly denies?"

Dion Cassius.

XI. "I have already given a curious instance "of our author's asserting, on the authority of "Dion Cassius, a fact not mentioned by that historian. I "shall now produce a very singular proof of his endeavoring "to conceal from us a passage really contained in him.[53]" Nothing but the angry vehemence with which these charges are urged, could engage me to take the least notice of them. In themselves they are doubly contemptible; they are trifling, and they are false.

1. Mr. Davis[54] had imputed to me as a crime, that I had mentioned, on the sole testimony of Dion (L. lxviii. p. 1145), the spirit of rebellion which inflamed the Jews, from the reign of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius,[55] whilst the passage of that historian is confined to an insurrection in

[53] Davis, p. 83. [54] Id. p. 11. [55] Gibbon, p. 662.

Cyprus and Cyrene, which broke out within that period. The reader who will cast his eye on the note (ch. xvi. note 1.), which is supported by that quotation from Dion, will discover that it related only to *this* particular fact. The general position, which is indeed too notorious to require any proof, I had carefully justified in the course of the same paragraph; partly by another reference to Dion Cassius, partly by an allusion to the well-known history of Josephus, and partly by *several* quotations from the learned and judicious Basnage, who has explained, in the most satisfactory manner, the principles and conduct of the rebellious Jews.

2. The passage of Dion, which I am accused of endeavoring to conceal, might perhaps have remained invisible, even to the piercing eye of Mr. Davis, if *I* had not carefully reported it in its proper place:[56] and it was in my power to report it, without being guilty of any *inconsiderate contradiction.* I had observed, that, in the large history of Dion Cassius, Xiphilin had not been able to discover the name of *Christians:* yet I afterwards quote a passage, in which Marcia, the favorite concubine of Commodus, is celebrated as the patroness of the *Christians.* Mr. Davis has transcribed my quotation, but *he* has concealed the important words which I now distinguish by Italics. (Ch. xvi. note 106. *Dion Cassius, or rather his abbreviator Xiphilin,* L. lxxii. p. 1206.) The reference is fairly made and cautiously qualified: I am already secure from the imputations of fraud or inconsistency; and the opinion which attributes the last-mentioned passage to the abbreviator, rather than to the original historian, may be supported by the most unexceptionable authorities. I shall protect myself by those of Reimer (in his edition of *Dion Cassius,* tom. ii. p. 1207. note 34), and of Dr. Lardner; and shall only transcribe the words of the latter, *in his Collection of Jewish and Heathen Testimonies,* vol. iii. p. 57.

" This paragraph I rather think to be Xiphilin's than " Dion's. The style at least is Xiphilin's In the other pas- " sages before quoted, Dion speaks of *impiety,* or *atheism,* " or *Judaism;* but never useth the word *Christians.* An- " other thing that may make us doubt whether this obser- " vation be entirely Dion's, is the phrase, 'it is related " '(ιστορειται).' For at the beginning of the reign of Com- " modus, he says, ' These things, and what follows, I write " ' not from the report of others, but from my own knowledge

[56] Gibbon, p. 667. N. 107.

" 'and observation.' However, the sense may be Dion's; " but I wish we had also his style, without any adulteration." For my own part, I must, in my private opinion, ascribe even the sense of this passage to Xiphilin. The *Monk* might eagerly collect and insert an anecdote which related to the domestic history of the church; but the religion of a courtezan must have appeared an object of very little moment in the eyes of a *Roman consul*, who, at least in every other part of his history, disdained or neglected to mention the name of the Christians.

" What shall we say now? Do we not discover the name " of Christians in the *History* of Dion? With what *assurance* " then can Mr. Gibbon, after asserting a fact manifestly *un-* " *true*, lay claim to the merits of diligence and accuracy, " the indispensable duty of an historian? Or can he expect " us to credit his assertion, that he has carefully examined " all the original materials?" [57]

Mr. Gibbon may still maintain the character of an historian; but it is difficult to conceive how Mr. Davis will support his pretentions, if he aspires to that of a gentleman.

I almost hesitate whether I should take any notice of another ridiculous charge which Mr. Davis includes in the article of Dion Cassius. My adversary owns, that I have occasionally produced the several passages of the *Augustan History* which relates to the Christians; but he fiercely contends that they amount to more than *six lines*.[58] I really have not measured them: nor did I mean that loose expression as a precise and definite number. If, on a nicer survey, those short hints, when they are brought together, should be found to exceed six of the long lines of my folio edition, I am content that my critical antagonist should substitute eight, or ten, or twelve, lines; nor shall I think either my learning or veracity much interested in this important alteration.

Pliny, &c.

XII. After a short description of the unworthy conduct of those Apostates who, in a time of persecution, deserted the Faith of Christ, I produced the evidence of a Pagan Proconsul,[59] and of two Christian Bishops, Pliny, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Cyprian. And here the unforgiving Critic remarks, " That Pliny has not particu- " larized that difference of conduct (in the different Apos- " tates) which Mr. Gibbon here describes: yet his name " stands at the head of those Authors whom he has cited " on the occasion. It is allowed indeed that this distinction

[57] Davis, p. 83. [58] Gibbon, p. 634. N. 24. [59] Id. p. 664. N. 102.

" is made by the other Authors; but as Pliny, the first re-
" ferred to by Mr. Gibbon, gives him no cause or reason to
" use *them*," (I cannot help Mr. Davis's bad English) " it
" is certainly very reprehensible in our Author, thus to
" confound their testimony, and to make a needless and
" improper reference."[60]

A criticism of this sort can only tend to expose Mr. Davis's total ignorance of historical composition. The Writer who aspires to the name of Historian, is obliged to consult a variety of original testimonies, each of which, taken separately, is perhaps imperfect and partial. By a judicious re-union and arrangement of these dispersed materials, he endeavors to form a consistent and interesting narrative. Nothing ought to be inserted which is not proved by some of the witnesses; but their evidence must be so intimately blended together, that as it is unreasonable to expect that each of them should vouch for the whole, so it would be impossible to define the boundaries of their respective property. Neither Pliny, nor Dionysius, nor Cyprian, mention *all* the circumstances and *distinctions* of the conduct of the Christian Apostates; but if any of them was withdrawn, the account which I have given would, in some instance, be defective.

Thus much I thought necessary to say, as several of the subsequent *misrepresentations* of Orosius, of Bayle, of Fabricius, of Gregory of Tours, &c.,[61] which provoked the fury of Mr. Davis, are derived only from the ignorance of this common historical principle.

Another class of misrepresentations, which my Adversary urges with the same degree of vehemence (see in particular those of Justin, Diodorus, Siculus, and even Tacitus), requires the support of another principle, which has not yet been introduced into the art of criticism; *that* when a modern historian appeals to the authority of the ancients for the truth of any particular fact, he makes himself answerable, I know not to what extent, for all the circumjacent errors or inconsistencies of the authors whom he has quoted.

XIII. I am accused of throwing out a false accusation against this Father,[62] because I had observed[63] that Ignatius, defending against the Gnostics the resurrection of Christ, employs a vague and doubtful tradition, instead of quoting the certain testimony of the Evan- Ignatius.

60 Davis, p. 87, 88.
61 Davis, p. 88, 90, 137.
62 Id. p. 100, 101.
63 Gibbon, p. 551. N. 35.

gelists: and this observation was justified by a remarkable passage of Ignatius, in his *Epistle* to the Smyrnæans, which I cited according to the volume and the page of the best edition of the *Apostolical Fathers*, published at Amsterdam, 1724, in two volumes in folio. The Criticism of Mr. Davis is announced by one of those solemn declarations which leave not any refuge, if they are convicted of falsehood. "I cannot find any passage that bears the least affinity to "what Mr. Gibbon observes, in the whole *Epistle*, which I "have read over more than once."

I had already marked the *situation;* nor is it in my power to prove the *existence*, of this passage, by any other means than by producing the words of the original. Εγω γαρ και μετα την αναστασιν εν σαρκι αυτον οιδα και πιστευω εντα, και οτε προς τους περι Πετριον ηλθεν, εφη αυτοις, λαβετε, ψυλαφησατε με, και ιδετε οτι ουκ' ειμι δαιμονιον ασωματον. και ευθυς αυτου 'ηψαντο, και επιστευσαν. "I have known, and I believe, that after his resurrection "likewise he existed in the flesh: And when he came to "Peter, and to the rest, he said unto them, Take, handle "me, and see that I am not an incoporeal dæmon or spirit. "And they touched him, and believed." The faith of the Apostles confuted the impious error of the Gnostics, which attributed only the *appearances* of a human body to the Son of God: and it was the great object of Ignatius, in the last moments of his life, to secure the Christians of Asia from the snares of those dangerous Heretics. According to the tradition of the modern Greeks, Ignatius was the child whom Jesus received into his arms (see Tillemont, *Mem. Eccles.* tom. ii. part ii. p. 43.); yet as he could scarcely be old enough to remember the resurrection of the Son of God, he must have derived his knowledge *either* from our present Evangelists, *or* from some Apocryphal Gospel, *or* from some unwritten tradition.

1. The Gospels of St. Luke and St. John would undoubtedly have supplied Ignatius with the most invincible proofs of the reality of the body of Christ, when he appeared to the Apostles after his resurrection; but neither of those Gospels contain the characteristic words of ουκ δαιμον ον ασωματον, and the important circumstance that either Peter, or *those* who were with Peter, touched the body of Christ and believed. Had the saint designed to quote the Evangelist on a very nice subject of controversy, he would not surely have exposed himself, by an inaccurate, or rather by a false, reference, to the just reproaches of the Gnostics.

On this occasion, therefore, Ignatius did not employ, as he might have done, against the Heretics, the certain testimony of the Evangelists.

2. Jerom, who cites this remarkable passage from the Epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnæans (see *Catalog. Script. Eccles. in Ignatio*, tom. i. p. 273. edit. Erasm. Basil, 1537), is of opinion that it was taken from the *Gospel* which he himself had lately translated: and *this*, from the comparison of two other passages in the same work (in Jacob. *et in Matthæo*, p. 264.), appears to have been the Hebrew Gospel, which was used by the Nazarenes of Beræa, as the genuine composition of St. Matthew. Yet Jerom mentions another Copy of this Hebrew Gospel (so different from the Greek text), which was extant in the library formed at Cæsarea, by the care of Pamphilus: whilst the learned Eusebius, the friend of Pamphilus and the Bishop of Cæsarea, very frankly declares (*Hist. Eccles.* L. iii. c. 36.), that *he* is ignorant from whence Ignatius borrowed those words, which are the subject of the present Inquiry.

3. The doubt which remains, is only whether he took them from an Apocryphal Book, or from *unwritten tradition:* and I thought myself safe from every species of Critics, when I embraced the rational sentiment of Casaubon and Pearson. I shall produce the words of the Bishop: "Præterea iterum observandum est, quod de hac re scripsit "Isaacus Casaubonus, *Quinetiam fortasse verius, non ex "Evangelio Hebraico, Ignatium illa verba descripsisse, "verum traditionem allegasse non scriptam, quæ postea in "literas fuerit relata, et Hebraico Evangelio, quod Matthæo "tribuebant, inserta.* Et hoc quidem mihi multo verisimilius "videtur." (Pearson. *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, part ii. c. ix. p. 396 in tom. ii. *Patr. Apostol.*)

I may now submit to the judgment of the Public, whether I have looked into the *Epistle* which I cite with such a parade of learning, and *how profitably* Mr. Davis has read it over more than once.

Mosheim.

XIV. The learning and judgment of Mosheim had been of frequent use in the course of my Historical Inquiry, and I had not been wanting in proper expressions of gratitude. My vexatious adversary is always ready to start from his ambuscade, and to harass my march by a mode of attack which cannot easily be reconciled with the laws of honorable war. The greatest part of the Misrepresentations of Mosheim, which Mr. Davis has imputed

to me,[64] are of such a nature, that I must indeed be humble, if I could persuade myself to bestow a moment of serious attention on them. *Whether* Mosheim could prove that an absolute community of goods was not established among the first Christians of Jerusalem; *whether* he suspected the purity of the *Epistles* of Ignatius; *whether* he censured Dr. Middleton with temper or indignation (in this cause I must challenge Mr. Davis as an incompetent judge); *whether* he corroborates the *whole* of my description of the prophetic office; *whether* he speaks with approbation of the humanity of Pliny; and *whether* he attributed the same sense to the *malefica* of Suetonius, and the *exitiabilis* of Tacitus? These questions, even as Mr. Davis has stated them, lie open to the judgment of every reader, and the superfluous observations which I could make, would be an abuse of their time and of my own. As little shall I think of consuming their patience, by examining whether Le Clerc and Mosheim *labor* in the interpretation of some texts of the Fathers, and particularly of a passage of Irenæus, which seem to favor the pretensions of the Roman Bishop. The material part of the passage of Irenæus consists of about *four lines;* and in order to show that the interpretations of Le Clerc and Mosheim are not *labored*, Mr. Davis abridges them as much as possible in the space of *twelve pages*. I know not whether the perusal of my *History* will justify the suspicion of Mr. Davis, that I am secretly inclined to the interest of the Pope: but I cannot discover how the Protestant cause can be affected, if Irenæus in the second, or Palavicini in the seventeenth century, were tempted, by any private views, to countenance in their writings the system of ecclesiastical dominion, which has been pursued in every age by the aspiring Bishops of the Imperial city. Their conduct was adapted to the revolutions of the Christian Republic, but the same spirit animated the haughty breasts of Victor the First, and of Paul the Fifth.

There still remains one or two of these imputed Misrepresentations, which appear, and indeed only appear, to merit a little more attention. In stating the opinion of Mosheim with regard to the progress of the Gospel, Mr. Davis boldly declares, "that I have *altered the truth* of Mosheim's history, "that I might have an opportunity of contradicting the "belief and wishes of the Fathers."[65] In other words, I have been guilty of uttering a malicious falsehood.

[64] Davis, p. 95-97. 104-107. 114-132. [65] Davis, p. 12

I had endeavored to mitigate the sanguine expression of the Fathers of the second century, who had too hastily diffused the light of Christianity over every part of the globe, by observing, as an undoubted fact, "that the barbarians "of Scythia and Germany, who subverted the Roman "Monarchy, were involved in the errors of Paganism; and "that even the conquest of Iberia, of Armenia, or of Æthi-"opia, was not attempted with any degree of success, till "the sceptre was in the hands of an orthodox Emperor." [66] I had referred the curious reader to the fourth century of Mosheim's *General History of the Church*; now Mr. Davis has discovered, and can prove, from that excellent work, "that Christianity, not long after its first rise, had been in-"troduced into the less as well as greater Armenia; that "part of the Goths, who inhabited Thracia, Mæsia, and "Dacia, had received the Christian religion long before this "century; and that Theophilus, their Bishop, was present "at the Council of Nice." [67]

On this occasion, the reference was made to a popular work of Mosheim, for the satisfaction of the reader, that he might obtain the general view of the progress of Christianity in the fourth century, which I had gradually acquired by studying with some care the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Nations beyond the limits of the Roman Empire. If I had reasonably supposed that the result of our common inquiries must be the same, should I have deserved a very harsh censure for my unsuspecting confidence? Or if I had declined the invidious task of separating a few immaterial errors, from a just and judicious representation, might not my respect for the name and merit of Mosheim have claimed some indulgence? But I disdain those excuses, which only a candid adversary would allow. I can meet Mr. Davis on the hard ground of controversy, and retort on his own head the charge of concealing a part of the truth. He himself has dared to suppress the words of my text, which immediately followed his quotation. "Before that time the various "accidents of war and commerce might indeed diffuse an "imperfect knowledge of the Gospel among the tribes of "Caledonia, and among the borderers of the Rhine, the "Danube, and the Euphrates;" and Mr. Davis has likewise suppressed one of the justificatory Notes on this passage, which expressly points out the time and circumstances of the first Gothic conversions. These exceptions, which I had

[66] Gibbon, p. 611, 612.

[67] Davis, p. 126, 127.

cautiously inserted, and Mr. Davis has cautiously concealed, are superfluous for the provinces of Thrace, Mæsia, and the Lesser Armenia, which were contained within the precincts of the Roman Empire. They allow an ample scope for the more early conversion of some independent districts of Dacia and the Greater Armenia, which bordered on the Danube and Euphrates; and the entire sense of this passage, which Mr. Davis first mutilates and then attacks, is perfectly consistent with the original text of the learned Mosheim.

And yet I will fairly confess that, after a nicer inquiry into the epoch of the Armenian Church, I am not satisfied with the accuracy of my own expression. The assurance that the first Christian King, and the first Archbishop, Tiridates, and St. Gregory the Illuminator, were still alive several years after the death of Constantine, inclined me to believe, that the conversion of Armenia was posterior to the auspicious Revolution, which had given the sceptre of Rome to the hands of an orthodox Emperor. But I had not enough considered the two following circumstances. 1. I might have recollected the dates assigned by Moses of Chorene, who, on this occasion, may be regarded as a competent witness. Tiridates ascended the throne of Armenia in the third year of Diocletian (*Hist. Armeniæ*, L. ii. c. 79. p. 207.), and St. Gregory, who was invested with the Episcopal character in the seventeenth year of Tiridates, governed almost thirty years the Church of Armenia, and disappeared from the world in the forty-sixth year of the reign of the same Prince. (*Hist. Armeniæ*, L. ii. c. 88. p. 224, 225.) The consecration of St. Gregory must therefore be placed A. D. 303, and the conversion of the King and kingdom was soon achieved by that successful missionary. 2. The unjust and inglorious war which Maximin undertook against the Armenians, the ancient faithful allies of the Republic, was evidently derived from a motive of superstitious zeal. The historian Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* L. ix. c. 8. p. 448. edit. Cantab.) considers the pious Armenians as a nation of Christians, who bravely defended themselves from the hostile oppression of an idolatrous tyrant. Instead of maintaining "that the conversion of Armenia was not attempted with "any degree of success till the sceptre was in the hands of "an orthodox Emperor," I ought to have observed, that the seeds of the faith were deeply sown during the season of the last and greatest persecution, that many Roman ex-

iles might assist the labors of Gregory, and that the renowned Tiridates, the hero of the East, may dispute with Constantine the honor of being the first Sovereign who embraced the Christian religion.

In a future edition, I shall rectify an expression which, in strictness, can only be applied to the kingdoms of Iberia and Æthiopia. Had the error been exposed by Mr. Davis himself, I should not have been ashamed to correct it; but *I am* ashamed at being reduced to contend with an adversary who is unable to discover, or to improve, his own advantages.

But, instead of prosecuting any inquiry from whence the Public might have gained instruction, and himself credit, Mr. Davis chooses to perplex his readers with some angry cavils about the progress of the Gospel in the second century. What does he mean to establish or to refute? Have I denied, that before the end of that period Christianity was very widely diffused both in the East and in the West? Has not Justin Martyr affirmed, without exception or limitation, that it was already preached to *every* nation on the face of the earth? Is that proposition true at present? Could it be true in the time of Justin? Does not Mosheim acknowledge the exaggeration? "Demus, nec enim quæ in oculos "incurrunt infitiari audemus, esse in his verbis exaggera- "tionis nonnihil. Certum enim est diu post Justini ætatem, "multas orbis terrarum gentes cognitione Christi caruisse." (Mosheim *de Rebus Christianis*, p. 203.) Does he not expose (p. 205.), with becoming scorn and indignation, the falsehood and vanity of the hyperboles of Tertullian? "bonum hominem æstu imaginationis elatum non satis "attendisse ad ea quæ litteris consignabat."

The high esteem which Mr. Davis expresses for the writings of Mosheim, would alone convince me how little he has read them, since he must have been perpetually offended and disgusted by a train of thinking, the most repugnant to his own. His jealousy, however, for the honor of Mosheim, provokes him to arraign the boldness of Mr. Gibbon who presumes *falsely* to charge such an eminent man with *unjustifiable assertions*.[68] I might observe, that my style, which on this occasion was more modest and moderate, has acquired, perhaps undesignedly, an illiberal cast from the rough hand of Mr. Davis. But as my veracity is impeached, I may be less solicitious about my politeness; and though I have repeatedly declined the fairest oppor-

[68] Davis, 131.

tunities of correcting the errors of my predecessors, yet, as long as I have truth on my side, I am not easily daunted by the names of the most eminent men.

The assertion of Mosheim, which did not seem to be justified[69] by the authority of Lactantius, was, that the wife and daughter of Diocletian, Prisca and *Valeria*, had been privately *baptized*. Mr. Davis is sure that the words of Mosheim, "Christianis sacris clam initiata," need not be confined to the rite of baptism: and he is equally sure, that the reference to Mosheim does not lead us to discover even the name of Valeria. In both these assurances he is grossly mistaken; but it is the misfortune of controversy, that an error may be committed in three or four words, which cannot be rectified in less than thirty or forty lines.

1. The true and the sole meaning of the Christian initiation, one of the familiar and favorite allusions of the Fathers of the fourth century, is clearly explained by the exact and laborious Bingham. "The baptized were also styled "ὁι μεμυημενοι, which the Latins call *initiati*, the initiated, that "is, admitted to the use of the *sacred* offices, and knowledge "of the *sacred* mysteries of the Christian Religion. Hence "came that form of speaking so frequently used by St. "Chrysostom, and other ancient writers, when they touched "upon any doctrines or mysteries which the Catechumens "understood not, ισασιν ὁι μεμυημενοι, the initiated know what "is spoken. St. Ambrose writes a book to these *initiati*; "Isidore of Pelusium and Hesychius call them μυσται and "μυσταγωγητοι. Whence the Catechumens have the contrary "names, Αμυστοι, Αμυητοι, Αμυσταγωγητοι, the uninitiated or un-"baptized." (*Antiquities of the Christian Church*, L. i. c. No. 2. vol. i. p. 11. fol. edit.) Had I presumed to suppose that Mosheim was capable of employing a technical expression in a loose and equivocal sense, I should indeed have violated the respect which I have always entertained for his learning and abilities.

2. But Mr. Davis cannot discover in the text of Mosheim the name of Valeria. In that case Mosheim would have suffered another slight inaccuracy to drop from his pen, as the passage of Lactantius, "sacrificio pollui coegit," on which he founds his assertion, includes the names both of Prisca and Valeria. But I am not reduced to the necessity of accusing another in my own defence. Mosheim has properly and expressly declared that Valeria imitated the pious

[69] Gibbon, p. 676. N. 132.

example of her mother Prisca, "Gener Diocletiani uxorem "habebat *Valeriam* matris exemplum pietate erga Deum imi- "tantem et a cultu fictorum Numinum alienam." (Mosheim, p. 913.). Mr. Davis has a bad habit of greedily snapping at the first words of a reference, without giving himself the trouble of going to the end of the page or paragraph.

These trifling and peevish cavils would, perhaps, have been confounded with some criticisms of the same stamp, on which I had bestowed a slight, though sufficient notice, in the beginning of this article of Mosheim; had not my attention been awakened by a peroration worthy of Tertullian himself, if Tertullian had been devoid of eloquence as well as of moderation — "Much less does the Christian "Mosheim give our *infidel Historian* any pretext for insert- "ing that *illiberal malignant insinuation*, 'That Christianity "'has, in every age, acknowledged its important obliga- "'tions to FEMALE devotion;' the remark is truly *con-* "*temptible*."[70]

It is not my design to fill whole pages with a tedious enumeration of the many illustrious examples of female Saints, who, in every age, and almost in every country, have promoted the interest of Christianity. Such instances will readily offer themselves to those who have the slightest knowledge of Ecclesiastical History; nor is it necessary that I should remind them how much the charms, the influence, the devotion of Clotilda, and of her great-grand-daughter Bertha, contributed to the conversion of France and England. Religion may accept, without a blush, the services of the purest and most gentle portion of the human species: but there are some advocates who would disgrace Christianity, if Christianity could be disgraced, by the manner in which they defend her cause.

Tillemont.

XV. As I could not readily procure the works of Gregory of Nyssa, I borrowed[71] from the accurate and indefatigable Tillemont, a passage in the life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, or the Wonder-worker, which affirmed, that when the Saint took possession of his episcopal see, he found only SEVENTEEN *Christians* in the city of Neo-Cæsarea, and the adjacent country, "Les environs, la "campagne, le pays d'alentour." (*Mem. Eccles.* tom. iv, p. 677. 691. Edit. Brusselles, 1706.) These expressions of Tillemont, to whom I explicitly acknowledged my obligation, appeared synonymous to the word *diocese*, the whole

[70] Davis, p. 132.

[71] Gibbon, p. 605. N. 156.

territory entrusted to the pastoral care of the Wonder-worker, and I added the epithet of *extensive*, because I was apprized that Neo-Cæsarea was the capital of the Polemoniac Pontus, and that the whole kingdom of Pontus, which stretched above five hundred miles along the coast of the Euxine, was divided between sixteen or seventeen bishops. (See the *Geographia Ecclesiastica* of Charles de St. Paul, and Lucas Holstenius, p. 249, 250, 251.) Thus far I may not be thought to have deserved any censure; but the omission of the subsequent part of the same passage, which imports, that at his death the Wonder-worker left no more than *seventeen Pagans*, may seem to wear a partial and suspicious aspect.

Let me therefore first observe, as some evidence of an impartial disposition, that I *easily* admitted, as the cool observation of the philosophic Lucian, the angry and interested complaint of the false prophet Alexander, that Pontus was filled with Christians. This complaint was made under the reigns of Marcus or of Commodus, with whom the impostor so admirably exposed by Lucian was contemporary: and I had contented myself with remarking, that the numbers of Christians must have been very unequally distributed in the several parts of Pontus, since the diocese of Neo-Cæsarea contained, above sixty years afterwards, only seventeen Christians. Such was the inconsiderable flock which Gregory began to feed about the year two hundred and forty; and the real or fabulous conversions ascribed to that Wonder-working Bishop, during a reign of thirty years, are totally foreign to the state of Christianity in the preceding century. This obvious reflection may serve to answer the objection of Mr. Davis,[72] and of another adversary,[73] who on this occasion is more liberal than Mr. Davis of those harsh epithets so familiar to the tribe of polemics.

Pagi. XVI. "Mr. Gibbon says,"[74] "Pliny was sent into "Bithynia (according to Pagi) in the year 110."

"Now that accurate chronologer places it in the year 102. "See the fact *recorded* in his *Critico-Historico Chronologica* "*in Annales* C. Baronii, A. D. 102 p. 99 sæc. 2. § 3."

"I appeal to my reader, whether this anachronism doe "not plainly prove that our historian never looked into "Pagi's *Chronology*, though he has not hesitated to make "a pompous reference to him in his note?[75]"

[72] Davis, p. 136, 137. [73] Dr. Randolph, in Chlesum's Remarks, p. 159, 160.
[74] Gibbon, p. 605. N. 157. [75] Davis, p. 140.

I cannot help observing that either Mr. Davis's dictionary is extremely confined, or that in his philosophy all sins are of equal magnitude. Every error of fact or language, every instance where he does not know how to reconcile the original and the reference, he expresses by the gentle word of *misrepresentation*. An inaccurate appeal to the sentiment of Pagi, on a subject where I must have been perfectly disinterested, might have been styled a lapse of memory, instead of being censured as the effect of vanity and ignorance. Pagi is neither a difficult nor an uncommon writer, nor could I hope to derive much additional fame from a *pompous* quotation of his writings, which I had never seen.

The words employed by Mr. Davis, of *fact*, of *record*, of *anachronism*, are unskillfully chosen, and so unhappily applied, as to betray a shameful ignorance, either of the English language, or of the nature of this chronological question. The date of Pliny's government of Bithynia is not a fact recorded by any ancient writer, but an opinion which modern critics have variously formed, from the consideration of presumptive and collateral evidence. Cardinal Baronius placed the consulship of Pliny one year too late; and, as he was persuaded that the old practice of the republic still subsisted, he naturally supposed that Pliny obtained his province immediately after the expiration of his consulship. He therefore sends him into Bithynia in the year which, according to his erroneous computation, coincided with the year one hundred and four (Baron *Annal. Eccles.* A. D. 103. No. 104 No. 1.), or according to the true chronology, with the year one hundred and two, of the Christian æra. This mistake of Baronius, Pagi, with the assistance of his friend Cardinal Noris, undertakes to correct. From an accurate parallel of the *Annals* of Trajan and the *Epistles* of Pliny, he deduces his proofs that Pliny remained at Rome several years after his consulship, by his own ingenious, though sometimes fanciful theory, of the imperial Quinquennalia, &c. Pagi at last discovers that Pliny made his entrance into Bithynia in the year one hundred and ten. "Plinius igitur anno Christi CENTESIMO "DECIMO Bithyniam intravit." Pagi, tom. i. p. 100.

I will be more indulgent to my adversary than he has been to me: I will admit that he has *looked into Pagi;* but I must add, that he has only looked into that accurate chronologer. To rectify the errors, which, in the course of a laborious and original work, had escaped the diligence of

the Cardinal, was the arduous task which Pagi proposed to execute: and for the sake of perspicuity, he distributes his criticisms according to the particular dates, whether just or faulty, of the Chronology of Baronius himself. Under the year 102, Mr. Davis confusedly saw a long argument about Pliny and Bithynia, and without condescending to read the author whom he *pompously* quotes, this hasty critic imputes to him the opinion which he had so laboriously destroyed.

My readers, if any readers have accompanied me thus far, must be satisfied, and indeed satiated, with the repeated proofs which I have made of the weight and temper of my adversary's weapons. They have, in every assault, fallen dead and lifeless to the ground: they have more than once recoiled, and dangerously wounded the unskillful hand that had presumed to use them. I have now examined all the *misrepresentations* and *inaccuracies*, which even for a moment could perplex the ignorant or deceive the credulous: the *few* imputations which I have neglected are still more palpably false, or still more evidently trifling, and even the friends of Mr. Davis will scarcely continue to ascribe my contempt to my fear.

Plagiarisms.

The first part of his critical volume might admit, though it did not deserve, a particular reply. But the easy, though tedious compilation, which fills the remainder,[76] and which Mr. Davis has produced as the evidence of my shameful *plagiarisms* may be set in its true light by three or four short and general reflections.

1. Mr. Davis has disposed, in two columns, the passages which he thinks proper to select from my two last chapters, and the corresponding passages from Middleton, Barbeyrac, Beausobre, Dodwell, &c., to the most important of which he had been regularly guided by my own quotations. According to the opinion which he has conceived of literary property, to *agree* is to *follow*, and to *follow* is to *steal*. He celebrates his own sagacity with loud and reiterated applause, and declares, with infinite facetiousness, that if he restored to every author the passages which Mr. Gibbon has purloined, *he* would appear as naked as the proud and gaudy daw in the fable, when each bird had plucked away its own plumes. Instead of being angry with Mr. Davis for the parallel which he has extended to so great a length, I am under some obligation to his industry for the copious proofs which he has furnished the reader, that my representation

[76] Davis, p. 168-274.

of some of the most important facts of ecclesiastical antiquity is supported by the authority or opinion of the most ingenious and learned of the modern writers. The public may not, perhaps, be very eager to assist Mr. Davis in his favorite amusement of *depluming* me. They may think, that if the materials which compose my two last chapters are curious and valuable, it is of little moment to whom they properly belong. If my readers are satisfied with the form, the colors, the new arrangement which I have given to the labors of my predecessors, they may perhaps consider me not as a contemptible thief, but as an honest and industrious manufacturer, who has fairly procured the raw materials, and worked them up with a laudable degree of skill and success.

II. About two hundred years ago, the court of Rome discovered that the system which had been erected by ignorance must be defended and countenanced by the aid, or at least by the abuse, of science. The grosser legends of the middle ages were abandoned to contempt, but the supremacy and infallibility of two hundred Popes, the virtues of many thousand Saints, and the miracles which they either performed or related, have been laboriously consecrated in the *Ecclesiastical Annals* of Cardinal Baronius. A theological barometer might be formed, of which the Cardinal and our countryman Dr. Middleton should constitute the opposite and remote extremities, as the former sunk to the lowest degree of credulity, which was compatible with learning, and the latter rose to the highest pitch of skepticism, in anywise consistent with religion. The intermediate gradations would be filled by a line of ecclesiastical critics, whose rank has been fixed by the circumstances of their temper and studies, as well as by the spirit of the church or society to which they were attached. It would be amusing enough to calculate the weight of prejudice in the air of Rome, of Oxford, of Paris, and of Holland; and sometimes to observe the irregular tendency of papists towards freedom, sometimes to remark the unnatural gravitation of protestants towards slavery. But it is useful to borrow the assistance of so many learned and ingenious men who have viewed the first ages of the church in every light, and from every situation. If we skillfully combine the passions and prejudices, the hostile motives and intentions, of the several theologians, we may frequently extract knowledge from credulity, moderation from zeal, and impartial truth from the most disingenuous controversy. It is the right, it is the duty of a critical

historian to collect, to weigh, to select the opinions of his predecessors; and the more diligence he has exerted in the search, the more rationally he may hope to add some improvement to the stock of knowledge, the use of which has been common to all.

III. Besides the ideas which may be suggested by the study of the most learned and ingenious of the moderns, the historian may be indebted to them for the occasional communication of some passages of the ancients, which might otherwise have escaped his knowledge or his memory. In the consideration of any extensive subject, none will pretend to have read all that has been written, or to recollect all that they have read: nor is there any disgrace in recurring to the writers who have professedly treated any questions, which, in the course of a long narrative, we are called upon to mention in a slight and incidental manner. If I touch upon the obscure and fanciful theology of the Gnostics, I can accept without a blush the assistance of the candid Beausobre; and when, amidst the fury of contending parties, I trace the progress of ecclesiastical dominion, I am not ashamed to confess myself the grateful disciple of the impartial Mosheim. In the next volume of my *History*, the reader and the critic must prepare themselves to see me make a still more liberal use of the labors of those indefatigable workmen who have dug deep into the mine of antiquity. The Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries are far more voluminous than their predecessors; the writings of Jerom, of Augustin, of Chrysostom, &c., cover the walls of our libraries. The smallest part is of the historical kind: yet the treatises which seem the least to invite the curiosity of the reader, frequently conceal very useful hints, or very valuable facts. The polemic, who involves himself and his antagonists in a cloud of argumentation, sometimes relates the origin and progress of the heresy which he confutes; and the preacher who declaims against the luxury, describes the manners of the age; and seasonably introduces the mention of some public calamity, that he may ascribe it to the justice of offended Heaven. It would surely be unreasonable to expect that the historian should peruse enormous volumes, with the uncertain hope of extracting a few interesting lines, or that he should sacrifice whole days to the momentary amusement of his reader. Fortunately for us both, the diligence of ecclesiastical critics has facilitated our inquiries: the compilations of Tillemont might alone be con-

sidered as an immense repertory of truth and fable, of almost all that the fathers have preserved or invented, or believed; and if we equally avail ourselves of the labors of contending sectaries, we shall often discover, that the same passages which the prudence of one of the disputants would have suppressed or disguised, are placed in the most conspicuous light by the active and interested zeal of his adversary. On these occasions, what is the duty of a faithful historian, who derives from some modern writer the knowledge of some ancient testimony, which he is desirous of introducing into his own narrative? It is his duty, and it has been my invariable practice, to consult the original; to study with attention the words, the design, the spirit, the context, the situation of the passage to which I had been referred; and before I appropriated it to my own use, to justify my own declaration, "that I had carefully examined all the original "materials that could illustrate the subject which I had "undertaken to treat." If this important obligation has sometimes been imperfectly fulfilled, I have only omitted what it would have been impracticable for me to perform. The greatest city in the world is destitute of that useful institution, a public library; and the writer who has undertaken to treat any large historical subject, is reduced to the necessity of purchasing, for his private use, a numerous and valuable collection of the books which must form the basis of his work. The diligence of his booksellers will not always prove successful; and the candor of his readers will not always expect, that, for the sake of verifying an accidental quotation of ten lines, he should load himself with an useless and expensive series of ten volumes. In a very few instances, where I had not the opportunity of consulting the originals, I have adopted their testimony on the faith of modern guides, of whose fidelity I was satisfied; but on these occasions,[77] instead of decking myself with the borrowed plumes of Tillemont or Lardner, I have been most scrupulously exact in marking the extent of my reading, and the source of my information. This distinction, which a sense of truth and modesty had engaged me to express, is ungenerously abused by Mr. Davis, who seems happy to inform his readers, that "in ONE instance (Chap. xvi. 164. or in the first edition, "163.) I have, by an unaccountable oversight, unfortunately "for myself, forgot to drop the modern, and that I modestly "disclaim all knowledge of Athanasius, but what I had

[77] Gibbon, p. 605, N. 156; p. 606, N. 161; p. 690, N. 164; p. 699, N. 178.

" picked up from Tillemont."[78] Without animadverting on the decency of the expressions, which are now grown familiar to me, I shall content myself with observing, that as I had frequently quoted Eusebius, or Cyprian, or Tertullian, *because* I had read them; so, in this instance, I only made my reference to Tillemont, *because* I had not read, and did not possess the works of Athanasius. The progress of my undertaking has since directed me to peruse the *Historical Apologies* of the Archbishop of Alexandria, whose life is a very interesting part of the age in which he lived; and if Mr. Davis should have the curiosity to look into my Second Volume, he will find that I make a free and frequent appeal to the writings of Athanasius. Whatever may be the opinion or practice of my adversary, this I apprehend to be the dealing of a fair and honorable man.

IV. The historical monuments of the three first centuries of ecclesiastical antiquity are neither very numerous nor very prolix. From the end of the *Acts of the Apostles*, to the time when the first *Apology* of Justin Martyr was presented, there intervened a dark and doubtful period of fourscore years; and, even if the *Epistles* of Ignatius should be approved by the critic, they could not be very serviceable to the historian. From the middle of the second, to the beginning of the fourth century, we gain our knowledge of the state and progress of Christianity, from the successive *Apologies* which were occasionally composed by Justin, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Origen, &c.; from the *Epistles* of Cyprian; from a few *sincere* acts of the Martyrs; from some moral or controversial tracts, which indirectly explain the events and manners of the times; from the rare and accidental notice which profane writers have taken of the Christian sect; from the declamatory narrative which celebrates the deaths of the persecutors; and from the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, who has preserved some valuable fragments of more earlier writers. Since the revival of letters, these original materials have been the common fund of critics and historians: nor has it ever been imagined, that the absolute and exclusive property of a passage in Eusebius or Tertullian was acquired by the first who had an opportunity of quoting it. The learned work of Mosheim, *de Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum*, was printed in the year 1753; and if I were possessed of the patience and disingenuity of Mr. Davis, I would engage to find all the

[78] Davis, p. 273.

ancient testimonies that he has alleged, in the writings of Dodwell or Tillemont, which were published before the end of the last century. But if I were animated by any malevolent intentions against Dodwell or Tillemont, I could as easily, and as unfairly, fix on *them* the guilt of plagiarism, by producing the same passages transcribed or translated at full length in the *Annals* of Cardinal Baronius. Let not criticism be any longer disgraced by the practice of such unworthy arts. Instead of admitting suspicions as false as they are ungenerous, candor will acknowledge, that Mosheim or Dodwell, Tillemont or Baronius, enjoyed the same right, and often were under the same obligation, of quoting the passages which they had read, and which were indispensably requisite to confirm the truth and substance of their similar narratives. Mr. Davis is so far from allowing me the benefit of this common indulgence, or rather of this common right, that he stigmatizes with the name of *plagiarism* a close and literal agreement with Dodwell in the account of some parts of the persecution of Diocletian, where a few chapters of Eusebius and Lactantius, perhaps of Lactantius alone, are the sole materials from whence our knowledge could be derived, and where, if I had not transcribed, I must have invented. He is even bold enough (*bold* is not the *proper* word) to conceive some hopes of persuading his readers, that an historian who has employed several years of his life, and several hundred pages, on the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, had never read *Orosius*, or the *Augustin History;* and that he was forced to borrow, at second-hand, his quotations from the *Theodosian code*. I cannot profess myself very desirous of Mr. Davis's acquaintance; but if he will take the trouble of calling at my house any afternoon when I am *not* at home, my servant shall show him my library, which he will find tolerably well furnished with the useful authors, ancient as well as modern, ecclesiastical as well as profane, who have *directly* supplied me with the materials of my *History*.

The peculiar reasons, and they are not of the most flattering kind, which urged me to repel the furious and feeble attack of Mr. Davis, have been already mentioned. But since I am drawn thus reluctantly into the lists of controversy, I shall not retire till I have saluted, either with stern defiance or gentle courtesy, the theological champions who have signalized their ardor to break a lance against the shield of a *Pagan* adversary. The Fifteenth and Sixteenth

Chapters have been honored with the notice of several writers, whose names and characters seemed to promise more maturity of judgment and learning than could reasonably be expected from the unfinished studies of a Bachelor of Arts. The Reverend Mr. Apthorpe, Dr. Watson, the Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, Dr. Chelsum of Christ Church, and his associate Dr. Randolph, President of Corpus Christi College, and the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, have given me a fair right, which, however, I shall not abuse, of freely declaring my opinion on the subject of their respective criticisms.

Mr. Apthorpe. If I am not mistaken, Mr. Apthorpe was the first who announced to the Public his intention of examining the interesting subject which I had treated in the Two last Chapters of my *History*. The multitude of collateral and accessory ideas which presented themselves to the Author, insensibly swelled the bulk of his papers to the size of a large volume in octavo; the publication was delayed many months beyond the time of the first advertisement; and when Mr. Apthorpe's Letters appeared, I was surprised to find, that I had *scarcely* any interest or concern in their contents. They are filled with general observations on the Study of History, with a large and useful catalogue of Historians, and with a variety of reflections, moral and religious, all preparatory to the direct and formal consideration of my Two last Chapters, which Mr. Apthorpe seems to reserve for the subject of a Second Volume. I sincerely respect the learning, the piety, and the candor of this Gentleman, and must consider it as a mark of his esteem, that he has thought proper to begin his approaches at so great a distance from the fortifications which he designed to attack.

Dr. Watson. When Dr. Watson gave to the Public his *Apology for Christianity, in a Series of Letters*, he addressed them to the Author of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, with a just confidence that he had considered this important object in a manner not unworthy of his antagonist or of himself. Dr. Watson's mode of thinking bears a liberal and a philosophic cast; his thoughts are expressed with spirit, and that spirit is always tempered by politeness and moderation. Such is the man whom I should be happy to call my friend, and whom I should not blush to call my antagonist. But the same motives

which might tempt me to accept, or even to solicit, a private and amicable conference, dissuaded me from entering into a public controversy with a Writer of so respectable a character; and I embraced the earliest opportunity of expressing to Dr. Watson himself, how sincerely I agreed with him in thinking, "That as the world is now possessed "of the opinion of us both upon the subject in question, it "may be perhaps as proper for us both to leave it in this "state."[79] The nature of the ingenious Professor's *Apology* contributed to strengthen the insuperable reluctance to engage in hostile altercation which was common to us both, by convincing me, that such an altercation was unnecessary as well as unpleasant. He very justly and politely declares, that a considerable part, near seventy pages, of his small volume are not directed to me,[80] but to a set of men whom he places in an odious and contemptible light. He leaves to other hands the defence of the leading Ecclesiastics, even of the primitive church; and without being *very* anxious, either to soften their vices and indiscretion, or to aggravate the cruelty of the Heathen Persecutors, he passes over in silence the greatest part of my Sixteenth Chapter. It is not so much the purpose of the Apologist to examine the facts which have been advanced by the Historian, as to remove the impressions which may have been formed by many of his Readers; and the Remarks of Dr. Watson consist more properly of general argumentation than of particular criticism. He fairly owns, that I have expressly allowed the full and irresistible weight of the *first* great cause of the success of Christianity;[81] and he is too candid to deny that the five *secondary* causes, which I had attempted to explain, operated with *some* degree of active energy towards the accomplishment of that great event. The only question which remains between us, relates to the *degree* of the weight and effect of those secondary causes; and as I am persuaded that our philosophy is not of the dogmatic kind, we should soon acknowledge that this precise degree cannot be ascertained by reasoning, nor perhaps be expressed by words. In the course of this inquiry, some incidental difficulties have arisen, which I had stated with impartiality, and which Dr. Watson resolves with ingenuity and temper. If in some instances he seems to have misapprehended my sentiments, I may hesitate whether I should impute the fault to my own want of clearness or to his want of attention, but I can never

[79] Watson's *Apology for Christianity*, p. 200. [80] Id. p. 202-268. [81] Id. p. 5.

entertain a suspicion that Dr. Watson would descend to employ the disingenuous arts of vulgar controversy.

There is, however, one passage, and one passage only, which must not pass without some explanation; and I shall the more eagerly embrace this occasion to illustrate what I had said, as the misconstruction of my true meaning seems to have made an involuntary, but unfavorable impression on the liberal mind of Dr. Watson. As I endeavor *not* to palliate the severity, but to discover the motives of the Roman Magistrates, I had remarked, "it was in vain that "the oppressed Believer asserted the unalienable rights of "conscience and private judgment. Though his situation "might excite the pity, his arguments could never reach "the understanding, either of the philosophic or of the be-"lieving part of the Pagan world."[82] The humanity of Dr. Watson takes fire on the supposed provocation, and he asks me with unusual quickness, "How, Sir, are the arguments "for liberty of conscience so exceedingly inconclusive, that "you think them incapable of reaching the understanding "even of philosophers?"[83] He continues to observe, that a captious adversary would embrace with avidity the opportunity this passage *affords*, of blotting my character with the odious stain of being a Persecutor; a stain which no learning can wipe out, which no genius or ability can render amiable; and though he himself does not entertain such an opinion of my principles, his ingenuity tries in vain to provide me with the means of escape.

I must lament that I have not been successful in the explanation of a very simple notion of the spirit both of Philosophy and of Polytheism, which I have repeatedly inculcated. The arguments which assert the rights of conscience are not inconclusive in themselves, but the understanding of the Greeks and Romans was fortified against their evidence by an invincible prejudice. When we listen to the voice of Bayle, of Locke, and of genuine reason, in favor of religious toleration, we shall easily perceive that our most forcible appeal is made to our mutual feelings. If the Jew were allowed to argue with the Inquisitor, he would request that for a moment they might exchange their different situations, and might safely ask his Catholic Tyrant, whether the fear of death would compel *him* to enter the synagogue, to receive the mark of circumcision, and to partake of the paschal lamb. As soon as the case of persecution was brought home

[82] Gibbon, p. 625. [83] Watson, p. 185.

to the breast of the Inquisitor, he must have found some difficulty in suppressing the dictates of natural equity, which would insinuate to his conscience, that he could have no right to inflict those punishments which, under similar circumstances, he would esteem it as his duty to encounter. But this argument could not reach the understanding of a Polytheist, or of an ancient Philosopher. The former was ready, whenever he was summoned, or indeed without being summoned, to fall prostrate before the altars of any gods who were adored in any part of the world, and to admit a vague persuasion of the *truth* and divinity of the most different modes of religion. The Philosopher, who considered them, at least in their literal sense, as equally *false* and absurd, was not ashamed to disguise his sentiments, and to frame his actions according to the laws of his country, which imposed the same obligation on the Philosophers and the people. When Pliny declared, that whatever was the opinion of the Christians, their obstinacy deserved punishment, the absurd cruelty of Pliny was excused in his own eye, by the consciousness that, in the situation of the Christians, he would not have refused the religious compliance which he exacted. I shall not repeat, that the Pagan worship was a matter, not of *opinion*, but of *custom ;* that the toleration of the Romans was confined to nations or families who followed the practice of their ancestors ; and that in the first ages of Christianity their persecution of the individuals who departed from the established religion was neither moderated by pure reason, nor inflamed by exclusive zeal. But I only desire to appeal, from the hasty apprehension, to the more deliberate judgment, of Dr. Watson himself. Should there still remain any difference of opinion between us, I shall be satisfied, if he will consider me as a sincere though perhaps unsuccessful lover of truth, and as a firm friend to civil and ecclesiastical freedom.

Dr. Chelsum and Dr. Randolph.

Far be it from me, or from any faithful Historian, to impute to the respectable societies the faults of some individual members. Our two Universities most undoubtedly contain the same mixture, and most probably the same proportions, of zeal and moderation, of reason and superstition. Yet there is much less difference between the smoothness of the Ionic, and the roughness of the Doric dialects, than may be found between the polished style of Dr. Watson, and the coarse language of Mr. Davis, Dr. Chelsum, or Dr. Randolph. The second

of these Critics, Dr. Chelsum of Christ Church, is unwilling that the world should forget that *he* was the first who sounded to arms, that *he* was the first who furnished the antidote to the poison, and who, as early as the month of October of the year 1776, published his *Strictures* on the Two last Chapters of Mr. Gibbon's *History*. The success of a pamphlet, which he modestly styles imperfect and ill-digested, encouraged him to resume the controversy. In the beginning of the present year, his *Remarks* made their second appearance, with some alteration of form, and a large increase of bulk; and the author who seems to fight under the protection of two episcopal banners, has prefixed, in the front of his volume, his name and titles, which in the former edition he had less honorably suppressed. His confidence is fortified by the alliance and communications of a *distinguished* Writer, Dr. Randolph, &c., who, on a proper occasion, would, no doubt, be ready to bear as honorable testimony to the merit and reputation of Dr. Chelsum. The two friends are indeed so happily united by art and nature, that, if the author of the *Remarks* had not pointed out the valuable communications of the Margaret Professor, it would have been impossible to separate their respective property. Writers who possess any freedom of mind, may be known from each other by the peculiar character of their style and sentiments; but the champions who are enlisted in the service of Authority, commonly wear the uniforn of the regiment. Oppressed with the same yoke, covered with the same trappings, they heavily move along, perhaps not with an equal pace, in the same beaten track of prejudice and preferment. Yet I should expose my own injustice, were I absolutely to confound with Mr. Davis the two Doctors in Divinity, who are joined in one volume. The three Critics appear to be animated by the same implacable resentment against the Historian of the Roman Empire; they are alike disposed to support the same opinions by the same arts; and if in the language of the two latter, the disregard of politeness is somewhat less gross and indecent, the difference is not of such a magnitude as to excite in my breast any lively sensations of gratitude. It was the misfortune of Mr. Davis that he undertook to *write* before he had *read*. He set out with the stock of authorities which he found in my quotations, and boldly ventured to play his reputation against mine. Perhaps he may now repent of a loss which is not easily recovered; but if I had not surmounted my al-

most insuperable reluctance to a public dispute, many a reader might still be dazzled by the vehemence of his assertions, and might still believe that Mr. Davis had detected several willful and important misrepresentations in my Two last Chapters. But the confederate Doctors appear to be scholars of a higher form and longer experience; they enjoy a certain rank in their academical world; and as their zeal is enlightened by some rays of knowledge, so their desire to ruin the credit of their adversary is occasionally checked by the apprehension of injuring their own. These restraints, to which Mr. Davis was a stranger, have confined them to a very narrow and humble path of historical criticism; and if I were to correct, according to their wishes, all the particular facts against which they have advanced any objections, these corrections, admitted in the fullest extent, would hardly furnish materials for a decent list of *errata*.

The *dogmatical* part of their work, which in every sense of the word deserves that appellation, is ill adapted to engage my attention. I had declined the consideration of theological arguments, when they were managed by a candid and liberal adversary; and it would be inconsistent enough, if I should have refused to draw my sword in honorable combat against the keen and well-tempered weapon of Dr. Watson, for the sole purpose of encountering the rustic cudgel of two staunch and sturdy Polemics.

I shall not enter any farther into the character and conduct of Cyprian, as I am sensible that, if the opinion of Le Clerc, Mosheim, and myself, is reprobated by Dr. Chelsum and his ally, the difference must subsist, till we shall entertain the same notions of moral virtue and ecclesiastical power.[84] If Dr. Randolph will allow that the primitive Clergy received, managed, and distributed the tithes, and other charitable donations of the faithful, the dispute between *us* will be a dispute of words.[85] I shall not amuse myself with proving that the learned Origen must have derived from the *inspired* authority of the Church his knowledge, not indeed of the *authenticity*, but of the *inspiration* of the *four* Evangelists, *two* of whom are not in the rank of the Apostles.[86] I shall submit to the judgment of the Public, whether the Athanasian Creed is not read and received in the Church of England, and whether the wisest and most virtuous of the Pagans[87] believed the Catholic faith, which

[84] Gibbon, p. 558, 559. Chelsum, p. 132-139.
[85] Gibbon, p. 592. Randolph in Chelsum, p. 122.
[86] Gibbon, p. 551. N. 33. Chelsum, p. 39.
[87] Gibbon, p. 565. N. 70. Chelsum, p. 66.

is declared in the Athanasian Creed to be absolutely necessary for salvation. As little shall I think myself interested in the elaborate disquisitions with which the Author of the *Remarks* has filled a great number of pages, concerning the famous testimony of Josephus, the passages of Irenæus and Theophilus, which relate to the gift of miracles, and the origin of circumcision in Palestine or in Egypt.[88] If I have rejected, and rejected with some contempt, the *interpolation* which pious fraud has very awkwardly inserted in the text of Josephus, I may deem myself secure behind the shield of learned and pious critics (see in particular Le Clerc, in his *Ars Critica*, part iii. sect. i. c. 15. and Lardner's *Testimonies*, Vol. i. p. 150, &c.), who have condemned this passage: and I think it very natural that Dr. Chelsum should embrace the contrary opinion, which is not destitute of able advocates. The passages of Irenæus and Theophilus were thoroughly sifted in the controversy about the duration of Miracles; and as the works of Dr. Middleton may be found in every library, so it is not impossible that a diligent search may still discover some remains of the writings of his adversaries. In mentioning the confession of the Syrians of Palestine, that they had received from Egypt the rite of circumcision, I had simply alleged the testimony of Herodotus, without expressly adopting the sentiment of Marsham. But I had always imagined, that in these doubtful and indifferent questions, which have been solemnly argued before the tribunal of the Public, every scholar was at liberty to choose his side, without assigning his reasons; nor can I yet persuade myself, that either Dr. Chelsum, or myself, are likely to enforce, by any new arguments, the opinions which we have respectively followed. The only novelty for which I can perceive myself indebted to Dr. Chelsum, is the very extraordinary Skepticism which he insinuates concerning the time of Herodotus, who, according to the chronology of some, flourished during the time of the Jewish captivity.[89] Can it be necessary to inform a Divine, that the captivity which lasted seventy years, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, was terminated in the year 536 before Christ, by the edict which Cyrus published in the first year of his reign? (*Jeremiah*, xxv. 11, 12. xxix. 10. *Ezra* i. 1. &c. Usher and Prideaux, under the years 606. and 536.) Can it be necessary to inform a man of letters, that Herodotus was fifty-three years old at the commencement of the

[88] Chelsum's Remarks, p. 13-19. 67-91. 180-185. [89] Chelsum, p. 15.

Peloponnesian war (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* xv. 23. from the commentaries of Pamphila), and consequently that he was born in the year before Christ 484, fifty-two years after the end of the Jewish captivity? As this well attested fact is not exposed to the slightest doubt or difficulty, I am somewhat curious to learn the names of those unknown authors, whose chronology Dr. Chelsum has allowed as the specious foundation of a probable hypothesis. The Author of the *Remarks* does not seem indeed to have cultivated, with much care or success, the province of literary history; as a very moderate acquaintance with that useful branch of knowledge would have saved him from a positive mistake, much less excusable than the doubt which he entertains about the time of Herodotus. He styles Suidas "a "*Heathen* writer, who lived about the end of the *tenth* cen- "tury."[90] I admit the period which he assigns to Suidas; and which is well ascertained by Dr. Bentley. (See his Reply to Boyle, p. 22, 23.) We are led to fix this epoch, by the chronology which this *Heathen* writer has deduced from Adam, to the death of the emperor John Zimisces, A. D. 975: and a crowd of passages might be produced, as the unanswerable evidence of his Christianity. But the most unanswerable of all is the very date, which is not disputed between us. The philosophers who flourished under Justinian (see Agathias, L. ii. p. 65, 66.) appear to have been the last of the Heathen writers: and the ancient religion of the Greeks was annihilated almost four hundred years before the birth of Suidas.

After this animadversion, which is not intended either to insult the failings of my Adversary, or to provide a convenient excuse for my own errors, I shall proceed to select *two* important parts of Dr. Chelsum's *Remarks*, from which the candid reader may form some opinion of the whole. They relate to the military service of the first Christians, and to the historical character of Eusebius; and I shall review them with the less reluctance, as it may not be impossible to pick up something curious and useful even in the barren waste of controversy.

Military service of the first Christians.

I. In representing the errors of the primitive Christians, which flowed from an excess of virtue, I had observed, *that* they exposed themselves to the reproaches of the Pagans, by their obstinate refusal to take an active part in the civil administration, or

[90] Chelsum, p. 73.

military defence of the empire; *that* the objections of Celsus appear to have been mutilated by his adversary Origen; and *that* the Apologists, to whom the public dangers were urged, returned obscure and ambiguous answers, as they were unwilling to disclose the true ground of their security, their opinion of the approaching end of the world.[91] In another place I had related, from the *Acts* of Ruinart, the action and punishment of the Centurion Marcellus, who was put to death for renouncing the service in a public and seditious manner.[92]

On this occasion Dr. Chelsum is extremely alert. He denies my facts, controverts my opinions, and, with a politeness worthy of Mr. Davis himself, insinuates that I borrowed the story of Marcellus, not from Ruinart, but from Voltaire. My learned adversary thinks it highly improbable that Origen should dare to *mutilate* the objections of Celsus, "whose work was, in all probability, extant at the time he "made this reply. In such case, had he even been inclined "to treat his adversary unfairly, he must yet surely have "been withheld from the attempt, through the fear of detec-"tion."[93] The experience both of ancient and modern controversy has indeed convinced me that this reasoning, just and natural as it may seem, is totally inconclusive, and that the generality of disputants, especially in religious contests, are of a much more daring and intrepid spirit. For the truth of this remark, I shall content myself with producing a recent and very singular example, in which Dr. Chelsum himself is personally interested. He charges[94] me with passing over in "silence the important and unsuspected "testimony of a Heathen historian (Dion Cassius) to the "persecution of Domitian; and he affirms, that I have pro-"duced that testimony so far only as it relates to Clemens "and Domitilla; yet in the very same passage follows im-"mediately, that on a like accusation MANY OTHERS were "also condemned. Some of them were put to death, others "suffered the confiscation of their goods."[95] Although I should not be ashamed to undertake the apology of Nero or Domitian, if I thought them innocent of any particular crime with which zeal or malice had unjustly branded their memory; yet I should indeed blush, if, in favor of tyranny, or even in favor of virtue, I had suppressed the truth and evidence of historical facts. But the Reader will feel some surprise, when he has convinced himself that, in the three

[91] Gibbon, p. 580, 581. [92] Id. p. 680. [93] Chelsum, p. 118, 119.
[94] Chelsum, p. 188. [95] Gibbon, p. 645.

editions of my First Volume, after relating the death of Clemens, and the exile of Domitilla, I continue to allege the ENTIRE TESTIMONY of Dion, in the following words: "and " sentences either of death, or of confiscation, were pro- " nounced against a GREAT NUMBER OF PERSONS who were " involved in the same accusation. The guilt imputed to " their charge, was that of Atheism and Jewish manners; " a singular association of ideas which cannot with any " propriety be applied except to the Christians, as they were " obscurely and imperfectly viewed by the magistrates and " writers of that period." Dr. Chelsum has not been deterred by the fear of detection, from this scandalous mutilation of the popular work of a living adversary. But Celsus had been dead above fifty years before Origen published his *Apology;* and the copies of an ancient work, instead of being instantaneously multiplied by the operation of the press, were separately and slowly transcribed by the labor of the hand.

If any modern divine should still maintain that the fidelity of Origen was secured by motives more honorable than the fear of detection, he may learn from Jerom the difference of the *gymnastic* and *dogmatic* styles. Truth is the object of the one, victory of the other; and the same arts which would disgrace the sincerity of the teacher, serve only to display the skill of the disputant. After justifying his own practice by that of the orators and philosophers, Jerom defends himself by the more respectable authority of Christian apologists. " How many thousand lines, says he, have been composed " against *Celsus* and Porphyry, by *Origen*, Methodius, " Eusebius, Apollinaris? Consider with what arguments, " with what slippery problems, they elude the inventions of " the Devil; and how, in their controversy with the Gen- " tiles, they are sometimes obliged to speak, not what they " really think, but what is most advantageous for the cause " they defend." " Origenes, &c., multis versuum millibus " scribunt adversus Celsum et Porphyrium. Considerate " quibus argumentis et quam lubricis problematibus diaboli " spiritu contexta subvertunt: et quia interdum coguntur " loqui, non quod sentiunt, sed quod necesse est dicunt ad- " versus ea quæ dicunt Gentiles." (*Pro Libris advers. Jovinian. Apolog.* tom. ii. p. 135.)

Yet Dr. Chelsum may still ask, and he has a right to ask, why in this particular instance I suspect the pious Origen of mutilating the objections of his adversary. From a very

obvious, and, in my opinion, a very decisive circumstance, Celsus was a Greek philosopher, the friend of Lucian; and I thought that, although he might support error by sophistry, he would not write nonsense in his own language. I renounce my suspicion, If the most attentive reader is able to understand the design and purport of a passage which is given as a formal quotation from Celsus, and which begins with the following words: Ου μην ηδε εκεινο ανεκτον σε λεγοντος, ως, &c. (*Origen contr. Celsum*, L. viii. p. 425. edit. Spencer, Cantab. 1677.) I have carefully inspected the original, I have availed myself of the learning of Spencer, and even Bouhereau, (for I shall always disclaim the absurd and affected pedantry of using without scruple a Latin version, but of despising the aid of a French translation,) and the ill success of my efforts has countenanced the suspicion to which I still adhere, with a just mixture of doubt and hesitation. Origen very boldly denies, that any of the Christians have affirmed what is imputed to them by Celsus, in this unintelligible quotation; and it may easily be credited, that none had maintained what none can comprehend. Dr. Chelsum has produced the words of Origen; but on this occasion there is a strange ambiguity in the language of the modern divine,[96] as if he wished to insinuate what he dared not affirm; and every reader must conclude, from his state of the question, that Origen expressly denied the truth of the *accusation* of Celsus, who had *accused* the Christians of declining to assist their fellow-subjects in the military defence of the empire, assailed on every side by the arms of the Barbarians.

Will Dr. Chelsum justify to the world, can he justify to his own feelings, the abuse which he has made even of the privileges of the Gymnastic style? Careless and hasty indeed must have been his perusal of Origen, if he did not perceive that the ancient apologist, who makes a stand on some incidental question, admits the accusation of his adversary, that the Christians *refused* to bear arms even at the command of their sovereign. "Και η συστρατευομεθα μην "αυτω, καν επνειγη." (*Origen*, L. viii. p. 427.) He endeavors to palliate this undutiful refusal, by representing that the Christians had their peculiar camps, in which they incessantly combated for the safety of the emperor and the empire, by lifting up their right hands—in prayer. The apologist seems to hope that his country will be satisfied with this spiritual aid, and dexterously confounding the

[96] Chelsum, p. 118.

colleges of Roman priests with the multitudes which swelled the Catholic church, he claims for his brethren, in all the provinces, the exemption from military service, which was enjoyed by the sacerdotal order. But as this excuse might not readily be allowed, Origen looks forward with a lively faith to that auspicious revolution, which Celsus had rejected as impossible, when all the nations of the habitable earth, renouncing their passions and their arms, should embrace the pure doctrines of the Gospel, and lead a life of peace and innocence under the immediate protection of Heaven. The faith of Origen seems to be principally founded on the predictions of the Prophet Zephaniah (See iii. 9, 10.); and he prudently observes, that the prophets often speak secret things (*εν απορρητω λεγεσι*, p. 426.), which may be understood by those who can understand them; and that if this stupendous change cannot be effected while we retain our bodies, it may be accomplished as soon as we shall be released from them. Such is the reasoning of Origen: though I have not followed the order, I have faithfully preserved the substance of it; which fully justifies the truth and propriety of my observations.

The execution of Marcellus, the Centurion, is naturally connected with the *Apology* of Origen, as the former declared by his actions, what the latter had affirmed in his writings, that the conscience of a devout Christian would not allow him to bear arms, even at the command of his sovereign. I had represented this religious scruple as *one* of the motives which provoked Marcellus, on the day of a public festival, to throw away the ensigns of his office: and I presumed to observe, that such an act of desertion would have been punished in any government according to martial or even civil law. Dr. Chelsum[97] very *bluntly* accuses me of misrepresenting the story, and of suppressing those circumstances which would have defended the Centurion from the unjust imputation thrown by me upon his conduct. The dispute between the advocate for Marcellus and myself lies in a very narrow compass; as the whole evidence is comprised in a short, simple, and, I believe, authentic narrative.

1. In another place I observed, and even pressed the observation, "that the innumerable deities and rites of Poly-
" theism were closely interwoven with every circumstance
" of business or pleasure, of public or of private life;" and I had particularly specified how much the Roman discipline

97 Chelsum, p. 114—117.

was connected with the national superstition. A solemn oath of fidelity was repeated every year in the name of the gods and of the genius of the Emperor, public and daily sacrifices were performed at the head of the camp, the legionary was continually tempted, or rather compelled, to join in the idolatrous worship of his fellow-soldiers; and had not any scruples been entertained of the lawfulness of war, it is not easy to understand how any serious Christian could enlist under a banner which has been justly termed the *rival of the Cross.* "Vexilla æmula Christi." (*Tertullian de Corona Militis*, c. xi.) With regard to the soldiers, who before their conversion were already engaged in the military life, fear, habit, ignorance, necessity, might bend them to some acts of occasional conformity; and as long as they abstained from absolute and intentional idolatry, their behavior was excused by the indulgent, and censured by the more rigid casuists. (See the whole *Treatise de Corona Militis.*) We are ignorant of the adventures and character of the Centurion Marcellus, how long he had conciliated the profession of arms and of the Gospel, whether he was only a Catechumen, or whether he was initiated by the sacrament of baptism. We are likewise at a loss to ascertain the particular act of idolatry which so suddenly and so forcibly provoked his pious indignation. As he declared his faith in the midst of a public entertainment given on the birth-day of Galerius, he must have been startled by some of the sacred and convivial rites (Convivia ista profana reputans) of prayers, or vows, or libations, or, perhaps, by the offensive circumstance of eating the meats which had been offered to the idols. But the scruples of Marcellus were not confined to these accidental impurities; they evidently reached the essential duties of his profession; and when, before the tribunal of the magistrates, he avowed his faith at the hazard of his life, the Centurion declared, as his cool and determined persuasion, that it does not become a Christian man, who is the soldier of the Lord Christ, to bear arms for any object of earthly concern. "Non enim decebat Christia-
"num hominem molestiis secularibus militare, qui Christo
"Domino militat." A formal declaration, which clearly disengages from each other the different questions of war and idolatry. With regard to both these questions, as they were understood by the primitive Christians, I wish to refer the reader to the sentiments and authorities of Mr. Moyle, a bold and ingenious critic, who read the Fathers as their

judge, and not as their slave, and who has refuted, with the most patient candor, all that learned prejudice could suggest in favor of the silly story of the Thundering Legion. (See Moyle's Works, Vol. ii. p. 84—88. 111—116. 163—212. 298—302. 327—341.) And here let me add, that the passage of Origen, who in the name of his brethren disclaims the duty of military service, is understood by Mr. Moyle in its true and obvious signification.

2. I know not where Dr. Chelsum has imbibed the principles of logic or morality which teach him to approve the conduct of Marcellus, who threw down his rod, his belt, and his arms, at the head of the legion, and publicly renounced the military service, *at the very time* when he found himself obliged to offer sacrifice. Yet surely this is a very false notion of the condition and duties of a Roman Centurion. Marcellus was bound, by a solemn oath, to serve with fidelity till he should be regularly discharged; and according to the sentiments which Dr. Chelsum ascribes to him, he was not released from his oath by any mistaken opinion of the unlawfulness of war. I would propose it as a case of conscience to any philosopher, or even to any casuist in Europe, Whether a particular order, which cannot be reconciled with virtue or piety, dissolves the ties of a general and lawful obligation? And whether, if they had been consulted by the Christian Centurion, they would not have directed him to increase his diligence in the execution of his military functions, to refuse to yield to any act of idolatry, and patiently to expect the consequences of such a refusal? But, instead of obeying the mild and moderate dictates of religion, instead of distinguishing between the duties of the soldier and of the Christian, Marcellus, with imprudent zeal, rushed forwards to seize the crown of martyrdom. He might have privately confessed himself guilty to the tribune or præfect under whom he served; he chose on the day of a public festival to disturb the order of the camp. He insulted, without necessity, the religion of his sovereign and of his country, by the epithets of contempt which he bestowed on the Roman gods. "Deos vestros ligneos et lapideos adorare con-" temno, quæ sunt idola surda et muta." Nay more; at the head of the legion, and in the face of the standards, the Centurion Marcellus openly renounced his allegiance to the Emperors. "Ex hoc militare IMPERATORIBUS VESTRIS " desisto." From this moment I no longer serve YOUR EMPERORS, are the important words of Marcellus, which his

advocate has not thought proper to translate. I again make my appeal to any lawyer, to any military man, Whether, under such circumstances, the pronoun *your* has not a seditious, and even treasonable import? And whether the officer who should make this declaration, and at the same time throw away his sword at the head of the regiment, would not be condemned for mutiny and desertion by any court-martial in Europe? I am the rather disposed to judge favorably of the conduct of the Roman government, as I cannot discover any desire to take advantage of the indiscretion of Marcellus. The commander of the legion seemed to lament that it was not in his power to dissemble this rash action. After a delay of more than three months, the Centurion was examined before the Vice-præfect, his superior judge, who offered him the fairest opportunities of explaining or qualifying his seditious expressions, and at last condemned him to lose his head; not simply because he was a Christian, but because he had violated his military oath, thrown away his belt, and publicly blasphemed the Gods and the Emperors. Perhaps the impartial reader will confirm the sentence of the Vice-præfect Agricolanus, "Ita se habent facta Marcelli, "ut hæc *disciplina* debeant vindicari."

Notwithstanding the plainest evidence, Dr. Chelsum will not believe that either Origen in theory, or Marcellus in practice, could seriously object to the use of arms; "because "it is well known, that, far from declining the business of "war altogether, whole legions of Christians served in the "Imperial armies."[98] I have not yet discovered, in the author or authors of the *Remarks*, many traces of a clear and enlightened understanding, yet I cannot suppose them so destitute of every reasoning principle, as to imagine that they here allude to the conduct of the Christians who embraced the profession of arms after their religion had obtained a public establishment. Whole legions of Christians served under the banners of Constantine and Justinian, as whole regiments of Christians are now enlisted in the service of France or England. The representation which I had given, was confined to the principles and practice of the church of which Origen and Marcellus were members, before the sense of public and private interest had reduced the lofty standard of evangelical perfection to the ordinary level of human nature. In those primitive times, where are the Christian legions that served in the Imperial armies? Our

[98] Chelsum, p. 113.

ecclesiastical Pompeys may stamp with their foot, but no armed men will arise out of the earth, except the ghosts of the Thundering and the Thebæan legions; the former renowned for a miracle, and the latter for a martyrdom. Either the two Protestant Doctors must acquiesce under some imputations which are better understood than expressed, or they must prepare, in the full light and freedom of the eighteenth century, to undertake the defence of two obsolete legions, the least absurd of which staggered the well-disciplined credulity of a Franciscan Friar. (See *Pagi Critic. ad Annal. Baronii*, A. D. 174. tom. i. p. 168.) Very different was the spirit and taste of the learned and ingenuous Dr. Jortin, who, after treating the silly story of the Thundering Legion with the contempt it deserved, continues in the following words: "Moyle wishes no greater penance "to the believers of the Thundering Legion, than that they "may also believe the Martyrdom of the Thebæan Legion, "(Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 103.): to which good wish, I say "with Le Clerc (*Bibl. A. et M.* tom. xxvii. p. 193.) AMEN.

"*Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Mævi.*"

(Jortin's *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 367. 2d Edition, London, 1767.)

Yet I shall not attempt to conceal a formidable army of Christians and even of Martyrs, which is ready to enlist under the banners of the confederate Doctors, if they will accept their service. As a specimen of the extravagant legends of the middle age, I had produced the instance of ten thousand Christian soldiers supposed to have been crucified on Mount Ararat, by the order either of Trajan or Hadrian.[99] For the mention and for the confutation of this story, I had appealed to a papist and a protestant, to the learned Tillemont (*Mem. Ecclesiast.* tom. ii. part ii. p. 438.), and to the diligent Geddes (*Miscellanies*, vol. ii. p. 203.), and when Tillemont was not afraid to say that there are few histories which appear more fabulous, I was not ashamed of dismissing the *fable* with silent contempt. We may trace the degrees of fiction as well as those of credibility, and the impartial critic will not place on the same level the baptism of Philip and the donation of Constantine. But in considering the crucifixion of the ten thousand Christian soldiers, we are not reduced to the necessity of weighing any internal probabilities, or of disproving any external testimonies.

[99] Gibbon, p. 654. N. 74.

This legend, the absurdity of which must strike every *rational* mind, stands naked and unsupported by the authority of any writer who lived within a thousand years of the age of Trajan, and has not been able to obtain the poor sanction of the uncorrupted martyrologies which were framed in the most credulous period of ecclesiastical history. The two Protestant Doctors will probably reject the unsubstantial present which has been offered them; yet there is one of my adversaries, the *anonymous Gentleman*, who boldly declares himself the votary of the ten thousand martyrs, and challenges me "to discredit a FACT which "hitherto by many has been looked upon as well estab-"lished."[100] It is pity that a prudent confessor did not whisper in his ear, that, although the martyrdom of these military Saints, like that of the eleven thousand virgins, may contribute to the edification of the faithful, these wonderful tales should not be rashly exposed to the jealous and inquisitive eye of those profane critics, whose examination always precedes, and sometimes checks, their religious assent.

Character and credit of Eusebius.

II. A grave and pathetic complaint is introduced by Dr. Chelsum, into his preface,[101] that Mr. Gibbon, who has often referred to the Fathers of the church, seems to have entertained a general distrust of those respectable witnesses. The critic is scandalized at the epithets of scanty and *suspicious*, which applied to the materials of ecclesiastical history; and if he cannot impeach the truth of the former, he censures in the most angry terms the injustice of the latter. He assumes, with peculiar zeal, the defence of Eusebius, the venerable parent of Ecclesiastical History and labors to rescue his character from the *gross misrepresentation* on which Mr. Gibbon has openly insisted.[102] He observes, as if he sagaciously foresaw the objection, "That it will not be sufficient "here to allege a few instances of apparent credulity in some "of the Fathers, in order to fix a general charge of *suspicion* "on all." But it *may* be sufficient to allege a clear and fundamental principle of historical as well as legal Criticism, that whenever we are destitute of the means of comparing the testimonies of the opposite parties, the evidence of *any* witness, however illustrious by his rank and titles, is justly to be *suspected* in his own cause. It is unfortunate enough, that I should be engaged with adversaries, whom their habits of study and conversation appear

[100] Remarks, p 65, 66, 67. [101] P. ii. iii. [102] Chelsum and Randolph, p. 220-238.

to have left in total ignorance of the principles which universally regulate the opinions and practice of mankind.

As the ancient world was not distracted by the fierce conflicts of hostile sects, the free and eloquent writers of Greece and Rome had few opportunites of indulging their passions, or of exercising their impartiality in the relation of religious events. Since the origin of Theological Factions, some Historians, Ammianus Marcellinus, Fra-Paolo, Thuanus, Hume, and perhaps a few others, have deserved the singular praise of holding the balance with a steady and equal hand. Independent and unconnected, they contemplated with the same indifference, the opinions and interests of the contending parties; or, if they were seriously attached to a particular system, they were armed with a firm and moderate temper, which enabled them to suppress their affections, and to sacrifice their resentments. In this small, but *venerable* Synod of Historians, Eusebius cannot claim a seat. I had acknowledged, and I still think, that his character was less tinctured with credulity than that of most of his contemporaries; but as his enemies must admit, that he was sincere and earnest in the profession of Christianity, so the warmest of his admirers, or at least of his readers, must discern, and will probably applaud, the religious zeal which disgraces or adorns every page of his *Ecclesiastical History*. This laborious and useful work was published at a time, between the defeat of Licinius and the Council of Nice, when the resentment of the Christians was still warm, and when the Pagans were astonished and dismayed by the recent victory and conversion of the great Constantine. The materials, I shall dare to repeat the invidious epithets of scanty and suspicious, were extracted from the accounts which the Christians themselves had given of their *own* sufferings, and of the cruelty of their enemies. The Pagans had so long and so contemptuously neglected the rising greatness of the Church, that the Bishop of Cæsarea had little either to hope or to fear from the writers of the opposite party; almost all of that *little* which did exist, has been accidentally lost, or purposely destroyed; and the candid inquirer may vainly wish to compare with the *History* of Eusebius, some Heathen narrative of the persecutions of Decius and Diocletian. Under these circumstances, it is the duty of an impartial judge to be counsel for the prisoner, who is incapable of making any defence for himself; and it is the first office of a counsel to examine with distrust and *suspicion* the interested

evidence of the accuser. Reason justifies the suspicion, and it is confirmed by the constant experience of modern History, in almost every instance where we have an opportunity of comparing the mutual complaints and apologies of the religious factions, who have disturbed each other's happiness in this world for the sake of securing it in the next.

As we are deprived of the means of contrasting the adverse relations of the Christians and Pagans; it is the more incumbent on us to improve the opportunities of trying the narratives of Eusebius, by the original, and sometimes occasional, testimonies of the more ancient writers of his own party. Dr. Chelsum[103] has observed, that the celebrated passage of Origen, which has so much thinned the ranks of the army of Martyrs, must be confined to the persecutions that had already happened. I cannot dispute this sagacious remark, but I shall venture to add, that this passage more immediately relates to the religious tempests which had been excited in the time and country of Origen; and still more particularly to the city of Alexandria, and to the persecution of Severus, in which young Origen succesfully exhorted his father, to sacrifice his life and fortune for the cause of Christ. From such unquestionable evidence, I am authorized to conclude, that the number of holy victims who sealed their faith with their blood, was not, on this occasion, very considerable: but I cannot reconcile this fair conclusion with the positive declaration of Eusebius (L. vi. c. 2. p. 258.), that at Alexandria, in the persecution of Severus, an innumerable, at least an indefinite multitude (μυριοι) of Christians were honored with the crown of Martyrdom. The advocates for Eusebius may exert their critical skill in proving that μυριοι and ὀλιγοι *many* and *few*, are synonymous and convertible terms, but they will hardly succeed in diminishing so palpable a contradiction, or in removing the suspicion which deeply fixes itself on the historical character of the Bishop of Cæsarea. This unfortunate experiment taught me to read, with becoming caution, the loose and declamatory style which *seems* to magnify the multitude of Martyrs and Confessors, and to aggravate the nature of their sufferings. From the same motives I selected, with careful observation, the more certain account of the number of persons who actually suffered death in the province of Palestine, during the whole eight years of the last and most rigorous persecution.

Besides the reasonable grounds of suspicion, which suggest

[103] Gibbon, p. 653. Chelsum, p. 204-207.

themselves to every liberal mind, against the credibility of the Ecclesiastical Historians, and of Eusebius, their venerable leader, I had taken notice of two very remarkable passages of the Bishop of Cæsarea. He frankly, or at least indirectly, declares, that in treating of the last persecution, " he has related whatever might redound to the glory, and " suppressed all that could tend to the disgrace, of Re- " ligion."[104] Dr. Chelsum, who, on this occasion, most lamentably exclaims that we should hear Eusebius, before we utterly condemn him, has provided, with the assistance of his worthy colleague, an elaborate defence for their common patron; and as if he were secretly conscious of the weakness of the cause, he has contrived the resource of intrenching himself in a very muddy soil, behind three several fortifications, which do not exactly support each other. The advocate for the sincerity of Eusebius maintains: 1st, That he never made such a declaration: 2dly, That he had a right to make it: and, 3dly, That he did not observe it. These separate and almost inconsistent apologies, I shall separately consider.

1. Dr. Chelsum is at a loss how to reconcile,——I beg pardon for weakening the force of his dogmatic style; he declares, that, " It is plainly impossible to reconcile the " express words of the charge exhibited, with any part of " either of the passages appealed to in support of it."[105] If he means, as I think he must, that the *express words* of my text cannot be found in that of Eusebius, I congratulate the importance of the discovery. But was it possible? Could it be my design to quote the words of Eusebius, when I reduced into one sentence the spirit and substance of two diffuse and distinct passages? If I have given the true sense and meaning of the Ecclesiastical Historian, I have discharged the duties of a fair Interpreter; nor shall I refuse to rest the proof of my fidelity on the translation of those two passages of Eusebius, which Dr. Chelsum produces in his favor.[106] " But it is not our part to describe the sad calamities " which at last befel them (the *Christians*), since it does not " agree with our plan to relate their dissensions and " wickedness before the persecution; on which account we " have determined to relate nothing more concerning them " than may serve to justify the Divine Judgment. We there- " fore have not been induced to make mention either of " those who were tempted in the persecution, or of those

[104] Gibbon, p. 699. [105] Chelsum, p. 232. [106] Chelsum, p. 228, 231.

" who made utter shipwreck of their salvation, and who " were sunk of their own accord in the depths of the storm; " but shall only add those things to our General History, " which may in the first place be profitable to ourselves, and " afterwards to posterity." In the other passage, Eusebius, after mentioning the dissensions of the Confessors among themselves, again declares that it is his intention to pass over all these things. " Whatsoever things, (continues the " Historian, in the words of the Apostle, who was recom- " mending the practice of virtue,) whatsoever things are " honest, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be " any virtue, and if there be any praise; these things Euse- " bius thinks most suitable to a History of Martyrs;" of *wonderful* Martyrs, is the splendid epithet which Dr. Chelsum had not thought proper to translate. I should betray a very mean opinion of the judgment and candor of my readers, if I added a single reflection on the clear and obvious tendency of the two passages of the Ecclesiastical Historian. I shall only observe, that the Bishop of Cæsarea seems to have claimed a privilege of a still more dangerous and extensive nature. In one of the most learned and elaborate works that antiquity has left us, the Thirty-second Chapter of the Twelfth Book of his *Evangelical Preparation* bears for its title this scandalous Proposition, " How it " may be lawful and fitting to use falsehood as a medicine, " and for the benefit of those who want to be deceived." Οτι δεησει ποτε τῳ ψευδει αντι φαρμακᾳ χρησθαι επι ωφελεια των δεομενων τᾳ τοιᾳτᾳ τροπᾳ, (P. 356, Edit. Græc. Rob. Stephani, Paris 1544.) In this passage he alleges a passage of Plato, which approves the occasional practice of pious and salutary frauds; nor is Eusebius ashamed to justify the sentiments of the Athenian philosopher by the example of the sacred writers of the Old Testament.

2. I had contented myself with observing, that Eusebius had violated one of the fundamental laws of history. *Ne quid veri dicere non audeat;* nor could I imagine, if the *fact* was allowed, that any question could possibly arise upon the matter of *right*. I was indeed mistaken; and I now begin to understand why I have given so little satisfaction to Dr. Chelsum, and to other critics of the same complexion, as our ideas of the duties and the privileges of an historian appear to be so widely different. It is alleged, that " every " writer has a right to choose his subject, for the particular " benefit of his reader; that he has explained his own plan

" consistently ; that he considers himself, according to it, not " as a complete historian of the times, but rather as a " *didactic* writer, whose main object is to make his work, " like the Scriptures themselves, PROFITABLE FOR DOC- " TRINE: that, as he treats only of the affairs of the Church, " the plan is at least excusable, perhaps peculiarly proper ; " and that he has conformed himself to the principal duty " of an historian, while, according to his immediate design, " he has not particularly related any of the transactions " which could tend to the disgrace of religion." [107] The historian must indeed be generous, who will conceal, by his own disgrace, that of his country, or of his religion. Whatever subject he has chosen, whatever persons he introduces, he owes to himself, to the present age, and to posterity, a just and perfect delineation of all that may be praised, of all that may be excused, and of all that must be censured. If he fails in the discharge of his important office, he partially violates the sacred obligations of truth, and disappoints his readers of the instruction which they might have derived from a fair parallel of the vices and virtues of the most illustrious characters. Herodotus might range without control in the spacious walks of the Greek and Barbaric domain, and Thucydides might confine his steps to the narrow path of the Peloponnesian war ; but those historians would never have deserved the esteem of posterity, if they had designedly suppressed or transiently mentioned those facts which could tend to the disgrace of Greece or of Athens. These unalterable dictates of conscience and reason have been *seldom* questioned, though they have been seldom observed ; and we must sincerly join in the honest complaint of Melchior Canus, " that the lives of the philosophers have been com- " posed by Laertius, and those of the Cæsars by Suetonius, " with a much stricter and more severe regard for historic " truth, than can be found in the lives of saints and martyrs, " as they are described by Catholic writers." (See *Loci Communes*, L. xi. p. 650, apud Clericum, *Epistol. Critic.* v. p. 136.) And yet the partial representation of truth is of far more pernicious consequence in ecclesiastical, than in civil history. If Laertius had concealed the defects of Plato, or if Suetonius had disguised the vices of Augustus, we should have been deprived of the knowledge of some curious, and perhaps instructive, facts, and our idea of those celebrated men might have been more favorable than they

[107] Chelsum, p. 229, 230, 231.

deserved; but I cannot discover any practical inconveniences which could have been the result of our ignorance. But if Eusebius had fairly and circumstantially related the scandalous dissensions of the Confessors; if he had shown that their virtues were tinctured with pride and obstinacy, and that their lively faith was not exempt from some mixture of enthusiasm; he would have armed his readers against the excessive veneration for those holy men, which imperceptibly degenerated into religious worship. The success of these *didactic* histories, by concealing or palliating every circumstance of human infirmity, was one of the most efficacious means of consecrating the memory, the bones, and the writings of the saints of the prevailing party; and a great part of the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome may fairly be ascribed to this criminal dissimulation of the ecclesiastical historians. As a Protestant Divine, Dr. Chelsum must abhor these corruptions; but as a Christian, he should be careful lest his apology for the prudent choice of Eusebius should fix an indirect censure on the unreserved sincerity of the four Evangelists. Instead of confining their narrative to those things which are virtuous and of good report, instead of following the plan which is here recommended as *peculiarly proper* for the affairs of the Church, the inspired writers have thought it their duty to relate the most minute circumstances of the fall of St. Peter, without considering whether the behavior of an Apostle, who thrice denied his Divine Master, might redound to the honor, or to the disgrace of Christianity. If Dr. Chelsum should be frightened by this unexpected consequence, if he should be desirous of saving his faith from *utter shipwreck*, by throwing overboard the useless lumber of memory and reflection, I am not enough his enemy to impede the success of his honest endeavors.

The didactic method of writing history was still more profitably exercised by Eusebius in another work, which he has entitled, *The Life of Constantine*, his gracious patron and benefactor. Priests and poets have enjoyed in every age a privilege of flattery; but if the actions of Constantine are compared with the perfect idea of a royal saint, which, under his name, has been delineated by the zeal and gratitude of Eusebius, the most indulgent reader will confess, that when I styled him a *courtly Bishop*,[108] I could only be restrained by my respect for the episcopal character from the

[108] Gibbon, p. 704.

use of a much harsher epithet. The other appellation of a *passionate declaimer*, which seems to have sounded still more offensive in the tender ears of Dr. Chelsum,[109] was not applied by me to Eusebius, but to Lactantius, or rather to the author of the historical declamation, *De mortibus persecutorum;* and indeed it is much more properly adapted to the Rhetorician, than to the Bishop. Each of those authors was alike studious of the glory of Constantine; but each of them directed the torrent of his invectives against the tyrant, whether Maxentius or Licinus, whose recent defeat was the actual theme of popular and Christian applause. This simple observation may serve to extinguish a very trifling objection of my critic, That Eusebius has not represented the tyrant Maxentius under the character of a Persecutor.

Without scrutinizing the considerations of interest which might support the integrity of Baronius and Tillemont, I may fairly observe, that both those learned Catholics have acknowledged and condemned the dissimulation of Eusebius, which is partly denied, and partly justified, by my adversary. The honorable reflection of Baronius well deserves to be transcribed. "Hæc (the passages already quoted) de suo in "conscribendâ persecutionis historia Eusebius; parum ex- "plens numeros sui muneris; dum perinde ac si panegyrim "scriberet non historiam, triumphos dumtaxat martyrum "atque victorias, non autem lapsus jacturamque fidelium "posteris scripturæ monumentis curaret." (Baron. *Annal. Ecclesiast.* A. D. 302, No. 11. See likewise Tillemont, *Mem. Eccles.* tom. v. p. 62, 156; tom. vii. p. 130.) In a former instance, Dr. Chelsum appeared to be more credulous than a Monk: on the present occasion, he has shown himself less sincere than a Cardinal, and more obstinate than a Jansenist.

3. Yet the advocate for Eusebius has still another expedient in reserve. Perhaps he made the unfortunate declaration of his partial design, perhaps he had a right to make it; but at least his accuser must admit, that he has saved his honor by not keeping his word; since I myself have taken notice of THE CORRUPTION OF MANNERS AND PRINCIPLES among the Christians so FORCIBLY LAMENTED by Eusebius.[110] He has indeed indulged himself in a strain of *loose* and *indefinite* censure, which may generally be just, and which cannot be personally offensive, which is alike incapable of wounding or of correcting, as it seems to have no

[109] Chelsum, p. 234.

[110] Chelsum, p. 226, 227.

fixed object or certain aim. Juvenal might have read his satire against women in a circle of Roman ladies, and each of them might have listened with pleasure to the amusing description of the various vices and follies, from which she herself was so perfectly free. The moralist, the preacher, the ecclesiastical historian, enjoy a still more ample latitude of invective; and as long as they abstain from any particular censure, they may securely expose, and even exaggerate, the sins of the multitude. The precepts of Christianity seem to inculcate a style of mortification, of abasement, of self-contempt; and the hypocrite who aspires to the reputation of a saint, often finds it convenient to affect the language of a penitent. I should doubt whether Dr. Chelsum is much acquainted with the comedies of Moliere. If he has ever read that inimitable master of human life, he may recollect whether Tartuffe was very much inclined to confess his real guilt, when he exclaimed,

Oui, mon frere, je suis un mechant, un coupable;
Un malheureux pécheur, tout plein d'iniquitié;
Le plus grand scélérat qui ait jamais été.
Chaque instant de ma vie est chargé de souillures,
Elle n'est qu'un amas de crimes et d'ordures.
* * * * * * * *
Oui, mon cher fils, parlez, traitez moi de perfide,
D'infame, de perdu, de voleur, d'homicide;
Accablez moi de noms encore plus détestés:
Je n'y contredis point, je les ai méritès,
Et j'en veux à genoux souffrir l'ignominie,
Comme une honte due aux crimes de ma vie.

It is not my intention to compare the character of Tartuffe with that of Eusebius; the former pointed his invectives against himself, the latter directed them against the times in which he had lived: but as the prudent Bishop of Cæsarea did not specify any place or person for the object of his censure, he cannot justly be accused, even by his friends, of violating the *profitable* plan of his *didactic* history.

The extreme caution of Eusebius, who declines any mention of those who were tempted and who fell during the persecution, has countenanced a suspicion that he himself was one of those unhappy victims, and that his tenderness for the wounded fame of his brethren arose from a just apprehension of his own disgrace. In one of my notes,[111] I had observed, that he was charged with the guilt of some criminal compliances, in his own presence, and in the Council of Tyre. I am therefore accountable for the reality only, and not for the truth of the accusation: but as the two Doctors, who on this occasion unite their forces, are angry and clamorous

[111] Gibbon, p. 699. N. 178.

in asserting the innocence of the Ecclesiastical Historian,[112] I shall advance one step further, and shall maintain, that the charge against Eusebius, though not legally proved, is supported by a reasonable share of presumptive evidence.

I have often wondered why our orthodox Divines should be so earnest and zealous in the defence of Eusebius; whose moral character cannot be preserved, unless by the sacrifice of a more illustrious, and, as I really believe, of a more innocent victim. Either the Bishop of Cæsarea, on a very important occasion, violated the laws of Christian charity and civil justice, or we must fix a charge of calumny, almost of forgery, on the head of the great Athanasius, the standard-bearer of the Homoousian cause, and the firmest pillar of the Catholic faith. In the Council of Tyre, he was accused of murdering, or at least of mutilating a Bishop, whom he produced at Tyre alive and unhurt (*Athanas.* tom. i. p. 783, 786.); and of sacrilegiously breaking a consecrated chalice, in a village where neither church, nor altar, nor chalice, could possibly have existed. (*Athanas.* tom. i. p. 731, 732, 802.) Notwithstanding the clearest proofs of his innocence, Athanasius was oppressed by the Arian faction; and Eusebius of Cæsarea, the venerable father of Ecclesiastical history, conducted this iniquitous prosecution from a motive of personal enmity. (*Athanas.* tom. i. p, 728, 795, 797.) Four years afterwards, a national council of the Bishops of Egypt, forty-nine of whom had been present at the synod of Tyre, addressed an epistle or manifesto in favor of Athanasius to all the Bishops of the Christian world. In this epistle they assert, that some of the Confessors, who accompanied them to Tyre, had accused Eusebius of Cæsarea of an act relative to idolatrous sacrifice. *ʁκ Ευσεζιος ὁ εν Καισερειᾳ της Παλαιστινης επι Θυσιᾳ κατηγορειτο ὑπο των συν ἡμιν ὁμολογητων.* (*Athanas.* tom. i. p. 728.) Besides this short and authentic memorial, which escaped the knowledge or the candor of our confederate Doctors, a consonant but more circumstantial narrative of the accusation of Eusebius may be found in the writings of Epiphanius (*Hæres.* lxviii. p. 723, 724.), the learned Bishop of Salamis, who was born about the time of the Synod of Tyre. He relates, that, in one of the sessions of the Council, Potamon, Bishop of Heraclea in Egypt addresssed Eusebius in the following words; "How now, "Eusebius, can this be borne, that you should be seated as "a judge, while the innocent Athanasius is left standing as "a criminal? Tell me, continued Potamon, were we not in "prison together during the persecution? For my own part,

[112] Chelsum and Randolph, p. 236, 237, 238.

" I lost an eye for the sake of the truth; but I cannot dis-
" cern that *you* have lost any one of your members. You
" bear not any marks of your sufferings for Jesus Christ;
" but here you are, full of life, and with all the parts of your
" body sound and entire. How could you contrive to es-
" cape from prison, unless you stained your conscience,
" either by actual guilt or by a criminal promise to our
" persecutors?" Eusebius immediately broke up the meeting, and discovered, by his anger, that he was confounded or provoked by the reproaches of the Confessor Potamon.

I should despise myself, if I were capable of magnifying, for a present occasion, the authority of the witness whom I have produced. Potamon was most assuredly actuated by a strong prejudice against the personal enemy of his Primate; and if the transaction to which he alluded had been of a private and doubtful kind, I would not take any ungenerous advantage of the respect which my reverend adversaries must entertain for the character of a confessor. But I cannot distrust the veracity of Potamon, when he confined himself to the assertion of a fact, which lay within the compass of his personal knowledge: and collateral testimony (see Photius, p. 296, 297) attests, that Eusebius was long enough in prison to assist his friend, the Martyr Pamphilus, in composing the first five books of his *Apology* for Origen. If we admit that Eusebius was imprisoned, he must have been discharged, and his discharge must have been either honorable, or criminal, or innocent. If his patience vanquished the cruelty of the Tyrant's ministers, a short relation of his own confession and sufferings would have formed an useful and edifying chapter in his *Didactic History* of the persecution of Palestine; and the reader would have been satisfied of the veracity of an historian who valued truth above his life. If it had been in his power to justify, or even to excuse, the manner of his discharge from prison, it was his interest, it was his duty, to prevent the doubts and suspicions which must arise from his silence under these delicate circumstances. Notwithstanding these urgent reasons, Eusebius has observed a profound, and perhaps a prudent silence: though he frequently celebrates the merit and martyrdom of his friend Pamphilus (p. 371. 394. 419. 427. Edit. Cantab.), he never insinuates that he was his companion in prison; and while he copiously describes the eight years persecution in Palestine, he never represents himself in any other light than that of a spectator. Such a conduct in a writer, who relates with a visible satisfaction the honorable events of his own life, if it be not absolutely considered as

an evidence of conscious guilt, must excite, and may justify, the suspicions of the most candid critic.

Yet the firmness of Dr. Randolph is not shaken by these rational suspicions; and he condescends, in a magisterial tone, to inform me, "That it is highly improbable, from "the general well-known decision of the Church in such "cases, that had his apostasy been known, he would have "risen to those high honors which he attained, or been "admitted at all indeed to any other than lay-communion." This weighty objection did not surprise me, as I had already seen the substance of it in the Prolegomena of Valesius; but I safely disregarded a difficulty which had not appeared of any moment to the national council of Egypt; and I still think that an hundred Bishops, with Athanasius at their head, were as competent judges of the discipline of the fourth century, as even the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. As a work of supererogation, I have consulted, however, the *Antiquities* of Bingham (See L. iv. c. iii. s. 6, 7. vol. i. p. 144, &c. fol. edit.), and found, as I expected, that much real learning had made him cautious and modest. After a careful examination of the facts and authorities already known to me, and of those with which I was supplied by the diligent antiquarian, I am persuaded that the theory and the practice of discipline were not invariably the same, that particular examples cannot always be reconciled with general rules, and that the stern laws of justice often yielded to motives of policy and convenience. The temper of Jerom towards those whom he considered as heretics, was fierce and unforgiving; yet the Dialogue of Jerom against the Luciferians, which I have read with infinite pleasure (tom. ii. p. 135–147. Edit. Basil. 1536.), is the seasonable and dextrous performance of a statesman, who felt the expediency of soothing and reconciling a numerous party of offenders. The most rigid discipline, with regard to the ecclesiastics who had fallen in time of persecution, is expressed in the 10th Canon of the Council of Nice; the most remarkable indulgence was shown by the Fathers of the same Council to the *lapsed*, the degraded, the schismatic Bishop of Lycopolis. Of the penitent sinners, some might escape the shame of a public conviction or confession, and others might be exempted from the rigor of clerical punishment. If Eusebius incurred the guilt of a sacrilegious promise, (for we are free to accept the milder alternative of Potamon,) the proofs of this criminal transaction might be suppressed by the influence of money or favor; a seasonable journey into Egypt might allow time for the popular rumors

to subside. The crime of Eusebius might be protected by the impunity of many Episcopal Apostates (See *Philostorg.* L. ii. c. 15. p. 21. Edit. Gothofred.); and the governors of the church very reasonably desired to retain in their service the most learned Christian of the age.

Before I return these sheets to the press, I must not forget an anonymous pamphlet, which, under the title of *A few Remarks*, &c., was published against my *History* in the course of the last summer. The unknown writer has thought proper to distinguish himself by the emphatic, yet vague, appellation of A GENTLEMAN: but I must lament that he has not considered, with becoming attention, the duties of that respectable character. I am ignorant of the motives which can urge a man of a liberal mind, and liberal manners, to attack without provocation, and without tenderness, any work which may have contributed to the information, or even to the amusement, of the Public. But I am well convinced that the author of such a work, who boldly gives his name and his labors to the world, imposes on his adversaries the fair and honorable obligation of encountering him in open daylight, and of supporting the weight of their assertions by the credit of their names. The effusions of wit, or the productions of reason, may be accepted from a secret and unknown hand. The critic who attempts to injure the reputation of another, by strong imputations which may possibly be false, should renounce the ungenerous hope of concealing behind a mask the vexation of disappointment, and the guilty blush of detection.

After this remark, which I cannot make without some degree of concern, I shall frankly declare, that it is not my wish or my intention to prosecute with this *Gentleman* a literary altercation. There lies between us a broad and unfathomable gulf; and the heavy mist of prejudice and superstition, which has in a great measure been dispelled by the free inquiries of the present age, still continues to involve the mind of my adversary. He fondly embraces those phantoms, (for instance, an imaginary Pilate,[113]) which can scarcely find a shelter in the gloom of an Italian convent; and the resentment which he points against me, might frequently be extended to the most enlightened of the PROTESTANT, or, in his opinion, of the HERETICAL critics. His observations are divided into a number of unconnected paragraphs, each of which contains some quotation from my *History*, and the angry, yet commonly trifling, expression of his disapprobation and displeasure. Those sentiments I cannot hope to remove; and as the religious opinions of this *Gentleman* are principally

[113] Remarks, p. 100.

founded on the infallibility of the Church,[114] they are not calculated to make a very deep impression on the mind of an English reader. The view of *facts* will be materially affected by the contagious influence of *doctrines*. The man who refuses to judge of the conduct of Lewis XIV. and Charles V. towards their Protestant subjects,[115] declares himself incapable of distinguishing the limits of persecution and toleration. The devout Papist, who has implored on his knees the intercession of St. Cyprian, will seldom presume to examine the actions of the Saint by the rules of historical evidence and of moral propriety. Instead of the homely likeness which I had exhibited of the Bishop of Carthage, my adversary has substituted a life of Cyprian,[116] full of what the French call *onction*, and the English, *canting*, (See Jortin's *Remarks*, Vol. ii. p. 239.); to which I can only reply, that those who are dissatisfied with the principles of Mosheim and Le Clerc, *must* view with eyes very different from mine, the *Ecclesiastical History* of the third century.

It would be an *endless* discussion (*endless* in every sense of the word) were I to examine the cavils which start up and expire in every page of this criticism, on the inexhaustible topic of opinions, characters, and intentions. Most of the instances which are here produced are of so brittle a substance, that they fall in pieces as soon as they are touched: and I searched for some time before I was able to discover an example of some moment where the *Gentleman* had fairly staked his veracity against some positive fact asserted in the Two last Chapters of my *History*. At last I perceived that he has absolutely denied[117] that any thing can be gathered from the Epistles of St. Cyprian, or from his treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, to which I had referred, to justify my account of the spiritual pride and licentious manners of some of the confessors.[118] As the *numbers* of the Epistles are not the same in the edition of Pamelius and in that of Fell, the critic may be excused for mistaking my quotations, if he will acknowledge that he was ignorant of ecclesiastical history, and that he never heard of the troubles excited by the spiritual pride of the Confessors, who usurped the privilege of giving letters of communion to penitent sinners. But my reference to the treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiæ* was clear and direct; the treatise itself contains only ten pages, and the following words might be distinctly read by any person who understood the Latin language. "Nec quisquam miretur, dilectissimi fratres, etiam de con-

114 Remarks, p. 15. 115 Id. p. 111. 116 Id. p. 72-88.
117 Remarks, p. 90, 91. 118 Gibbon, p. 661. Note 91.

" fessoribus quosdam ad ista procedere, inde quoque aliquos " tam nefanda tam gravia peccare. Neque enim confessio " immunem facit ab insidiis diaboli ; aut contra tentationes, " et pericula, et incursus atque impetus seculares adhuc in " seculo positum perpetuâ securitate defendit : ceterum " nunquam in confessoribus, *fraudes, et stupra, et adulteria* " postmodum videremus, vuæ nunc in quibusdam videntes " ingemiscimus et dolemus." This formal declaration of Cyprian, which is followed by several long periods of admonition and censure, is alone sufficient to expose the scandalous vices of some of the Confessors, and the disingenuous behavior of my concealed adversary.

After this example, which I have fairly chosen as one of the most specious and important of his objections, the candid Reader would excuse me, if from this moment I declined *the Gentleman's* acquaintance. But as two topics have occurred, which are intimately connected with the subject of the preceding sheets, I have inserted each of them in its proper place, as the conclusion of the fourth article of my answers to Mr. Davis, and of the first article of my reply to the confederate Doctors, Chelsum and Randolph.

It is not without some mixture of mortification and regret, that I now look back on the number of hours which I have consumed, and the number of pages which I have filled, in vindicating my literary and moral character from the charge of willful *misrepresentations*, gross *errors*, and servile *plagiarisms*. I cannot derive any triumph or consolation from the occasional advantages which I may have gained over three adversaries, whom it is impossible for me to consider as objects either of terror or of esteem. The spirit of resentment, and every other lively sensation, have long since been extinguished ; and the pen would long since have dropped from my weary hand, had I not been supported in the execution of this ungrateful task, by the consciousness, or at least by the opinion, that I was discharging a debt of honor to the Public and to myself. I am impatient to dismiss, and to dismiss FOR EVER, this odious controversy, with the success of which I cannot surely be elated ; and I have only to request, that, as soon as my readers are convinced of my innocence, they would forget my Vindication.

EDWARD GIBBON.

BENTINCK-STREET,
February 3, 1779.

HERCULES

HERCULES.

"Most perfect Hero, tried in heaviest plight, of labors huge and hard."

PROMETHEUS, crucified to a rock on Mount Caucasus, predicted to the unfortunate Io, that the thirteenth of her descendants should be his deliverer from the unjust punishment inflicted by JUPITER. The prophet Isaiah foretold in like manner the birth of JESUS; and the miracles which establish CHRIST'S divinity correspond to the miraculous labors of HERCULES. Tyrants were subdued by the son of Alcmene, monsters were conquered, the enslaved set free, bounds set to injustice, and the beneficent god PROMETHEUS, who had offended JUPITER by conferring benefits upon mankind, was delivered from his torments by the savior HERCULES, as holy prophets had foretold.

The serpents sent to destroy the infant HERCULES were strangled by the divine babe; the Nemean lion yielded his life to the immortal youth; and the twelve labors which attest his manhood, though unjustly imposed, were performed with uncomplaining fortitude and resignation.

Though born to be a king, HERCULES like JESUS, passed his life in labors for the good of mankind. To rescue his friend he descended into hell, and successfully defied the powers of darkness. According to the *Apostles' Creed*, JESUS afterwards performed a similar journey, and it is certain that HERCULES like JESUS, was awarded divine honors after his death.

Under the name of *Divus Fidius*—the protector of plighted faith and of the sacredness of oaths—HERCULES was particularly worshiped. "*Me Dius Fidius,*"—so help me the god FIDIUS, or HERCULES; or, by the favor of HERCULES, was the form of oath administered. The eminent scholar, Alexander Adam, LL.D., Rector of the High School of Edinburgh, says in *Roman Antiquities*, p. 262, "Men used to swear by HERCULES in their asseverations; *Hercle, Mehercle,* "vel-*es*, so under the title of DIUS FIDIUS, i. e. *Deus fidei*, the god of faith or "honor; thus, *per Dium Fidium*, Plaut., *me Dius Fidius*, sc. *juvet*, Sallust. Cat. 35."

Taylor believes the ancient oath to have been "'*Me Deus Filius!*' the filling "up of which formulary, with the words *ita adjuvet*, makes the sense complete, "*So help me God the Son!*' The form of oath used in our universities at this day "is, '*Ita me Deus adjuvet et sancta ejus evangelia!*'—*So help me God and his holy* "*Gospels!*" * * * "And why might not HERCULES be honored with the title of "God the son, to distinguish him from JUPITER, or God the Father, as by his "human nature standing in a nearer relation to mankind than the *paternal* deity, "and the fitter to be appealed to as a mediator in human transactions; especially "seeing that he was known and recognized under the exactly similar designation "of the *Son of God*, and the *Savior of the world?*"

The Jewish form of administering an oath, in which one party placed his hand under the other's thigh, as Abraham did, (*Gen.* xxiv. 2, 3.), was a most absurd, ridiculous, and barbarous custom, which has deservedly become obsolete.

The solemn obligation of an oath was fully realized by the ancient Latins. "How "many persons," says Cicero, "are restrained from crime by the fear of divine pun-"ishment, and how holy is the society of citizenship, from the belief of the presence "of the immortal gods, as well with the judges as with the witnesses."

CHRIST positively forbade his disciples to swear. "I say unto you, swear not "at all," (*Matt.* v: 34.) "But above all things, my brethren, swear not." (*James* v. 12). But modern courts of judicature, even when composed of professed followers of CHRIST, ignore the teaching of their Savior, and, in defiance of his express commands, adopt and enforce an ancient Pagan form of oath, in which the Jewish deity is substituted for the ZEUS of the Greeks, and the HERCULES of the Romans. Would to HERCULES that these inconsistent believers, while imitating the Pagan form of swearing, had preserved the ancient Pagan and modern Mahometan respect for the sanctity of an oath, and had not been influenced by the jesuitical example of St. Paul, the apostle of the gentiles, who lied, (a harsh word), for the truth and glory of God. (*Romans*, iii: 7.)—E.

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